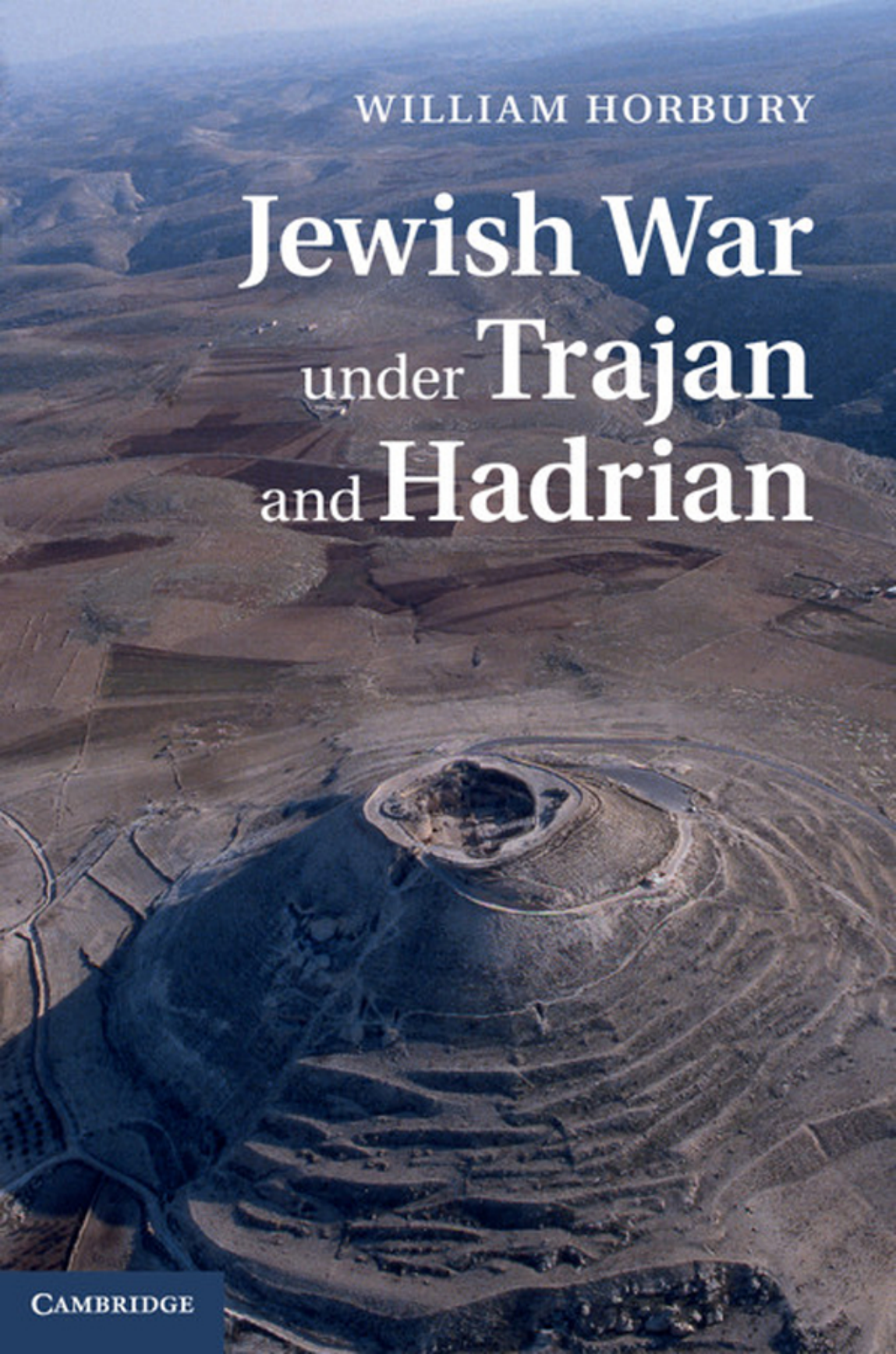


An aerial photograph of a terraced hill, likely a Roman military camp or fortress. The hill is covered in numerous concentric terraces, creating a stepped appearance. At the very top of the hill is a circular structure, possibly a fortification or a temple. The surrounding landscape is arid and hilly, with some small settlements visible in the distance.

WILLIAM HORBURY

Jewish War

under Trajan
and Hadrian

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JEWISH WAR UNDER TRAJAN AND HADRIAN

Two major Jewish risings against Rome took place in the years following the destruction of Jerusalem – the first during Trajan's Parthian war, and the second, led by Bar Kokhba, under Hadrian's principate. The impact of these risings not only on Judaea, but also on Cyrene, Egypt, Cyprus and Mesopotamia, is shown by accounts in both ancient Jewish and non-Jewish literature. More recently discovered sources include letters and documents from fighters and refugees, and inscriptions attesting war and restoration. Historical evaluation has veered between regret for a pointless bloodbath and admiration for sustained resistance. William Horbury offers a new history of these risings, presenting a fresh review of sources and interpretations. He explores the period of Jewish war under Trajan and Hadrian not just as the end of an era, but also as a time of continuity in Jewish life and development in Jewish and Christian origins.

WILLIAM HORBURY is a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge and a Fellow of the British Academy. His recent publications include *Jewish Messianism and the Cult of Christ* (1998), *Herodian Judaism and New Testament Study* (2006), and, with David Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt* (1992). He is also the co-editor, with W. D. Davies and J. V. M. Sturdy, of *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. iii (1999).

JEWISH WAR UNDER TRAJAN AND HADRIAN

WILLIAM HORBURY



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Abbreviations

AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
AE	Année épigraphique
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJSL	American Journal of Semitic Languages
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologiarum Lovaniensium
BGU	Ägyptische Urkunden aus den staatlichen Museen zu Berlin: griechische Urkunden
BSAA	Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
CD-A	Cairo Damascus Document, Manuscript A
CIIP	Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae
CIJ	Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
CP	Classical Philology
CPJ	Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum
CRAI	Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et de Belles-Lettres
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
DCB	Dictionary of Christian Biography
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
HA	Historia Augusta

HSCP	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
IGR	Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes, ed. R. Cagnat, with J. Toutain and P. Jouguet
IJO	Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis
ILS	Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae, ed. H. Dessau
JE	Jewish Encyclopedia
JIGRE	Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt, ed. W. Horbury and D. Noy
JJP	Journal of Juristic Papyrology
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JPOS	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JSP	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha
JSQ	Jewish Studies Quarterly
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
LXX	Septuagint
MGWJ	Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums
NTS	New Testament Studies
OGIS	Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae
PCPS	Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
PEFQS	Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement
PG	Patrologia Graeca, ed. J.-P. Migne
PJB	Palästinajahrbücher
PSI	Pubblicazioni della Società italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto: Papiri greci e latini
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum
RB	Revue biblique

RE	Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, ed. A. F. von Pauly and G. Wissowa
REJ	Revue des études juives
RHR	Revue de l'histoire des religions
RIC i–iii	Roman Imperial Coinage, ed. H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham
RIC i ²	The Roman Imperial Coinage i, 2nd edn, ed. C. H. V. Sutherland and R. A. G. Carson
RSA	Rivista di storia antica
SAPERE	Scripta antiquitatis posterioris ad ethicam religionemque pertinentia
SB	Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten, ed. F. Preisigke et al.
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
SP	Studia Patristica
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAC	Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

CHAPTER I

Introduction

Jews arose against Rome in the last years of Trajan (115–17), and again in the later years of his successor, Hadrian (132–5). When Trajan was leading Roman forces against Parthia, Jewish rebellion broke out in Cyrenaica, Egypt, Cyprus and Mesopotamia, and Judaea also was disturbed. Under Hadrian, Simeon bar Kosiba, nicknamed in Aramaic bar Kokhba, ‘son of the star’, ruled in Judaea as ‘prince of Israel’, *nesi’ yisra’el*, to quote the Hebrew phrase from his coins and the documents of his era; he was hailed as the ‘star’ foretold in Balaam’s prophecy ‘a star shall come forth out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel’ (Num. 24:17).¹ Reaction to his failure emerges when in rabbinic texts his name in the form Koziba is interpreted, through Hebrew and Aramaic *kzb*, ‘to lie’, as ‘liar’.²

The Hebrew catchwords ‘liberty’ and ‘redemption’ current under Simeon’s rule were continued, as coins and documents show, from the great Judean rising which had begun over sixty years before, under Nero in 66, and had issued in the Roman destruction of Jerusalem and the temple in 70.³ Probably the same slogans had been remembered, in Greek as

¹ His full name with the title is attested for example in the Hebrew lease P. Mur. 24, bought by R. de Vaux in 1951 and edited with commentary by J. T. Milik; see P. Benoit, J. T. Milik and R. de Vaux (eds.), *Les Grottes de Murabba’at* (DJD ii, Oxford, 1961), 4, 122–34. The vocalization Kosiba was first clearly indicated by the Greek text P. Yadin 59, line 2 (letter from Annanos to Jonathan), with the words ‘Simon son of Kosiba wrote again . . .’; see B. Lifschitz, ‘Papyrus grecs du désert de Juda’, *Aegyptus* xlii (1962), 240–56 (248–51); H. M. Cotton in Y. Yadin, J. C. Greenfield, A. Yardeni, and B. A. Levine, *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabataean-Aramaic Papyri* (Judean Desert Studies 3, Jerusalem, 2002), 363–6.

² Lam. R. ii 4, on Lam. 2:2 ‘The Lord hath swallowed up all the habitations of Jacob’, discussed by P. Schäfer, ‘Bar Kokhba and the Rabbis’, in Schäfer (ed.), *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered* (TSAJ 100, Tübingen, 2003), 1–22 (3).

³ On these catchwords see C. Roth, ‘The Historical Implications of the Jewish Coinage of the First Revolt’, *IEJ* xii (1962), 33–46; M. Hengel, *Die Zeloten* (3rd edn, rev. and amplified, ed. R. Deines and C.-J. Thornton; WUNT 283, Tübingen, 2011), 115–27; Hengel, *The Zealots* (English translation of *Die Zeloten* [Leiden, 1961, 2nd edn 1976], Edinburgh, 1989), 110–22; S. Vollenweider, *Freiheit als neue Schoepfung. Eine Untersuchung zur Eleutheria bei Paulus und in seiner Umwelt* (FRLANT 147, Goettingen, 1989), 138–45; M. Goodman, ‘Coinage and Identity: the Jewish Evidence’, in C. Howgego, V. Heuchert, and A. Burnett (eds.), *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*

well as Hebrew or Aramaic, in the upheaval under Trajan. 'Redemption' (*ge'ullah*) in this context is outward and political as well as inward and spiritual liberation.

The active resistance represented by these three risings together, over the years 66–135, shares the contemporary emphasis on liberty found among Greeks in the eastern Roman provinces, sharpened perhaps by Vespasian's withdrawal from Achaëa of the freedom conferred by Nero; but Jewish revolt can be contrasted with a relative Greek acquiescence in Roman government overall.⁴ Disturbances did occur, however, in Greek cities, including alarms over 'false Neros' in Asia Minor under the Flavians, and under Antoninus Pius what could be called 'rebellion' in Achaëa; in Alexandria hostility to Rome expressed in rioting and vilification continued from the time of Caligula into the second century and beyond.⁵ The three Jewish risings from Nero to Hadrian and Pius stand out then for their sustained resistance to Roman forces, but they belong to a setting in the eastern provinces in which Roman peace was by no means unruffled.

In this book the two later Jewish risings, only fourteen years apart, are viewed together. Modern study has often treated them singly, thus steering clear of unwarranted generalization and noting that distinctive character of Jewish life in Judaea which the Zionist movement helped to put in the foreground. The two risings are indeed linked mainly with different parts of the Jewish population, in the diaspora and in Judaea, respectively, and it can be argued that the Trajanic disturbances in Cyrene, Egypt and Cyprus were first of all directed against gentile neighbours rather than Rome. The lion's share of attention has gone accordingly to Bar Kokhba's war, which broke out in Judaea, is clearly anti-Roman, and has potential

(Oxford, 2005), 163–6; D. Goodblatt, *Elements of Ancient Jewish Nationalism* (Cambridge, 2006), 123–39, 167–203; my 'Liberty in the Coin-Legends of the Jewish Revolts', in J. K. Aitken, K. J. Dell and B. A. Mastin (eds.), *On Stone and Scroll* (BZAW 420, Berlin, 2011), 139–52.

⁴ Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* v 41 (Apollonius of Tyana rebukes Vespasian for enslaving the Greeks); the Jewish-Greek contrast is strongly drawn by F. Millar, 'Rome in Greek Culture: Cassius Dio and Ulpian', in L. Troiani and G. Zecchini (eds.), *La cultura storica nei due primi secoli dell'impero romano* (Centro ricerche e documentazione sull'antichità classica, Monografie, 24; Rome, 2005), 17–40 (18–19), citing Josephus, *Ap.* i 42–4 (Jews are ready to suffer torture and death for their ancestral writings, but what Greek would do the same for his?). Greek readiness to die in defiance of Roman tyranny is stressed, however, in the Acts of the Alexandrians, discussed below; and P. Veyne, *L'empire gréco-romain* (Paris, 2005), 184, judges that Hellenic cultural identity was only equalled in tenacity by the religious identity of the Jews.

⁵ Veyne, *L'empire gréco-romain*, 211–12; B. Levick, *Vespasian* (London, 1999), 145; *Historia Augusta*, Antoninus Pius, v 5, 'he also repressed rebellions (*rebelliones repressit*) in Achaëa and Egypt'; for more and less restricted interpretations of the Achaean event see B. Levick, 'Greece and Asia Minor', in A. K. Bowman, P. Garnsey and D. Rathbone (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History, Second Edition* xi, *The High Empire, AD 70–192* (Cambridge, 2000), 604–34 (632 n. 63); on Alexandrian anti-Roman feeling from Caligula onwards, P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (3 vols., Oxford, 1972), i, 797–800.

as a precedent for the battles of modern Israel.⁶ Yet the links between Judaea and the diaspora, facilitated by the currency of both Aramaic and Greek in Judaea, make dissociation dubious; moreover, the Trajanic risings in the eastern Roman provinces were inevitably also a war against Roman inhabitants and Roman forces – a character which the Mesopotamian risings under Trajan had from the start.

Here then the two upheavals, the first at the time of Trajan's Parthian war and the second led by Bar Kokhba during Hadrian's principate, are treated together in one book. This method was followed by the founder of modern study of the two revolts, Friedrich Münter, in his monograph *Der jüdische Krieg unter den Kaisern Trajan und Hadrian* (Altona and Leipzig, 1821). More recently the need to consider the events under Trajan and Hadrian together was re-emphasized by a scholar who underlined the importance of both revolts, S. Applebaum, and was similarly recognized within a larger history of the Jews under Roman rule by E. M. Smallwood.⁷ Yet once again new finds and new studies have accumulated.

A fresh attempt at integrating these into a narrative account is made here, through discussion of sources against the background of earlier study.⁸ The successive phases of insurgence are described with Münter as 'war', following the example of ancient texts. Josephus had employed the Greek word *polemos*, 'war', for 'the war of the Jews against the Romans' which was quelled by Vespasian (Josephus, *B.J.* i 1), and it is already used of the later risings under Trajan and Hadrian by writers who were contemporary with the events, the Greek historian Appian of Alexandria and the Christian

⁶ For deliberate avoidance of treatment of the two uprisings as part of one resistance movement (with emphasis on the special character of Jewish life in Judaea) see G. Alon, *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age (70–640 CE)*, English translation ed. G. Levi, (2 vols., Jerusalem, 1980–4, repr. in one vol., Cambridge, MA, and London, 1989), 431; geographically governed dissociation of the two revolts can be seen again in the separate treatments of Judaeans and diaspora events, in this case in reverse chronological order, in S. Safrai, 'The Era of the Mishnah and the Talmud' in H. H. Ben-Sasson, *A History of the Jewish People* (Cambridge, MA, 1976), 330–5 (the 'war of Quietism' and Bar Kokhba), 370–2 (the diaspora revolt under Trajan); for the editor Ben-Sasson's relative openness to diaspora history, yet overriding sense of the centrality of the land for the historian, see M. Brenner, *Propheten des Vergangenen: Jüdische Geschichtsschreibung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 2006), 245–8. Mention of Bar Kokhba's revolt alone is exemplified in the brief discussion of signs of Jewish cultural persistence after Josephus in S. Weitzman, *Surviving Sacrilege: Cultural Persistence in Jewish Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 2005), 159.

⁷ S. Applebaum, 'Sociology and Strategy of Bar Kochba's War' [review of S. Yeivin, *Milhemet Bar Kokhba*], *JJS* i (1948–9), 118–22; E. M. Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule, from Pompey to Diocletian: a Study in Political Relations* (2nd edn, Leiden, 1981), 389–466.

⁸ By contrast, the sense that we should perhaps stay with the surviving texts, given the difficulties of getting behind the portrayals which they give, is reflected in Weitzman, *Surviving Sacrilege*, 3; difficulties are recognized together with an affirmation of attempts at suitably cautious reconstruction in Seth Schwartz, *Were the Jews a Mediterranean Society?* (Princeton, 2010), 175.

philosopher Justin Martyr.⁹ At the end of the second century, Greek *polemos* is used likewise of all three revolts, in Hebrew transliteration, in the earliest document of rabbinic literature, the Mishnah: 'the war of Vespasian . . . the war of Quietus [governor of Judaea under Trajan] . . . the last war'.¹⁰

As seen already, there are allusions to these wars in contemporary Greek pagan and Christian writers, and in rabbinic literature from the end of the second century onwards. The earliest surviving continuous accounts of Jewish war under Trajan and Hadrian come, however, from the Roman historian Cassius Dio in the early third century, and, independently, from the church historian Eusebius at the beginning of the fourth. Eusebius, like the Mishnah, relates the two revolts to one another and to the revolt of 66–70, but he views them as the seal of Jewish downfall and exile. Modern historical linkage of the two with one another and with the fall of Jerusalem in 70, as represented in this book, can therefore seem, despite the Mishnah, to perpetuate old Christian polemic.¹¹ Yet a continuum of Jewish unrest can be affirmed without polemical or apologetic nuance.

The two uprisings are, however, the only events of second-century Jewish history to be documented with some fulness in non-Jewish as well as Jewish sources, including narratives from historians in the ancient world. A second aim here, therefore, is at least to notice the broader context of these relatively well-attested events in the less well-documented second-century history of Jews and Christians.

⁹ Appian, *Historia Romana* xiv [= *Bella Civilia* ii] 90, 380, and frag. 19 (from book xxiv), both on events in Egypt; Justin Martyr, *I Apol.* xxxi 6 ('the Jewish war which has just now happened') and *Dial.* i 3 ('the war which has just happened'), ix 3 ('the war in Judaea'), all on Bar Kokhba's rebellion; still in the second century, but not clearly contemporary with the revolts, Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica* iv 24 (Cyrene). The gravity of the word *polemos* is plain from its climactic use in Claudius's letter to Alexandria (P. Lond. 1912, in *CPJ* ii, no. 153, p. 41, lines 73–4), on 'anti-Jewish disturbance (*taraché*) and faction-fighting (*stasis*), or rather, if the truth must be spoken, war (*polemos*)'; on an interpretation of the sense as less grave, see Chapter 4, n. 60, below.

¹⁰ Mishnah, Sotah ix 14, following the text of the Cambridge manuscript Add. 470.1; some manuscripts and printed editions present a Hebrew text corresponding to 'Titus', but the less familiar name 'Quietus' gives a better sequence, parallel with the series 'war of Vespasian . . . war of Quietus . . . war of ben Koziba' in Seder Olam Rabbah (perhaps from the early third century), in A. Neubauer (ed.), *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles*, ii (Oxford, 1895), 66. For location of 'the war of Quietus' in Judaea see Chapter 4, below. For the revolts as wars compare also Sifre Deut. 322 'the war (*polemos*) in Judah', i.e. the most recent war, that of Bar Kokhba, with L. Finkelstein (ed.), *Siphre ad Deuteronomium* (Berlin, 1939, repr. New York, 1969, with a new foreword), p. 372, against the rendering 'a war . . .' preferred by P. Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand* (TSAJ 1, Tübingen, 1981), 175–6 and n. 166); the Hebrew phrase is close to the Greek in Justin Martyr, *Dial.* ix 3, translated in the preceding note.

¹¹ This point is made by B. Isaac and A. Oppenheimer, 'The Revolt of Bar Kokhba: Ideology and Modern Scholarship', *JJS* xxxvi (1985), 33–60 (33, n. 1), reprinted (with Postscript) in B. Isaac, *The Near East under Roman Rule: Selected Papers* (Mnemosyne, Suppl. 177, Leiden, 1998), 220–56 (220–1, n. 1) and in A. Oppenheimer, *Between Rome and Babylon: Studies in Jewish Leadership and Society* (TSAJ 108, Tübingen, 2005), 197–224 (197, n. 1).

Thus, in the history of Roman-Jewish relations, war against Rome under Trajan and Hadrian falls in the century between the death of Agrippa II, the last Herodian king, and the appearance of a Jewish ethnarchate or patriarchate, which can be called a kind of echo of the old Herodian client-kingship. Again, at the time of these risings, Christian church history is beginning to figure on its own through the separate discussion of Christians by Tacitus and the younger Pliny, although it still mingles with Jewish history.¹² The wars belong to the period in which both Jews and Christians moved towards separate forms of communal order which would long remain normative. By the end of the second century, respect for rabbinic teachers and their traditions was being expressed in the compilation of the Mishnah, and the outlines of episcopal government and of a collection of New Testament books were discernible in the church.¹³

Modern study of the revolts is sketched in the following chapter. Its most prolific period has coincided with nineteenth- and twentieth-century nationalism and imperialism, their influence on Jewish self-awareness, and reaction to them in Marxian and post-colonial approaches. Jewish and Roman national and imperial aspirations were widely taken by historians to be central in revolt and repression. At the same time, however, nationalism was being viewed by many as itself something typically modern, not to be found in the ancient world. So in the 1930s an ancient historian could protest that ‘imperialism’ remained, none the less, the best term to designate the tendency towards ruling other nations, however its historical manifestations might shift from time to time.¹⁴ More recently E. J. Hobsbawm

¹² Tacitus, *Ann.* xv 44 notes that Christianity began in Judaea, but treats it as a distinct *superstitio*; Pliny, *Ep.* 10.96 (c. AD 112) writes to Trajan on Christians without mentioning Jews; J. M. Lieu, *Neither Jew nor Greek? Constructing Early Christianity* (London and New York, 2002), 21–2, adds that Nero’s treatment of Christians already implies their distinct status. The view that Jews and Christians did not separate before Constantine, advanced for example by D. Boyarin, *Border Lines* (Philadelphia, 2004), justly affirms their closeness, but underrates the early mutual dissociation discussed in my *Jews and Christians in Contact and Controversy* (Edinburgh, 1998), 11–14. This dissociation may therefore need emphasis, but the histories of Jews and Christians at this period still remain in many ways one story, as was underlined by E. Renan, *Histoire du peuple d’Israël* (5 vols., Paris, 1887–93), vol. v, book x, ch. 18, reprinted in *Oeuvres complètes de Ernest Renan*, ed. H. Psichari, vi (Paris, 1953), 1,513 (‘l’on ne peut raconter l’une sans raconter l’autre’).

¹³ On the later second century as the great divide between the period of Christian origins and later church history see E. Renan, *Histoire des origines du Christianisme*, vii, *Marc-Aurèle et la fin du monde antique* (Paris, 1882, repr. 1922), 502–3 (Christianity as it existed towards 180 needed very little augmentation to become that of the fourth and fifth centuries); A. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, i (translation of Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* [3rd edn, 3 vols., 1894], 2nd edn, London, 1897), 38 n., quotes Renan with commendation but puts the divide somewhat later.

¹⁴ G. De Sanctis, *Scritti minori*, vi (Rome, 1972), 1, 520 n., from 1936, quoted with more recent discussions of the propriety of using the term ‘imperialism’ in Roman history by J.-L. Ferrary,

and others have again expounded nineteenth-century nationalism and imperialism as essentially new phenomena.¹⁵ Yet, although modern conceptions inevitably include reaction to modern conditions, continuities between ancient and modern views of nation and empire can also be perceived. This has been specifically urged with respect to Egyptians, Greeks and Romans as well as Jews.¹⁶ In this book too a communal self-awareness which can properly be called ‘national’ and even potentially ‘imperial’ is taken to be a factor in the Jewish uprisings, and in Egyptian and Greek as well as Roman responses to them. Thus Appian, cited above, could proudly call the Ptolemies ‘my kings’.¹⁷

Lastly, the focus of the sources on particular known theatres of war (Cyrene, Egypt, Cyprus, Mesopotamia, Judaea) is inevitably reflected in this book; it should be complemented, however, by a note of the sense of universality shared by Romans and Jews, including Christians, at the time. World-empire was central in the conception of Rome current under Trajan and Hadrian. Pompey’s triumph after his return to Rome from conquests including that of Judaea in 63 BC had helped to confirm for Romans, as Cicero put it, ‘that the whole world is held in our *imperium*’ (‘rule’ or ‘empire’).¹⁸ Greek-speaking Christians would share the Roman conviction that the whole inhabited world (*oikoumene*) paid tribute to Caesar (Luke 3:1), and among non-Christian Greeks in the mid second century the

Philhellénisme et impérialisme: Aspects idéologiques de la conquête romaine du monde hellénistique (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome 271, Rome, 1988), xi, n. 1.

¹⁵ E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875–1914* (London, 1987), 60–2; Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* (2nd edn, Cambridge, 1992), 14–79.

¹⁶ Egyptians and Greeks: B. McGing, review of A.-E. Veïsse, *Les ‘révoltes égyptiennes’*, in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* lii (2006), 58–63; Romans: N. Shumate, *Nation, Empire, Decline. Studies in Rhetorical Continuity from the Romans to the Modern Era* (London, 2006), 7–13, 55–8; Jews: S. Volkov, ‘Reflexionen zum “modernen” und zum “uralten” jüdischen Nationalismus’, reprinted from W. Hardtwig (ed.), *Deutschlands Weg in die Moderne. Politik, Gesellschaft und Kultur im 19. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1996), 145–60 in S. Volkov, *Das jüdische Projekt der Moderne: Zehn Essays* (Munich, 2001), 32–48; Goodblatt, *Elements of Ancient Jewish Nationalism*. Somewhat comparably, concepts of race which are often regarded as typically modern were traced in the ancient world by B. Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (Princeton, 2004).

¹⁷ Appian, *Historia Romana*, Proem 39 (see n. 9), discussed by J. Palm, *Rom, Römertum und Imperium in der griechischen Literatur der Kaiserzeit* (Acta Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis lvii, Lund, 1959), 76–7.

¹⁸ Cicero, *Balb.* vi 16 (Pompey’s three triumphs attest ‘totum orbem terrarum nostro imperio teneri’), discussed by G. C. Picard, *Les trophées romains: Contribution à l’histoire de la Religion et de l’Art triomphal de Rome* (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome, 187, Paris, 1957), 186–9 and H. Cancik, ‘Die “Repraesentation” von “Provinz” (nationes, gentes) in Rom. Ein Beitrag zur Bestimmung von “Reichsreligion” vom 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis zum 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.’, in H. Cancik and J. Rüpke (eds.), *Römische Reichsreligion und Provinzialreligion* (Tübingen, 1997), 129–43 (131). On Cicero on world-empire see P. A. Brunt, *Roman Imperial Themes* (Oxford, 1990), 292, 298, 444; on Judaea in Pompey’s triumph see also [Chapter 3](#), notes 21 and 26, below.

equation of Rome with the *oikoumene* is a leitmotiv of the Roman oration of Aelius Aristides.¹⁹

The Jews likewise, drawing on hints at Israelite world-empire in their biblical tradition, both possessed and conveyed a sense of universality. In Greek as in Jewish description, not long after Cicero, the Jews are to be found throughout the *oikoumene*; Strabo's statement that it is hard to find anywhere in the world where they have not been received is quoted approvingly by Josephus, and Philo follows Greek and Roman imperial idiom, with biblical precedent, when he writes not so much of Jewish exile, as of colonization by Jews all over the world.²⁰ Josephus similarly interprets Balaam as foretelling that the Jews will provide some of their own people as inhabitants for every land, so that the *oikoumene* will be their habitation for ever.²¹ In the prophecy of Daniel the last of the four gentile empires is succeeded by the kingdom of the saints. Correspondingly, in Jewish prophecy from the Flavian period, as already by implication in Philo, the Israelite empire will succeed the Roman; 'Jacob's hand held the heel of Esau from the beginning' (II Esdras 6:8).

Christians also developed this Jewish sense of universality, as Saint Paul shows, by envisaging their own body as worldwide; the apostolic preaching extended 'to all lands' and 'to the limits of the *oikoumene*' (Ps. 19:5 as interpreted in Rom. 10:18).²² Under Trajan and Hadrian, in the years of renewed Jewish uprising, the church began to be called by Christians *katholikos*, 'universal'.²³ Within and beyond the Roman setting the 'universal'

¹⁹ Aelius Aristides, *Or.* xxvi 9; 59 (Rome rules the whole world), 29 (the whole world prays for Rome), 61 (Rome the world capital), 97 (the whole world lays down arms as if keeping a holiday), 98 (the whole world has recovered health), 102–3 (the whole world measured, opened, and made like one household), 105, cf. 103 (Rome takes good care of the world, the good creation of Zeus); see Oliver, *The Ruling Power: a Study of the Roman Empire in the Second Century after Christ through the Roman Oration of Aelius Aristides* (Philadelphia, 1953) [= *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* N.S. xliii (1953), 909, on xxvi 9.

²⁰ Strabo as quoted by Josephus, *Ant.* xiv 115, discussed by Y. Shahar, *Josephus Geographicus* (TSAJ 98, Tübingen, 2004), 261–2; Philo, *Flacc.* 45–6; imperial traits in the biblical treatment of David and Solomon are paralleled in the Pentateuch (Gen. 49:10, Num. 24:7, Deut. 28:12–13) and were developed in subsequent interpretation, illustrated in W. Horbury, 'Monarchy and Messianism in the Greek Pentateuch', in M. A. Knibb (ed.), *The Septuagint and Messianism* (BETL 195, Leuven, 2006), 79–128 (97–9), and from Josephus in Shahar, *Josephus Geographicus*, 262–4.

²¹ Josephus, *Ant.* iv 115–16, interpreting Num. 23:10, LXX 'who shall number the peoples [plural] of Israel?'

²² For comparable statements see Col. 1:6, cf. 1:23 (the gospel is being received in all the world, *kosmos*), and, in the gospel tradition, Matt. 24:14, cf. 28:18–19 (apostolic preaching to extend throughout the *oikoumene*).

²³ Ignatius, *Smyrn.* viii 2, *katholike ekklesia*, compared with contemporary Roman imperial developments of the language of Hellenistic union by A. Brent, *Ignatius of Antioch and the Second Sophistic* (STAC 36, Tübingen, 2006), 143, 304–6.

bodies or peoples of Jews and Christians vied with one another, both feeling the biblical history as their own.²⁴

These two risings have therefore gained yet greater significance in retrospect. They can seem to mark the end of a period in the history of both Jews and Christians as universal bodies or peoples. They effectively ended the Herodian age; they also signalled the beginning of the end of the Judaea-centred early period of the Christian church, and of what may be called the age of Christian beginnings.²⁵ The Jewish situation after the revolts did indeed retain continuities with Herodian times, notably in the persistence of Roman–Parthian tension and also eventually of some Roman concession to the Jews’ aspirations for self-government, as focused in their ethnarch; however, the temple which had been central in Herodian Jewish life was not rebuilt. One cannot say ‘neither side a winner, For things are as they were’.²⁶

On the other hand, these wars of the early second century stand within a continuum of Jewish life. They had been waged alongside and within the development of the Jewish community, and the church too, into forms which can be called classical and which would long be maintained. To look towards later history, this rebellion in two stages, with its associated martyrdoms, was the last great political confrontation between the biblical traditions on the one hand and *Romanitas* on the other, until you come, over a hundred years later, to the general persecutions of Christianity under Decius and Valerian (249–51, 257–60). In the Jewish community, the growth of rabbinic Judaism and its literature during these years would

²⁴ On views of the church as a race or nation in Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Eusebius and other early Christian writers see A. von Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (4th edn, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1924), i, 259–89; J. M. Lieu, ‘The Race of the Godfearers’, *JTS N.S.* xlvii (1995), 483–501; D. K. Buell, *Why This New Race? Ethnic Reasoning in Early Christianity* (New York, 2005), 94–115; A. P. Johnson, *Ethnicity and Argument in Eusebius’ Praeparatio Evangelica* (Oxford, 2006).

²⁵ For church history, down to the mid second century, as Judaeae-centred see H. Chadwick, *The Circle and the Ellipse: Rival Concepts of Authority in the Early Church* (Oxford, 1959), repr. in H. Chadwick, *History and Thought of the Early Church* (London, 1982); W. Horbury, ‘Beginnings of Christianity in the Holy Land’, in O. Limor and G. G. Stroumsa (eds.), *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land. From the Origins to the Latin Kingdoms* (Turnhout, 2006), 7–89 (15–18); for the end of the period of Christian origins in the late second century see Renan, as cited in n. 13, above.

²⁶ From the case against Mars in Dryden’s *Secular Masque* (1700), looking back to the wars of the seventeenth century:

‘The fools are only thinner,
With all our cost and care;
But neither side a winner,
For things are as they were . . .
Thy wars brought nothing about’.

then span the inception of a Christian Roman empire with its own empire-wide Jewish population, and the brief prospect under Julian of a rebuilding of the Jewish temple coupled with a pagan revival. The history of Jewish war under Trajan and Hadrian may be the story of an ending, but it is also part of a study of Jewish and Christian origins.

CHAPTER 2

Sources and historians

The primary literary sources to be noted below represent Graeco-Roman, Jewish-Roman and Christian-Roman outlooks, but all from their differing standpoints give a largely negative view of the two revolts. Emphasis falls on Greek and Roman losses and terror of rebel barbarism (Appian, Cassius Dio, Eusebius), on Jewish zeal or folly, impatient of rabbinic moderation and misled by the brave but brutal Bar Kokhba into loss, followed by persecution and martyrdom (rabbinic texts, Eusebius), and on the suffering of Christians who did not acknowledge Bar Kokhba (Justin Martyr, Eusebius).

Recognition of aspirations to liberty can appear in external accounts of other rebellions, as in Tacitus on Britain, but in the brief accounts of these Jewish uprisings, although it is implied in some rabbinic texts, the nearest approach to it comes in Dio. He presents the occasion of the Bar Kokhba war as what could be perceived by Jews as a provocation; elsewhere, speaking of the Jews more generally, he comments positively on the toleration they have gained by their ferocity and endurance (xxxvii 16, 5–17, 4, discussed below). Yet his final note of grave Roman losses in Judaea under Hadrian coheres with his general emphasis on the damaging character of the two risings.

Non-literary sources

This largely negative aspect of the external literary witness sharpens interest in non-literary sources. Inscriptions and coins have long been studied, and more recent discoveries include contemporary letters, deeds and other documents written on skin, papyrus, wood or ostraca. Thus Bar Kokhba coins and documents together provide, as already noted, his personal name, his title, and the slogans ‘liberty’ and ‘redemption’ – contemporary evidence for the self-presentation of the rebel ‘free state’.¹

¹ Chapter 1, notes 1 and 2, above; on the coins in general, L. Miltenberg, *The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War* (Typos, vi; Aarau, Frankfurt am Main and Salzburg, 1984), reviewed by M. Hengel,

The revolt coinage remained familiar in post-Hadrianic Judaea. Coins of Bar Kokhba are mentioned in a passage in the Tosefta on coins which may and may not be used to provide an equivalent for the Second Tithe, in accordance with Deut. 14:24–5 ‘if the way [to the sanctuary] be too long... then shall you turn [the tithe] into money’. ‘Kozbian’ coins and ‘Jerusalem’ coins (perhaps those of the First Revolt) are ruled out.² The adjective ‘Kozbian’ reflects the form ‘Koziba’ given to Bar Kosiba’s name in rabbinic texts, as noted in the previous chapter. This Tosefta reference to them as available coinage underlines, however, the general probability that the catchwords ‘liberty’ and ‘redemption’ will have retained currency for a time. The immediate sequel in the Tosefta envisages that coins (of any kind) may have been hidden in forts or in ‘the king’s hill-country’ (probably in Judaea), in places which now may not be accessible. Correspondingly, Bar Kokhba coins have been found in modern times in such fortified places as Herodium in Judaea, probably inaccessible to Jews after the revolt (see Chapter 5, below).

Roman as well as Jewish coins help with dating and indicate ethos.³ In the seventeenth century the radical but captious Jesuit Jean Hardouin suggested that the Hadrianic revolt was the invention of Cassius Dio, for Hadrian was a peaceful ruler, and the revolt appeared to be unconfirmed by coinage.⁴ Later reinterpretation of coins both of Hadrian and of Simeon (bar Kokhba) made this view untenable, but until the twentieth century the latter, even if dated to Bar Kokhba’s rule, might still be viewed as overstriking reproducing the pattern of coins of Simon Maccabaeus, rather than witnesses to Bar Kokhba’s personal name.⁵ Alternatively, the conjunction

‘Die Bar-Kokhbamünzen als politisch-religiöse Zeugnisse’, reprinted from *Gnomon* lviii (1986) 326–31 in M. Hengel, *Judaica et Hellenistica: kleine Schriften I* (WUNT 90, Tübingen, 1996), 344–50; L. Mildenberg, ‘Der Bar-Kochba-Krieg im Lichte der Münzprägungen’, in H.-P. Kühnen (ed.), *Palästina in griechisch-römischer Zeit* (Handbuch der Archäologie, Vorderasien Part II, 2, Munich, 1990), 357–66.

² Tosefta, M.S. i 6, cf. Babylonian Talmud, B.K. 97b; Bar Kokhba coins and ‘Jerusalem’ coins are not valid for this purpose, but coins of ‘the first kings’, probably the Hasmonaeans, are. This distinction agrees with Roman and rabbinic disapproval of the revolts, but may primarily reflect current doubts on the exchange value of revolt coins.

³ See especially H. StJ. Hart, ‘Judaea and Rome: The Official Commentary’, *JTS* ns iii (1952), 172–98, with six plates.

⁴ For this theory see J. Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs, depuis Jésus-Christ jusqu’à présent* (new edn, 15 vols., The Hague, 1716), xi, 356–9 (Book vii, Chapter 12); on Hardouin see Owen Chadwick, *From Bossuet to Newman* (Cambridge, 1957), 49–51, 211–12.

⁵ J. Eckhel, *Doctrina numorum veterum* (8 vols., Vienna, 1792–8), iii, 465–74 (eighteenth-century scrutiny of coins of Trajan overstruck with ‘Simeon’ in Hebrew brings recognition of them as Bar Kokhba issues); S. Krauss, ‘Bar Kokba and Bar Kokba War’, *JE* ii (1901), 505–9 (507a) followed, instead, the interpretation of the coins as overstriking esteemed types of Maccabaeon currency which was sponsored by H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden vom Untergang des jüdischen*

on the coins of 'Simeon' with 'Nasi' (prince or patriarch, a title discussed below) might be referred to Simeon b. Gamaliel II, viewed in rabbinic tradition as presiding over the rabbinic community at this period.⁶ One of these coins was presented, however, by a Jerusalem Jewish numismatist to the new British governor of Jerusalem in 1918, as indeed a token from 'Simon bar Kochba', the 'last Jewish territorial ruler in Judaea'.⁷ As if in belated response to Hardouin, a later book on Bar Kokhba coinage has amounted to a history of the rising.⁸

Newly found documents and inscriptions aid study of both the risings considered here, but often of course still represent a viewpoint external to the rebel movements. Finds of Greek papyri and ostraca in Egypt illustrate events under Trajan, including (with an internal connection) the payment of the Jewish tax and (externally) non-Jewish alarm and repressive measures.⁹ To move to the border between documents and literature, Alexandrian anti-Jewish and also anti-Roman feeling under Trajan and Hadrian breathe from the papyrus acts of the 'pagan martyrs'.¹⁰ In Cyrenaica Latin and Greek inscriptions record repairs after the 'Jewish rising', *tumultus iudaicus*.¹¹ A menorah incised in a rock-cut road may be the work of the rebels.¹² Further papyri and inscriptions relating to the

Staates bis zum Abschluss des Talmud (Berlin, 1853); 2nd edn, H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iv (Leipzig, 1866), 514 (detached note 18), and E. Renan, *Histoire des origines du Christianisme*, vi, *L'église chrétienne* (Paris, 1879), repr. in *Oeuvres complètes d'Ernest Renan*, ed. Henriette Psichari, v (Paris, 1949), 507 and Appendix I, esp. 721–4.

⁶ So A. Reifenberg, *Denkmäler der jüdischen Antike* (Berlin, 1937), comment at Plate 25 (illustrating, from his own collection, coins of the revolt under Hadrian); he changed his view, however, as seen in Reifenberg, *Israel's History in Coins: from the Maccabees to the Roman Conquest* (London, 1953), 15 ('Bar Kochba's real name, Simon, . . . appears only on the coins').

⁷ R. Storrs, *Orientalism* (London, 1937), 489–90, on I. [S.] Raffaeli's gift of a coin of 'Simon Bar Kochba the last Jewish Governor of Jerusalem', together with a coin of Pilate; Storrs returned these in his capacity as governor, but then accepted them as a legacy after Raffaeli's death. See also S. Raffaeli, 'Jewish Coinage and the Date of the Bar-Kokhbah Revolt', *JPOS* iii (1923), 15–19, published posthumously with an unsigned note on him (15, n. 1, probably by the editor of the journal, H. Danby).

⁸ Mildenberg, *The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War*.

⁹ V. Tcherikover, A. Fuks and M. Stern, with an epigraphical contribution by D. M. Lewis, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum* (3 vols., Cambridge, MA, and London, 1957–64), especially ii, nos. 157–229, 435–50; view with I. F. Fikhhman, 'Liste des rééditions et traductions des textes publiés dans le *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, vols. I–III', *SCI* xvii (1998) [= H. M. Cotton, J. J. Price and D. J. Wasserstein (eds.), *Studies in Memory of Abraham Wasserstein*, iii], 183–205 (189–92); M. Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil, 116/117CE: Ancient Sources and Modern Insights* (Leuven and Dudley, MA, 2005), 15–76 (texts and translations of papyri).

¹⁰ H. Musurillo, ed., *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs* (Oxford, 1954); A. Harker, *Loyalty and Dissidence in Roman Egypt: The Case of the Acta Alexandrinorum* (Cambridge, 2008).

¹¹ Lüdertitz, *Corpus jüdischer Zeugnisse aus der Cyrenaika*, nos. 17–25 = Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 6–12, nos. 4–12.

¹² Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 13, no. 13.

Trajanic uprising continue to be edited.¹³ Papyri have brought for example a move from Münter's suggestion that Jewish rebels in Egypt were aided by Egyptians to Wilcken's view that Egyptians hated and fought against Jews.¹⁴ Cyrenaic inscriptions attesting damage to temples have strengthened emphasis on the fanaticism of the revolt, although their significance remains debatable.¹⁵ Both topics illustrate, at any rate, the impact of fresh non-literary evidence.

For the Judaeen uprising under Hadrian the documentary evidence mentioned already has been, from the first finds in 1951–2 onwards, 'truly sensational'.¹⁶ A series of discoveries of Bar Kokhba letters and documents was made in the Judaeen wilderness, the scene of much of the conflict.¹⁷ At the same time the equally sensational finds of what came to be called the Dead Sea Scrolls were being made further north in the same region,

¹³ I. F. Fikhman, 'L'état des travaux au "Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum" iv', in B. Kramer, W. Luppe, H. Maehler and G. Poethke (eds.), *Akten des 21. internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (Stuttgart, 1997), i, 290–6; Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 15–18 (relevant papyrological publications since CPJ iii).

¹⁴ Contrast F. Münter, *Der jüdische Krieg unter den Kaisern Trajan und Hadrian* (Altona and Leipzig, 1821), 19 (it is not impossible that Egyptians rose also, as in the revolt of the Boukoloi under M. Aurelius); M. Rostovtzeff, *A Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (2nd edn, 2 vols., Oxford, 1957), i, 348 ('I... suspect... that the Jews were supported by the robbers of the marshes and some of the *fellahin*', with reference again to the Boukoloi under Marcus), and ii, 693, n. 105; and H. Lietzmann, *A History of the Early Church*, ii, *The Founding of the Church Universal* (translation of *Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 2. *Ecclesia catholica* (Berlin, 1936); 2nd edn, London, 1950), 17 ('Jews in Egypt, probably in conjunction with the *fellahin*'), with, on the other hand, U. Wilcken, 'Zum alexandrinischen Antisemitismus', *Abhandlungen der königlichen sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Philologisch-historischen Klasse xxvii (1909), 783–839 (792, 799, with reference to P. Brem. 1, on 'the massed villagers of our nome' as the last hope against the Jews, as showing that Greeks and Egyptians fought in shared hatred against the Jews, and illuminating P. Oxy. 705, on Oxyrhynchite commemoration of victory over the Jews), and D. Frankfurter, 'Lest Egypt's City be Deserted': Religion and Ideology in the Egyptian Response to the Jewish Revolt (116–117 CE)', *JJS* xliii (1992), 203–20 (on P. Brem. 1 with the Potter's Oracle in PSI 982 and other texts, including P. Oxy. 705).

¹⁵ For example in Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule from Pompey to Diocletian*, 398, and M. Hengel, 'Messianische Hoffnung und politischer "Radikalismus" in der "jüdisch-hellenistischen Diaspora": zur Frage der Voraussetzungen des jüdischen Aufstandes unter Trajan 115–17 n. Chr.', reprinted from D. Hellholm (ed.), *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East* (Tübingen, 1983), 655–86 in M. Hengel, *Judaica et Hellenistica: kleine Schriften I*, 314–43 (320). Yet harm to the enemies' holy places was not an unusual feature of ancient wars (or of later ones); with a use of *tumultus* and *impius* recalling the later Cyrenaic inscriptions, Horace writes of Italian shrines during the Second Punic War as 'devastated in the impious rising of the Carthaginians', *impio | vastata Poenorum tumultu | fana* (*Od.* iv 4, 46–7). See Chapter 4, below, under 'Cyrenaica'.

¹⁶ For this phrase, applied to the first Wadi Murabba'at Bar Kokhba finds, see A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes: New Studies on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, tr. R. D. Barnett (London, 1954), 11.

¹⁷ For chronological and geographical summary see S. J. Pfann, 'History of the Judean Desert Discoveries', in E. Tov, with S. J. Pfann, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: Companion Volume* (Leiden, 1993), 98–108 (98, 102, 104–5); S. J. Pfann, 'Sites in the Judean Desert', in Tov with Pfann, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 109–19 (114–19).

from 1947 to 1956, in caves at and near Khirbet Qumran on the western Dead Sea coast, east-north-east of Bethlehem and about eight miles south of Jericho.

The Judean wilderness is crossed by the 1949 boundary between the West Bank to the north and Israel to the south. The border runs west-south-west from the Dead Sea coast north of En-gedi (Engaddi) before rounding the hill country south of Hebron to turn north-east towards Jerusalem.¹⁸ Archaeologists had to take note of the new boundary line, but Bedouin continued to move to and fro across it. With regard to the sector of the wilderness north of this border, R. de Vaux described the purchase (November 1951 – January 1952; September 1958) of Bar Kokhba material found by Bedouin, the discovery of more by excavation in caves in the Wadi Murabba'at, about twelve miles south of Khirbet Qumran on the way to En-gedi (January–February 1952), and a further find in the Wadi Murabba'at by shepherds, brought to the Palestine Archaeological (Rockefeller) Museum in 1955.¹⁹

In 1952 and 1953, however, the museum had acquired more documents found by Bedouin still further to the south, mainly in Nahal Hever (Wadi Habra), but perhaps also in Nahal Se'elim (Wadi Seiyal), further south again; similar acquisitions were made by the museum again, later in the fifties, and also by Y. Yadin, perhaps about the same time.²⁰ In this southern sector the Israel Department of Antiquities and associated bodies undertook archaeological investigations in Nahal Hever (1953, 1955) and En-gedi (Engaddi) (1949, 1956), followed by excavations in caves in Nahal Se'elim and Nahal Hever in March 1960 and March 1961.²¹

These two sets of discoveries include the two main groups of Bar Kokhba letters discussed in [Chapter 5](#), below; those associated with his officer Jeshua ben Galgala were found in Wadi Murabba'at, and a larger group linked with Jonathan and Masbala, officers in Engaddi, was found in the Cave of Letters in Nahal Hever. Also among these discoveries are leases dated by the era of Simeon (such as that from Wadi Murabba'at cited above for

¹⁸ On this boundary, known as the 'green line' from its colour on official maps, see I. Pappé, *A History of Modern Palestine* (2nd edn, Cambridge, 2006), 165.

¹⁹ R. de Vaux in Benoit, Milik and de Vaux, *Les grottes de Murabba'at*, pp. v, 3–8.

²⁰ H. M. Cotton in H. M. Cotton and A. Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites* (DJD xxvii, Oxford, 1997), 2–6.

²¹ Y. Aharoni and Y. Yadin in N. Avigad, Y. Aharoni, P. Bar-Adon and Y. Yadin, *Judean Desert Caves* (2 vols., Jerusalem, 1961–2 (reprinted from the *Israel Exploration Journal* xi (1961) and xii (1962)), i, 11–24 (Aharoni on Nahal Seelim); i, 36–52, ii, 227–34 (Yadin on Nahal Hever); further details in S. Dar, 'The Search for Scrolls in the Judean Desert Caves in the Years 1950–1960 – an Archaeological Memoir', *Strata: Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society* xxviii (2010), 141–57.

his name and title), and, again in the Cave of Letters, the archives of two women of property, the refugees Babatha and Salome Comaïse.²²

All these finds combined with the prominence of Hadrianic war and martyrdom in rabbinic literature and Jewish liturgy, and with material evidence for the impact of revolt – the Palestinian tombs and memorials of martyrs which have been visited from Roman times to the present. Throughout the twentieth century the rising had been associated with Zionist ideals, notably when Bar Kokhba was linked with the motto ‘Selbstwehr’ and Jewish self-defence, both physical and intellectual, in Russia and eastern Europe. Now the confirmation of literary, liturgical and pilgrimage remembrance by contemporary documents from the ancient land of Judah contributed yet further to this association.²³ The photographic image of Simeon bar Kosiba’s name and title from one of a newly found group of Bar Kokhba letters was shown first of all to the President of Israel in 1960, as from ‘despatches written or dictated by the last President’.²⁴

Early literary notices

Yet the literary evidence has remained central. Without the suggestions of a sequence of events given in the fuller historical accounts by Cassius Dio and Eusebius the finds of documents and coins could hardly be interpreted. Jewish affairs under Trajan and Hadrian suffer, however, from the sparse literary attestation of these two principates in general. The risings are known partly through simply incidental or fragmentary literary notices.

²² See editions by Benoit, Milik and de Vaux, eds., *Les grottes de Murabba’at* (Chapter 1, n. 1, above); N. Lewis, Y. Yadin and J. C. Greenfield, *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters, i, Greek Papyri* (Judean Desert Studies 2, Jerusalem, 1989); ii, Y. Yadin, J. C. Greenfield, A. Yardeni and B. A. Levine, *Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabataean Papyri* (Judean Desert Studies 3, Jerusalem, 2002); H. M. Cotton and A. Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites*; A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic, Hebrew and Nabataean Documents from the Judaean Desert and Related Material* (2 vols., Jerusalem, 2000); James [H.] Charlesworth et al., *Miscellaneous Texts from the Judaean Desert* (DJD xxxviii, Oxford, 2000).

²³ Isaac and Oppenheimer, ‘The Revolt of Bar Kokhba: Ideology and Modern Scholarship’; Zerubavel, ‘Bar Kokhba’s Image in Modern Israeli Culture’; the Prague Jewish journal *Die Selbstwehr*, founded in 1907, was in sympathy with the ‘Bar Kochba’ student association (Franz Kafka had links with both). The association of thought comes out similarly in a 1930s biographical sketch of a ‘Russian Jewish worker’ in Palestine, in which the journalist Gabriele Tergit calls organized self-defence after the Kishinev pogrom of 1903 the first Jewish response to violence with force ‘since Bar Kokhba’; see G. Tergit, *Im Schnellzug nach Haifa* (Berlin, 1996), 175–6.

²⁴ Y. Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba: The Rediscovery of the Legendary Hero of the Last Jewish Revolt against Imperial Rome* (London, 1971), 14–15. The biblical and rabbinic title *nasi* used by Simeon bar Kosiba, and discussed below, is also applied to the modern head of state, and is then rendered in English as ‘president’.

Particularly vivid among these are the contemporary personal impressions of the war in Alexandria and Egypt in the Roman history by Appian, an Alexandrian Greek, especially in an excerpt from the lost Book xxiv pointed out in the nineteenth century.²⁵ Another contemporary reference, in the Greek *Apology for the Christians to Antoninus Pius* by Justin Martyr, a gentile Palestinian who migrated to Asia Minor and Rome, is the earliest source to give (in Greek transliteration) the Aramaic name Bar Kokhba. In another, from the same author's *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*, Trypho introduces himself as a fugitive from the war in Judaea who now lives chiefly in Greece. These have already been cited to illustrate the ancient assessment of the revolts as wars, with an anecdote in Artemidorus Daldianus on the war in Cyrene.²⁶ Second-century notices of Hadrian's repression of Judaeans rebels, from Pausanias in Greek and Fronto in Latin, roughly speaking for and against Hadrian, respectively, are cited below.

Later, in the *Historia Augusta* compiled in Latin in the fourth century, both revolts figure briefly in the Life of Hadrian, and Jews in rebellion are mentioned in the Life of his successor Antoninus Pius.²⁷ Both Lives belong to a section of the *Historia Augusta* which rests on relatively good Latin sources from the Severan age (193–235), sources which would then be roughly contemporary with the Greek historical writing of Cassius Dio.²⁸

²⁵ Appian, *Historia Romana*, xiv [= *Bella Civilia* ii] 90, 380 (Jews throw down Pompey's monument outside Alexandria for war needs); frag. 19 [excerpt from book xxiv] (Appian escapes Jewish naval forces on river near Pelusium); for the latter see E. Miller, 'Fragment inédit d'Appien', *Revue archéologique* N.S. xix (1869), 101–10 (text and study without note of source); Roos in P. Viereck, A. G. Roos and E. Gabba (eds.), *Appiani Historia Romana*, i (Leipzig, 1962), 534–5 (text mainly following M. Treu's 1880 edition from a Paris MS.); comment on both passages in M. Stern (ed.), *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (3 vols., Jerusalem, 1974, 1980, 1984), ii, p. 178 and nos. 350, 348, respectively.

²⁶ Justin Martyr, *I Apol.* xxxi 6 *Barchochebas*; *Dial.* i 3; see [Chapter 1](#), n. 9, above.

²⁷ Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, ii, pp. 612–21, nos. 509–11.

²⁸ T. D. Barnes, *The Sources of the Historia Augusta* (Collection Latomus 155, Brussels, 1978), 47, 98, 102–7, 125; Barnes, 'The Sources of the Historia Augusta (1967–1992)', in G. Bonamente and G. Paci (eds.), *Historiae Augustae Colloquium Maceratense* (*Historiae Augustae Colloquia* N.S. iii, Bari, 1995), 1–28 (5–7, 16). Barnes, following R. Syme, envisages use in the *HA* here of a lost unknown biographer, sober and informative but supplemented by the compiler of the *HA* from the 'spicier' lost lives of the emperors from Nerva to Elagabalus by Marius Maximus (cited by name in *HA* Hadrian and Pius). Others attribute all this material to Marius Maximus, for example A. R. Birley, 'Indirect Means of Tracing Marius Maximus', in Bonamente and Paci (eds.), *Historiae Augustae Colloquium Maceratense*, 57–74; Birley, *Hadrian: the Restless Emperor* (London, 1997), 4–5 and n. 3. In either case the source material used would be from the Severan age. Possible use of at least one and perhaps several sources of more mixed character from this period is envisaged in a review of source theories by J. Fündling, *Kommentar zur Vita Hadriani der Historia Augusta* (*Antiquitas* Series 4, Beiträge zur Historia-Augusta-Forschung, Series 3, Kommentare 4; 2 vols., Bonn, 2006), i, 93–5, 112.

Cassius Dio

The fuller connected narratives surviving in historians are still not long, but again fortunately from differing standpoints. Cassius Dio, son of a governor of Cilicia and born at Nicaea in Bithynia c.163–4, was twice consul. He thus represents Roman senatorial circles, but in a characteristically Greek manner, loyally adopting what has been called an ‘imperial nationality’ but writing in Greek and fully representing the contemporary renaissance of Greek cultural life.²⁹ His history of Rome was written in the early third century.³⁰ The books (lxxviii–lxx) dealing with Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius survive, however, chiefly through a Byzantine epitome, made by John Xiphilinus in the eleventh century.³¹ Some passages are known, instead, from the tenth-century excerpts of Dio and other authors made by command of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, edited by H. de Valois (Valesius) in 1634.³² The passages preserved on the two revolts have the anecdotal quality which might appeal to excerptors, but they do not evince any obvious additions from Christian sources, and they lack the comment on the Jews’ destiny which is commonly found in Christian authors. The relevant excerpts of Xiphilinus thus suggest a fidelity to Dio’s language like that which has been detected in his treatment of Dio on Trajan’s Parthian War; ‘his method of abridgement is not so much condensation of phrase as selection of content’.³³

²⁹ Veyne, *L’empire gréco-romaine*, 171 (‘la nationalité impériale’); F. Millar, *A Study of Cassius Dio* (Oxford, 1964), 174–83, 189–92.

³⁰ E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, English translation rev. and ed. G. Vermes, F. Millar, M. Goodman, M. Black and P. Vermes (Edinburgh, i, 1973; ii, 1979; iii.1, 1986; iii.2, 1987), i, 65–6. See Dio’s own comments, *Hist.* lxxiii 23, discussed in the light of lxxvi (lxxvii) 2, 1 (the 202 eruption of Vesuvius heard in Capua, where Dio lived when in Italy) by Marta Sordi, ‘Le date di composizione dell’opera di Dione Cassio’, in M. Capasso and S. Pernigotti (eds.), *Studium atque Urbanitas: Miscellanea in onore di Sergio Daris* (Galatina [Lecce], 2001), 391–5, and F. Millar, ‘Rome in Greek Culture: Cassius Dio and Ulpian’, in L. Troiani and G. Zecchini (eds.), *La cultura storica nei due primi secoli dell’impero romano* (Centro ricerche e documentazione sull’antichità classica, Monograph 24; Rome, 2005), 17–40 (29–31); Millar concludes that Dio’s Roman history was written as far as the death of Septimius Severus (211) in the years 201–22, and then carried on to cover the period to the death of Severus Alexander (229).

³¹ N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London, 1983), 179; the epitomator was not John Xiphilinus, patriarch of Constantinople 1064–75, but his nephew of the same name, writing in the reign of Michael Ducas (1071–8).

³² U. P. Boissevain, *Cassii Dionis Cocceiani Historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt* (5 vols., Berlin, 1895–1931), i, p. ix.

³³ F. A. Lepper, *Trajan’s Parthian War* (London, 1948), 4–5; the similar general judgment on Dio in F. G. B. Millar, *A Study of Cassius Dio* (Oxford, 1964), 2, 195–203 is brought together with the observations on Book lxx by M. G. Schmidt, ‘Cassius Dio, Buch LXX. Bemerkungen zur Technik des Epitomators Ioannes Xiphilinos’, *Chiron* xix (1989), 55–9 (Xiphilinus sometimes uses other

Dio himself gives an admiring account of Jewish customs (followed also, as he notes, by foreigners) and of Jewish persistence in them despite persecution, in books which survive in full, in his narratives of Pompey and Sosius in Judaea (xxxvii 16, 5–17, 4; xlix 22, 3–23, 1, respectively).³⁴ Throughout he maintains a silence on Christianity which, given his third-century date, is striking and probably deliberate.³⁵ It suggests that, relatively speaking, his sympathies are with the Jews. Thus he notes that under Roman rule non-Jews who adopted Jewish customs, though often repressed, increased exceedingly, and won freedom for their way of life (xxxvii 17, 1); the Jews' own characteristic bitterness in wrath, manifested in terrible things (*deina*) done against Romans when Sosius was supporting Herod at the end of the Hasmonaeon age, was outdone by the extent of Jewish suffering (xlix 22, 4); and the Jews defending Jerusalem against Titus were assisted by fellow Jews from elsewhere in the Roman empire and from beyond the Euphrates, and even attracted deserters from the Roman camp (lxvi 4, 3; 5, 4). The atrocity stories (not paralleled in Eusebius) which mark his narrative of the Jewish rising in Cyrene, with a note of similar events in Egypt and Cyprus, must be viewed together with his earlier words on terrible things done and suffered by Jews, his comparable stories about the revolt of the Icenii in Britain (Cassius Dio lxii 7, 1–3), and his favourable general account of Judaism; they are unlikely either to have been added by Xiphilinus or to represent special anti-Jewish animus.³⁶

The Trajanic revolt figures in the epitome mainly through these sketches of savage Cyrenaic conflict, with a mention of Jewish leaders in Cyrene and Cyprus by name (lxviii 32, 1–3). Dio's account of uprisings in the eastern territories just conquered by Trajan in his Parthian expedition does not specify the Jews, but is consistent with Eusebius on their disaffection, and Trajan's harsh measures against it. The Hadrianic revolt, however, receives

sources in this book) by Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 160, nn. 7–8; she admits the possibility of additions, but allows that abbreviation may be more usual than addition in Xiphilinus.

³⁴ On Dio on the Jews see Millar, *A Study of Cassius Dio*, 178–9, and the extracts translated with comment in Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, ii, 347–407 (nos. 406–42).

³⁵ So Millar, *A Study of Cassius Dio*, 178–9; Maecenas's warning against new gods and alien rites in Cassius Dio lii 36, 2 is plausibly taken, further, as Dio's indirect encouragement of third-century imperial persecution of Christians, by M. Hengel, 'Überlegungen zu einer Geschichte des frühesten Christentums im 1. und 2. Jahrhundert', in C. Auffarth and J. Rüpke, with F. Fabricius and D. Püschel (eds.), *Epitome tes oikoumenes. Studien zur römischen Religion in Antike und Neuzeit für Hubert Cancik und Hildegard Cancik-Lindemaier* (Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 6, Wiesbaden, 2002), 139–71, repr. in M. Hengel, *Studien zum Urchristentum: Kleine Schriften VI*, ed. C.-J. Thornton (Tübingen, 2008), 313–52 (350).

³⁶ Thus their ascription to Xiphilinus rather than Dio is questioned, with comparison of lxii 7, by Stern (ed.), *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, ii, no. 437, p. 387; see further [Chapter 4](#), p. 188, below.

a more detailed narrative in Dio, who stresses once more the cohesion of Jews worldwide and notes non-Jewish participation in the revolt, but does not name any Jewish leader. Dio probably draws here on a literary source. He is close to a Roman military point of view, for instance in his description of underground Jewish refuges, some of which have now been identified (Ixix 12, 1–15, 1).³⁷

Dio then, when his revolt narratives are read together with his initial description of the Jews, notes reasons why Jews have sometimes suffered under Roman rule (in the same way he gives reasons for their indignation at the founding of Aelia Capitolina by Hadrian), and suggests that, despite calamities such as the revolts which he describes, the nation has in the end won toleration and gentile adherents. If, however, his revolt narratives are read on their own, the main impression left can be that of damage suffered by both Jews and Romans – an impression that can then more readily merge with the different overall view, soon to be taken by the Christian historian Eusebius, of the revolts as Jewish downfall.

Eusebius of Caesarea

Eusebius, born about 260, was educated at Caesarea in Palestine, where he was ordained and later became bishop. During his earlier years in the city (made a Roman colony by Vespasian) its Christian body, though considerable, may still have been smaller than its substantial third-century Jewish and Samaritan population, with which Christians had many contacts.³⁸ Like some other members of his community, no doubt, Eusebius represents a specifically Christian strain of Roman imperial patriotism; the divine Logos became manifest in Christ just ‘when the empire of the Romans was beginning’ (Eusebius, *H.E.* i 2, 23).³⁹

Eusebius’s historical works, the *Chronicle* and *Ecclesiastical History*, composed from the end of the third century onwards, overlap but are not

³⁷ At a relatively early stage of discovery these were discussed in the light of Dio’s report by A. Oppenheimer, ‘Subterranean Hideouts in the Judaean Shephelah: The Evidence of the Sources’ (in Hebrew), *Cathedra* 26 (1982), 24–9, English translation in A. Oppenheimer *Between Rome and Babylon*, ed. N. Oppenheimer (TSAJ 108, Tübingen, 2005), 256–62.

³⁸ A. Grafton and M. Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 2006), 122–3; on contact, L. I. Levine, *Caesarea under Roman Rule* (Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity 7, Leiden, 1975), 80–5; N. de Lange, *Origen and the Jews* (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 25, Cambridge, 1976), 1–2, 11–12, 27–8.

³⁹ Compare Eusebius, *P.E.* i 4: the world was freed from the tyranny of demons and the conflicts of many different rulers and nations when ‘rule by many was taken away among the Romans, and Augustus became sole ruler at the same time as our Saviour was manifested’. In *H.E.* i 2, 23 ‘empire’ (*basileia*) may then have the overtone of monarchical rule by a single emperor.

identical in the information they offer. With what J. B. Lightfoot called a 'portentous appetite for learning', Eusebius used the library built up by the Christian scholar Pamphilus in Caesarea, which may also have included pagan texts, and the archives of the church of Aelia Capitolina, and he formed his own book collection, which probably also included pagan authors.⁴⁰ He shows no sign, however, of knowing Cassius Dio, and evidently draws mainly on sources other than those used by Dio. Other Greek historical reports of the Trajanic uprising which Eusebius mentions and did use are now lost, as is the reference to Hadrian's punitive measures in the work of the second-century Christian apologist Aristo of Pella, whom he cites (see Eusebius, *H.E.* iv 2, 6; iv 6, 3).⁴¹ Similarly, Eusebius used the *Chronographies* of the early third-century Christian Palestinian author Julius Africanus, probably born in Aelia Capitolina, in five books running down to the year 221; these survive only in scattered quotations.⁴² In all, Eusebius's sources allow him a somewhat fuller account of insurgence under Trajan than under Hadrian, such that the Trajanic rising might perhaps appear to readers as yet more serious than Bar Kokhba's war. Orosius's treatment on the basis of Eusebius, considered below, underlines this point.

Eusebius is a Palestinian but non-Jewish interpreter of his sources. Thus he shares with the Mishnah, as quoted already (Sotah ix 14), the almost inevitable retrospective Judaeon view of the three revolts against Rome as a series.⁴³ Yet, when he uses the word *authis*, 'again', to note the recurrence of 'secession' from the Roman allegiance, *apostasias* (*H.E.* iv 2, 1; 6, 1), his stress can seem close to the pagan gibe that Jews are mutinous and misanthropic.⁴⁴ His Christian viewpoint emerges especially when, following Origen and other predecessors, he links the outbreaks with the consequences of the Crucifixion and the fulfilment of ancient prophecy. Hence it was that under

⁴⁰ Eusebius, *H.E.* vi 20, 1 (Aelia); 32, 3 (Pamphilus), discussed with other indications by J. B. Lightfoot, 'Eusebius of Caesarea', *DCB* ii 308–48 (309); Grafton and Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea*, 178–94, 210–12.

⁴¹ On dates suggested for the first editions of Eusebius's *Chronicle* and *History* see Chapter 4, n. 43, below; on his Greek sources for the Trajanic uprising see Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, iii, 26–30 (Appendix i, no. vii).

⁴² See Africanus, *Chronographiae*, ed. M. Wallraff, with U. Roberto and K. Pingerra, tr. W. Adler, *Julius Africanus, Chronographiae. The Extant Fragments* (GCS N.F. 15, Berlin, 2007), xvii–xviii, xxxi–xxxiv; O. Skarsaune, 'Fragments of Jewish Christian Literature Quoted in Some Greek and Latin Fathers', in O. Skarsaune and R. Hvalvik (eds.), *Jewish Believers in Jesus: The Early Centuries* (Peabody, MA, 2007), 325–78 (348–51).

⁴³ See Chapter 1, n. 11, above.

⁴⁴ Thus Euphrates the philosopher is represented as saying to Vespasian that 'those people have long ago rebelled (*aphestasin*) not just against the Romans, but against all men', in Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*, v 33, 4.

Trajan 'Jewish affairs reached a climax of disaster' and under Hadrian their 'madnesses' were mercilessly repressed in Judaea (*H.E.* iv 2, 1; 6, 1).

That which befell the Jews after the Crucifixion is indeed one of Eusebius's main themes, as noted at the beginning of his *History* (*H.E.* i 1, 2). In his *Chronicle* as well as his *History* he identifies the turbulence which unsettled the Jews as a foreordained retribution; it led finally to the banishment of Jews from Hadrian's new colony of Aelia Capitolina, on the site of Jerusalem.⁴⁵ This theme of retribution is, however, part of Eusebius's general scriptural view of history as under divine judgment; he explains the 'Great Persecution' of the church in the early fourth century in closely similar terms, as a foreordained retribution for sins (now, those of the church).⁴⁶ Whatever *Schadenfreude* he might have felt at Jewish calamities was then at least accompanied by a sense that the church too was under judgment; but he was in any case eager to show that the Jews had received the divine punishment which the prophets foretold, partly perhaps because otherwise, on the scriptural view of history just noted, the church's view that it was the divine and heavenly Logos of God who was embodied and suffered (*H.E.* i 2, 23) might lose credibility.⁴⁷

Yet Eusebius is informed as well as engaged. On the Trajanic revolt Eusebius's main non-Christian source evinces a topographical focus on Alexandria and Egypt which complements the focus on Cyrenaica found in Dio, and for its readiness to report Jewish success and its lack of atrocity stories has even (though probably incorrectly) been identified as a Greek-language Jewish source.⁴⁸ Still complementing Dio, Eusebius also, as already noted, cites Roman suspicion of the disaffection of Jews in Mesopotamia as the reason for Trajan's measures against them. On Bar

⁴⁵ Eusebius, *H.E.* i 1, 2 (he will record the consequences for the whole Jewish nation of their counsel against the Saviour), ii 6, 8 (risings and wars afflict them from that time until Vespasian), iii 5, 6–6, 1 (the 'tragedy' of their destruction in 70 was divinely ordained), iv 2, 1 (their disasters come to a height under Trajan, for there is 'again' a disturbance of the Jews), iv 6, 1 (Jewish rebellion 'again' becomes large-scale under Hadrian); *Chron.*, Hadrian xviii (leave for Jews to enter Jerusalem taken away first by divine decree declared through the prophets, second by Roman prohibition). For Eusebius as developing earlier Christian commonplaces on this subject see G. W. H. Lampe, 'AD 70 in Christian Reflection', in E. Bammel and C. F. D. Moule (eds.), *Jesus and the Politics of His Day* (Cambridge, 1984), 153–71.

⁴⁶ Eusebius, *H.E.* viii 1, 7–9, emphasized in comparison with Eusebius on Jewish disaster under Trajan and Hadrian by J. Ulrich, *Euseb von Caesarea und die Juden: Studien zur Rolle der Juden in der Theologie des Eusebius von Caesarea* (Patristische Texte und Studien, 49, Berlin, 1999), 139–46.

⁴⁷ The view that Eusebius presents Jewish downfall 'with a cry of joy', expressed by A. Momigliano, 'Pagan and Christian Historiography in the Fourth Century', in Momigliano (ed.), *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (Oxford, 1963), 80, is discussed in the light of Eusebius on divine judgment on both Jews and Christians by Ulrich, *Euseb von Caesarea und die Juden*, 139–40.

⁴⁸ By U. Wilcken, discussed in [Chapter 4](#), below.

Kokhba, somewhat comparably, Eusebius's Judaeian setting and Christian source material bring him closer than Dio to rabbinic sources; probably, as in the case of the contemporary Christian traditions of holy places studied by M. Halbwachs, Christians have here built upon Jewish 'collective memory'.⁴⁹ Like rabbinic texts, but unlike Dio, Eusebius names the provincial governor Tineius Rufus, his adversary 'Barchochebas' (so named earlier by Justin; the Bar Koziba of the rabbinic texts, as noted above), and Beththera (Bethar) as the place of the final siege (Eusebius, *H.E.* iv 6, 1–3; *Chron.*, Hadrian xvi–xvii). Eusebius's emphasis on Jewish downfall should then not be allowed to hide the value of his information.

Rabbinic literature

Rabbinic texts include indispensable source material for the wars under Trajan and Hadrian. Here lamentation for their disasters and, often, disapproval of them of as ventures, mingles with a sense of solidarity with Jews involved in them in various ways, and memorable stories of war, sanctity and martyrdom. Moreover, like Josephus on the First Revolt, rabbinic sources collectively present narratives of rebellion within a broader view of contemporary Jewish life and thought. This ranges from conditions of daily life in cities, towns and villages to political thought, messianic hope, and religion and learning more generally, with the study and application of Torah as the great central theme. It is through these sources principally that one gets a sense of the wars as part of, yet also interruptions and diversions of, what is in the end a continuous stream of Jewish life, culture and religion.

Eusebius shows by implication the importance of the Jewish diaspora beyond the eastern Roman frontier, in Mesopotamia and Babylonia. In his time Babylonia had become a great home of rabbinic study, rivalling Palestine. The wars had some part in this development. 'The Holy One, blessed be he, knows that Israel cannot bear the harsh decrees of Edom [Rome], and therefore he exiled them to Babylonia' was the dictum ascribed to a Babylonian, R. Hiyya, interpreting Job 28:23 with a hint that the 'place' of wisdom mentioned there had become Babylonia.⁵⁰ Hiyya himself had in fact moved to the Holy Land at the end of the second century, and the harsh Roman 'decrees' in his saying are probably repressive measures

⁴⁹ M. Halbwachs, *La topographie légendaire des évangiles en Terre sainte: Étude de mémoire collective* (1941; ed. M. Jaisson, with contributions from D. Hervieu-Léger, J.-P. Cléro, S. Gensburger and E. Brian, Paris, 2008), 137–40.

⁵⁰ Babylonian Talmud, Pes. 87b.

after the rising against Hadrian, and perhaps also later during unrest near the time of the Parthian expedition of Septimius Severus in 197.⁵¹ Yet, on the other side, a later Babylonian Jew who likewise migrated to the west is said to have declared, 'the air of the land of Israel makes one wise'.⁵² M. Avi-Yonah evoked the strength of Judaeans links with the eastern diaspora in the emphatic dictum: 'Palestine and Babylonian Jewries formed in fact one national body separated by an artificial political boundary'.⁵³

The rabbinic movement in these two regions originated the Hebrew and Aramaic writings which took shape from the second to the fifth centuries, mainly in Galilee, as the Mishnah and Tosefta and then the Jerusalem (Palestinian) Talmud, with separate but associated works of midrash, and in Babylonia, from the third to the sixth or seventh century, as the vast Babylonian Talmud.⁵⁴ This became the more authoritative and familiar of the two Talmuds, but both present debate on opinions of early rabbis, as assembled in the Mishnah and also as attested in other traditions.

The historical study of the whole literature, but especially its earliest parts, the Mishnah and Tosefta and allied works, was deeply affected by twentieth-century form-criticism and redaction-criticism, as integrated by Jacob Neusner with a historical reconstruction of rabbinic origins; the rabbinic movement could now be seen as developing from a relatively insignificant position in the time of Josephus (the extent of 'relatively' remained debatable) to a much more influential one a hundred years later.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Eusebius, *Chronicle*, Septimius Severus, v-vi (197-8) 'Jewish and Samaritan war stirred up; Severus overcomes the Parthians and the people of Adiabene'; Tertullian, *adv. Marc.* iii 24, 4 (visions of a heavenly city seen in Judaea during the eastern expedition of 197); Lam. R. i 41, on Lam. 1:13 (Simeon b. Yohai says, If you see a Parthian horse tethered in the land of Israel look for the feet of the messiah, for peace comes 'when the Assyrian shall come into our land' [Micah 5:4]), discussed with other evidence, and with regard to the more usual dismissal of the possibility of a rising, in W. Horbury, *Messianism among Jews and Christians: Twelve Biblical and Historical Studies* (Edinburgh, 2003), 285-8, reprinted from Horbury, 'Messianism among Jews and Christians in the Second Century', *Augustinianum* xxviii (1988), 71-88.

⁵² R. Zera I in Babylonian Talmud, Baba Bathra 158b; the saying is associated with other texts on his determination to migrate, including his deliberate forgetting of Babylonian talmudic tradition, by W. Bacher, *Die Agada der palästinensischen Amoräer* (3 vols., Strassburg, 1892, 1896, 1899, repr. Hildesheim, 1992), iii, 8.

⁵³ M. Avi-Yonah, *The Jews of Palestine: a Political History from the Bar Kokhba War to the Arab Conquest* (1946; author's revised English version, Oxford, 1976), 38.

⁵⁴ For a general introduction see especially G. Stemberger, *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch* (9th, fully rev. edn, Munich, 2011); Stemberger, *Introduction to Talmud and Midrash*, tr. and ed. M. Bockmuehl (2nd edn, Edinburgh, 1996).

⁵⁵ J. Neusner, *The Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees before 70* (3 vols., Leiden, 1971); Neusner, *Judaism: The Evidence of the Mishnah* (Chicago and London, 1981). On the impact and abiding significance of this work see Stemberger, as cited in the previous footnote; S. Schwartz, 'The Rabbi in Aphrodite's bath: Palestinian Society and Jewish Identity in the High Roman Empire', in S. Goldhill

The main theme of the rabbinic corpus is halakhah, 'walking', how to behave in accord with Jewish law; it also includes haggadah, 'telling', non-legal narrative and biblical interpretation. Haggadah is often found in the Jerusalem Talmud and the midrashim, but is specially prominent in the Babylonian Talmud. Thus narratives concerning the destruction of Jerusalem and Bethar are gathered there (Gittin 55b–58a) in connection with the Mishnah (Gittin v 6) on claims to land belonging to 'the slain in war'. The legendlike character of much haggadah recalls the point that the public teacher in the Jewish community, as in the early church, had to verge on the province of the Greek and Roman *aretalogus*, the entertaining narrator of the strange and noble acts of a deity, and other stories.⁵⁶ Halakhic debate sheds light on the wars, as in the case of the land question just noted; however, haggadic stories of the revolt and its aftermath, like those presented in this context in the Babylonian Talmud, narratives highly coloured in their very nature, form a major part of the rabbinic source material. A haggadic as well as halakhic topic of importance for the risings is messianism, seen among many other places in an assembly of messianic biblical interpretations in the Babylonian Talmud (Sanh. 96b–99a). Rabbinic reaction against messianic enthusiasm was linked with reaction against revolt, but in the end neither topic was excluded from Talmud and midrash, although neither is mentioned more than incidentally in the rabbinic works concentrated on halakhah which reflect the period immediately following the risings, the Mishnah, Tosefta and halakhic midrashim considered below.⁵⁷

(ed.), *Being Greek under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire* (Cambridge, 2001), 335–61 (346–50); Schwartz, 'Historiography on the Jews in the "Talmudic Period" (70–640CE)', in M. Goodman, J. Cohen and D. Sorkin (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies* (Oxford, 2002), 79–114.

⁵⁶ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 74 (Augustus entertained dinner guests with *aretalogi*); Juvenal, *Sat.* xv 15 (when Ulysses related his adventures some might have thought him a lying *aretalogus*). For *aretalogia* in the stricter sense of divine praises see Ecclus. 36:19 (14).

⁵⁷ P. S. Alexander, 'The Rabbis and Messianism', in M. Bockmuehl and J. Carleton Paget (eds.), *Redemption and Resistance: the Messianic Hopes of Jews and Christians in Antiquity* (London and New York, 2007), 227–44, stresses variations over time in rabbinic outlook; diversity of opinion within the movement, together with the rootedness of messianism in Pentateuchal and prophetic interpretation, helped, however, to ensure continuance of messianic hope even when rabbinic reservations were uppermost. For material attributed to second-century rabbinic teachers see J. Klausner, *Die messianischen Vorstellungen des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter der Tannaiten* (Berlin, 1904), revised and translated as *The Messianic Idea in Israel from Its Beginning to the Completion of the Mishnah* (London, 1956), 388–531; the works in which the relevant traditions in the name of second-century teachers are found are usually amoraic rather than tannaitic, but it is perhaps not surprising that this haggadic material did not find a place in the Mishnah, Tosefta or halakhic midrashim, which focus on halakhah and were probably compiled in an atmosphere of reaction against revolt.

The Mishnah, the Hebrew text which is the fundamental document of rabbinic literature, was compiled in Galilee at the beginning of the third century, probably under the aegis of R. Judah known as ha-Nasi, 'the prince'. His kinglike title, discussed in [Chapter 5](#), below, had earlier been used by Simeon bar Kosiba. The prestige of R. Judah ha-Nasi suggests that his position was that of the Jewish 'ethnarch' or 'patriarch' who is attested in Greek sources from Origen in the mid third century onwards.⁵⁸ Rabbinic tradition, debated by historians, traced the patriarchs, and the sanhedrin over which they presided, back to Rabban Johanan b. Zaccai at the time of the fall of Jerusalem in 70, with predecessors still further back.⁵⁹ According to this tradition, R. Judah ha-Nasi was immediately preceded by R. Simeon b. Gamaliel II, mentioned above as formerly identified with the 'Simeon' of revolt coinage; a legendarily developed insider's anecdote of the siege of Beththera is given in his name ([Chapter 5](#), below).

The traditions concerning Johanan b. Zaccai present well the two poles of Jewish opinion on revolt which are evident in Josephus and rabbinic literature. On the one hand, Johanan escaped from Jerusalem during the siege and hailed Vespasian as God's chosen conqueror and emperor. According to rabbinic tradition the great council of the nation, the sanhedrin, was reconstituted after 70 with Roman permission and under his influence at Jamnia, biblical Jabneh (II Chron. 26:6), near the coast south-west of Lydda; he is depicted as having belonged to non-Zealot circles in Jerusalem under siege. Through affirmation of loyalty to Rome, therefore, he gained peace for Torah study with colleagues and pupils – and peace too for the deeds of loving kindness which, the temple being destroyed, could now form Israel's acceptable sacrifice.⁶⁰ Such was the outlook of Josephus, of R. Judah ha-Nasi and his successors, and probably of many upper-class Jews who co-operated with Rome in the maintenance of order in their communities in Judaea and the diaspora.

On the other hand, it was related that when Johanan lay dying he called on his disciples to 'remove the vessels lest they become

⁵⁸ Origen, *Ep. Afr.* xiv, discussed by de Lange, *Origen and the Jews*, 33–4; C. Hezser, *The Social Structure of the Rabbinic Movement in Roman Palestine* (TSAJ 66, Tübingen, 1997), 408–10.

⁵⁹ For a mediaeval formulation of this tradition in a continuous narrative see a work considered below, Abraham ibn Daud, *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*, ii–iii, in G. D. Cohen, *A Critical Edition with a Translation and Notes of the Book of Tradition (Sefer ha-Qabbalah) by Abraham ibn Daud* (London, 1967), 11–23 (Hebrew text), 16–31 (English translation).

⁶⁰ Lam. R. i 31, on Lam. i 5; Aboth de-Rabbi Nathan, version A, iv, 11b–12a; Babylonian Talmud, Gittin 56 a–b; discussion, detecting more and less favourable attitudes to the rebel cause in different versions, in P. Schäfer, 'Die Flucht Johanan b. Zakkais aus Jerusalem und die Gründung des "Lehrhauses" in Jabne', *ANRW* ii.19.2 (1979), 43–101.

unclean' – through the presence of a corpse – 'and set a throne for Hezekiah king of Judah, who is coming' – the messianic king to whom God would transfer the kingdom which had been committed to the gentiles for a time, as prophesied in Daniel 7.⁶¹ This tradition returns one to the atmosphere of hope for national messianic redemption which surrounded the risings in the years after Johanan's death. This hope could be held consistently with loyalty to gentile rule during its allotted span, 'until the times of the gentiles be fulfilled' (Luke 21:24), as was probably the case with Philo, Josephus and many others; it could also, however, get the upper hand.

In the language of the rabbinic movement as it developed, with its emphasis on learning and teaching through repetition, the teachers down to the time of the Mishnah are known as Tannaim, 'repeaters' or 'teachers' of a body of tradition which accompanies scripture, and their successors down to the beginning of the sixth century are Amoraim, 'sayers of' or 'commentators on' the tannaitic teachings. Among the Tannaim, the martyred R. Akiba is said to have hailed Bar Kokhba as the star from Jacob, the messiah; characteristically of this material, the attribution of the saying to Akiba's name in particular, and the form of the saying itself, are both debatable, although the opinion represented by the saying will belong to the period to which the attribution assigns it.⁶² That Bar Kokhba was hailed as messiah is indeed explicitly stated only in rabbinic literature; neither Justin nor Eusebius says this in so many words, despite (or perhaps partly because of) the interest in 'false messiahs' in the apocalyptic strand in Christianity. Names from the early post-war period to which sayings or stories of war under Trajan and Hadrian are attached include those of Simeon b. Yohai and Judah b. Ilai, pictured as anti-Roman and pro-Roman, respectively

⁶¹ Babylonian Talmud, Ber. 28b; without the explanatory 'who is coming', but still probably with the same sense, in the Jerusalem Talmud, Sotah ix 17, 24c (noting also a version of the saying without Hezekiah, set aside by others who believe that Johanan, in a deathbed vision, 'saw what he saw'); Abodah Zarah, iii 1, 42c. See Klausner, *Die messianischen Vorstellungen des jüdischen Volkes*, 6, 69–70, revised in *The Messianic Idea in Israel*, 396, 464–5; M. Hadas-Lebel, 'Hezekiah as King Messiah: Traces of an Early Jewish-Christian Polemic in the Tannaitic Tradition', in J. Targarona Borrás and A. Sáenz-Badillos (eds.), *Jewish Studies at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (2 vols., Leiden, New York and Boston, 1999), i, 275–81. She suggests that Johanan, in accord with his peace-loving attitude, envisaged a coming peaceful messianic king helped by God with a miracle, as happened with Hezekiah, in polemical contrast with the highly coloured contemporary Christian expectations of the return of Christ. Perhaps, however, Hezekiah was considered a conqueror, for Psalm 110 was applied to him by second-century Jews, according to Justin Martyr, *Dial.* xxxiii 1, lxxxiii 1–3. This would not rule out the suggested polemical overtone.

⁶² P. Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 168–9; Schäfer, 'Bar Kokhba and the Rabbis', in Schäfer (ed.), *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, 2–5.

(see chapters 4 and 5, below). Their hearers are said to have included R. Judah ha-Nasi, who was born, according to later tradition, on the day of Akiba's martyrdom.⁶³

Among the Amoraim in Galilee, the early third-century Johanan bar Nappaha ('son of the smith'), who learned from R. Judah ha-Nasi and his circle, is cited as transmitter of legendarily enhanced stories of the Bar Kokhba war, sometimes in the name of Simeon b. Yohai (Chapter 5, below). Akiba the martyr and his pupil Simeon b. Yohai, who took long-term refuge from the Romans in a cave, are figures venerated on other grounds too. Akiba was viewed as a Torah interpreter to rival Moses himself, and Simeon was seen as a mystic to whom the Zohar could later be attributed; both have become in some sense the heroes of a favourable interpretation of the Bar Kokhba war. A striking feature of the rabbinic texts as a whole remains, however, the presentation of negative judgments on revolt.⁶⁴ Influential here was the claim in the Babylonian Talmud (Sanh. 93b) that, when the Wise saw that Bar Kokhba did not judge 'by scent', as promised for the messiah (Isa. 11:3–4), they slew him.⁶⁵

The Mishnah's sister compilation, the Tosefta, cited above on Cozbian coins, was probably redacted somewhat later in the third century. Overlapping extensively with the Mishnah, it has important material of its own. Mishnah, Tosefta and Talmud are all topically arranged in treatises on largely the same series of subjects of legal debate, as instanced above in respect of Mishnah and Talmud on Gittin, 'bills of divorce'.

For study of the risings under Trajan and Hadrian the Mishnah is particularly valuable as a compilation of older traditions made in Severan Palestine, roughly at the time of the reports and allusions in Cassius Dio and the sources of the *Historia Augusta*. These traditions, with related material in the Tosefta, illuminate many details of Jewish life and occasionally refer directly or indirectly to revolt, as in the Tosefta on coinage, or on men who were re-circumcised at the time of Bar Kokhba (Chapter 5, below), or in the Mishnah on 'the war of Quietus' (Chapter 4, below) and on underground

⁶³ Ecclesiastes 1:5 'the sun also ariseth, and the sun goeth down', as interpreted in the name of Abba bar Kahana (late third-century Galilee) in Ecclesiastes R. i 5, 1 and, in connection with Gen. 23:1 'these were the years of the life of Sarah', in Ber. R. lviii 2.

⁶⁴ Recurrence of negative judgments in modern Israel alongside the positive one, which had been paramount, and varying images of Akiba and Simeon b. Yohai, are sketched by Y. Zerubavel, 'Bar Kokhba's Image in Modern Israeli Culture', in Schäfer (ed.), *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, 279–97.

⁶⁵ On the relation of this story with the differing account of Bar Kokhba's death in the Jerusalem Talmud and Lamentations Rabbah see Chapter 5, below.

hiding places and the times of ‘danger’ and of ‘the slain in war’ (Chapter 5, below).⁶⁶

Perhaps the most famous Mishnaic reference is in one of a number of retrospective explanations of established fast-days, in this case that of 9 Ab: ‘on 9 Ab it was decreed against our fathers that they should not enter the land [Num. 14:26–45, Ps. 95:10–11], and the house of the sanctuary was destroyed the first and the second time, and Bethther was taken, and the city was ploughed’ (Mishnah, Taanith iv 6; see Chapter 5, below). R. Judah ha-Nasi himself is said to have wished to uproot the fast of 9 Ab, a view which would be consonant with reservations on messianism and revolt, and with a governing position recognized by Roman authority.⁶⁷ The survival of this tradition in the Mishnah, none the less, is probably an index of the power of old hopes. The fast of 9 Ab formed a relatively authorized focus for the ardent ‘mourning for Zion’ which almost compelled divine attention to the loss of the temple by rigid continual abstinence from flesh and wine.⁶⁸ Lastly, for reconstruction of expectations surrounding both risings it is notable that the Mishnah comparably preserves traditions concerning Israel as governed by high priest and king, as keeping the pilgrim-feasts in the temple, and as offering the appointed sacrifices.

Biblical exegesis and homily have their own literary genre in the Midrash (‘interpretation’), often arranged in the form of commentary. To the period of the Mishnah and Tosefta are traditionally assigned the ‘halakhic midrashim’ on Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy (Mekhilta, Sifra, Sifre and others); the teachers named in them are mainly from before the time of the Mishnah, so that these are also known as the ‘tannaic midrashim’. These works probably underwent a series of redactions, only the first of which would have been about the time of the compilation of the Mishnah.⁶⁹ Particularly notable from this corpus is a version in Sifra of the story of Pappus and Lulianus, martyrs at the time of Trajan

⁶⁶ On the Mishnah and Tosefta see Stemberger, *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch*, 123–82; Neusner, *Judaism: the Evidence of the Mishnah*; R. Reichman, ‘The Tosefta and Its Value for Historical Research: Questioning the Historical Reliability of Case Stories’, in M. Goodman and P. Alexander (eds.), *Rabbinic Texts and the History of Late Roman Palestine* (Proceedings of the British Academy 165, Oxford, 2010), 117–27.

⁶⁷ Jerusalem Talmud, Taan. iv 9, 69c; Meg. i 6, 70c; Babylonian Talmud, Meg. 5b; discussed by Avi-Yonah, *The Jews of Palestine*, 70–1; 109.

⁶⁸ Tosefta, Sotah xv 10–15, stating ‘When the house of the sanctuary was destroyed, separated ones [ascetics] multiplied in Israel, and they ate no flesh and drank no wine . . .’, discussed by Klausner, *Die messianischen Vorstellungen des jüdischen Volkes*, 44–5, revised in *The Messianic Idea in Israel*, 437–9; Alexander, ‘The Rabbis and Messianism’, 231–2.

⁶⁹ G. Stemberger, ‘Halakhic Midrashim as Historical Sources’, in Goodman and Alexander (eds.), *Rabbinic Texts and the History of Late Roman Palestine*, 129–42.

(Chapter 4, below). ‘The war in Judah’, probably that under Hadrian, is the setting of an anecdote of mopping-up operations in Sifre on Deuteronomy.⁷⁰

Third-century and later teachings of the Amoraim were incorporated into the two Talmuds, but in Palestine they also entered the ‘amoraic midrashim’, large-scale compilations of midrash with much haggadic material, notably the Midrash Rabbah (‘great midrash’) on the Pentateuch and the Five Rolls. Genesis (Bereshith) Rabbah, Leviticus Rabbah, and Lamentations Rabbah are probably all substantially from the fifth century.⁷¹

More material relevant to the revolts under Trajan and Hadrian is found in these sources. Thus a series of texts on the disaster of Bethar begins with the Mishnah (Ta’anith iv 6, already quoted), but goes on with longer collections of anecdotes in the Talmud and midrash (Jerusalem Talmud, Ta’anith iv 8, 68d–69b; Babylonian Talmud, Gittin 55a–58a, cited already; Midrash Rabbah on Lamentations, ii 4). In modern study the whole has been termed the ‘Bethar-complex’.⁷² Here narrative proliferates, but the siege is also attested in Eusebius, and the war conditions envisaged sometimes correspond to those indicated by archaeological finds. Other scattered passages on Bar Kokhba could be brought together with the Bethar-complex and the stories of refugees and martyrs to provide a consecutive narrative, as emerges from the mediaeval accounts by Maimonides and, most fully, from Raymund Martini, summarized below. The nineteenth-century historical study by Joseph Derenbourg also noted below showed somewhat comparably how much can be gathered simply from rabbinic sources.

An important passage for both risings is the story in the Midrash Rabbah on Genesis (Ber. R. lxiv 10, on Gen. 26:28–9) that Jews riot on learning that Roman permission for the rebuilding of the temple will be effectively withdrawn, but are calmed by the wisdom of R. Joshua ben Hananiah. Here the midrash brings out a Jewish grievance, the unremedied loss of the sanctuary, which is indicated but not emphasized in the Greek sources; moreover, it also suggests the importance of attempts by communal leaders to maintain loyalty to the Roman government, a point perhaps taken for granted but at any rate not brought out in the brief Greek narratives of Jewish rebellion. Then a reflection on revolt against Rome is preserved in comment on the adjuration in the Song of Solomon ‘not

⁷⁰ Sifre Deut. 322, on 32:30, discussed in Chapter 5, below.

⁷¹ Stemberger, *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch*, 310, 317, 323.

⁷² For the phrase see Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, x and passim.

to awake or stir up love' prematurely, taken as a warning against rebellion before the time appointed for redemption through divine love; the Bar Kokhba war is cited as an example (Midrash Rabbah on Song of Solomon 2:7).⁷³

Many rabbinic sources for the history of the revolts thus come from the two Talmuds and the amoraic midrashim.⁷⁴ During most of the modern period the fifth-century and later dates of these works have caused a proper hesitation over their historical use in study of the early Roman empire.⁷⁵ This hesitation is reinforced by the legendary character of the haggadah. In the Jerusalem Talmud these characteristics are combined with a Judean standpoint.⁷⁶ The Babylonian Talmud requires its own approach, with distinction between material attributed to Babylonian and Judean authorities and attention to special conditions of the Babylonian diaspora – but also to the links between Babylonian and Judean rabbinic circles.⁷⁷ Some contacts between Talmud and midrash on the one hand, and non-Jewish source material on the other, suggest that even late rabbinic sources should not be ruled out for historical purposes.⁷⁸

This point was made for sixteenth-century Jewish readers when Azariah de' Rossi compared the Jerusalem Talmud (Sukkah v 1, 55 a–b), and parallels in the midrash, on Trajan's massacre of Jews in Alexandria, with gentile

⁷³ Continued interpretation of the verse in this sense, now without special reference to Bar Kokhba, is exemplified at Babylonian Talmud, Ket. 111a (discussion in the name of Babylonian teachers); Maimonides, Epistle to the Yemen, in A. S. Halkin, *Moses Maimonides' Epistle to Yemen*, ed. and tr. B. Cohen (New York, 1952), xx, 105.

⁷⁴ Relevant material is surveyed in Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*; Schäfer (ed.), *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*; G. Stemmerger, *Die römische Herrschaft im Urteil der Juden* (Darmstadt, 1983), 75–86.

⁷⁵ Early modern debate on this point is illustrated in W. Horbury, 'The New Testament and Rabbinic Study: An Historical Sketch', in R. Bieringer, F. García Martínez, D. Pollefeyt and P. J. Tomson (eds.), *The New Testament and Rabbinic Literature* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism, 136, Leiden, 2010), 1–40 (35–8).

⁷⁶ On the Jerusalem Talmud in the light of these considerations see S. Stern, 'The Talmud Yerushalmi', in Goodman and Alexander (eds.), *Rabbinic Texts and the History of Late Roman Palestine*, 143–64.

⁷⁷ R. Kalmin, 'Problems in the Use of the Babylonian Talmud for the History of Late-Roman Palestine: the Example of Astrology', in Goodman and Alexander (eds.), *Rabbinic Texts and the History of Late Roman Palestine*, 165–83 (166–9).

⁷⁸ This point is made (with emphasis also on examination of the origins of apparent contacts) by G. Stemmerger, 'Rabbinic Sources for Historical Study', in J. Neusner and A. J. Avery-Peck (eds.), *Judaism in Late Antiquity*, Part 3, *Where We Stand: Issues and Debates in Ancient Judaism*, i (Leiden, Boston and Cologne, 1999), 169–86 (one of a number of essays on this topic collected here). On general problems of using rabbinic sources for historical reconstruction see also B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire: The Roman Army in the East* (1990, rev. edn Oxford, 1992), 7–9; M. D. Goodman, *State and Society in Roman Galilee, AD 132–212* (1983, 2nd edn London, 2000), x–xi (rabbinic texts are best used as sources for places and times near those in which they were compiled, but old material may survive in later texts), 4–14; Goodman and Alexander (eds.), *Rabbinic Texts and the History of Late Roman Palestine*.

accounts of his repression of revolt there.⁷⁹ Historians often judge that the traditions presented in the rabbinic compilations can best be used as evidence for the particular regions in which the compilations were formed and for the times close to their dates of redaction.⁸⁰ Contacts with non-rabbinic sources and differences between traditions attributed within the texts to different generations and settings suggest, however, that a critical approach to Talmud and midrash may also sometimes permit the discernment of impressions formed in second- and third-century Judaea.⁸¹

Palestine from about the fifth century onwards also saw the rise of Hebrew and Aramaic liturgical poetry (*piyyut*), which can illustrate the continuing near-martyrological remembrance of 'the slain' in these wars, collectively and individually.⁸² Piyyutim can also express a sometimes militant messianism which may, considered cautiously, help to suggest the kind of hope current during the risings.⁸³ The Aramaic biblical versions known collectively as the Targums go back in their earliest parts to Judaea before the time of the Mishnah, but their often periphrastic renderings have much in common with rabbinic exegesis of the third to the fifth centuries, and later. It is then likely that the messianism which the Targums too express is sometimes in touch with Jewish opinions of the second and third centuries, including argument for and against revolt; but attempts to connect particular passages more closely with the risings can seem precarious.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ Azariah de' Rossi, *Me'or Enayim*, iii 1, 12, in Joanna Weinberg, *The Light of the Eyes* [by] Azariah de' Rossi, translated from the Hebrew with an introduction and annotations (Yale Judaica Series 31, New Haven and London, 2001), 239–51.

⁸⁰ Examples of this approach are Goodman, *State and Society in Roman Galilee, AD 132–212*, x–xi, with allowance, as noted, for the survival of old material; Alexander, 'The Rabbis and Messianism', 227, with a similar allowance.

⁸¹ For this conclusion compare Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 8, and Goodman, as cited in n. 8; P. S. Alexander, 'Using Rabbinic Literature as a Source for the History of Late-Roman Palestine: Problems and Issues', in Goodman and Alexander (eds.), *Rabbinic Texts and the History of Late Roman Palestine*, 7–24.

⁸² So for example Yose ben Yose, *Efhad be-ma'asay*, 47, on God's own remembrance of Israel and 'her slain'; Qalir, *Oholi eykhah gillu qedeshim* (a poem for 9 Ab), 43–4, 'Lulianus and Pappus were slain in Adar'. See 'Suffering and Messianism in Yose ben Yose', reprinted from W. Horbury and B. McNeil (eds.), *Suffering and Messianism in the New Testament* (Cambridge, 1981), 143–82 in W. Horbury, *Messianism among Jews and Christians*, 289–327 (299); Horbury, 'Pappus and Lulianus in Jewish Resistance to Rome', in J. Targarona Borrás and A. Sáenz-Badillos (eds.), *Jewish Studies at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (2 vols., Leiden, New York and Boston, 1999), i, 289–95; in general, W. J. van Bekkum, 'The Future of Ancient Piyyut', in Goodman and Alexander (eds.), *Rabbinic Texts and the History of Late Roman Palestine*, 217–33.

⁸³ Horbury, 'Suffering and Messianism in Yose ben Yose', 304–27.

⁸⁴ Several examples are reviewed with this conclusion by C. T. R. Hayward, 'Targum', in Goodman and Alexander (eds.), *Rabbinic Texts and the History of Late Roman Palestine*, 235–52. Another instance is Micah 7:11 'A day for building thy walls, in that day shall the decree be far removed', rendered in Targum Jonathan 'At that time the congregation of Israel shall be built, at that time the

Prophecy attesting Jewish hope

The place of the pamphlets, poems and declarations which have heralded and stated the aims of modern uprisings is to some extent supplied by the catchwords and formulae of Bar Kokhba coins and documents, viewed together with the coinage of the First Revolt. A supplement is offered, however, by Jewish prophecies, prayers and biblical interpretations current in the early Roman empire, especially in connection with messianism. The formulae of 'liberty' and 'redemption' used internally suit both a realistic political programme and a messianic hope for help from above (see [Chapter 3](#), below); sharp distinction between the two is indeed characteristically modern, for in the messianism associated with the biblical books 'political' and 'religious' strands are intertwined. Hence attestations of Jewish hope from near the times of Trajan and Hadrian can be used with due caution to evoke some overtones of the internal formulae.⁸⁵

The rabbinic messianic interpretations noted already contribute here, but several apocalypses and other works attesting Jewish hope can be dated after 70 and not far from the time of the risings. Among prayers used (not solely) in Judaea, a great example is formed by the Eighteen Benedictions, considered in [Chapter 3](#), below. Among prophetic writings current in the diaspora, the fifth Sibylline book pictures vengeance for the destruction of Jerusalem, wrought by a warrior-king coming in Danielic fashion from the skies (compare 'with the clouds of heaven', Dan. 7:13); in this Jewish Greek verse composition the Sibyl is almost the prophetess of the diaspora revolt.⁸⁶

decreed of the gentiles shall be taken away'; this interpretation could suit the later second century, after the end of repressive 'decrees' following Bar Kokhba's rising, but it emerges readily from verse 11 as viewed in the context of the following verse, and more detail would be desirable to set it firmly in the early post-revolt context which was suggested by P. Churgin, *Targum Jonathan to the Prophets* (New Haven, 1927), 28. The Targums commonly considered older, Onkelos on the Pentateuch and Jonathan on the Prophets, give messianic interpretations of prophecies including Gen. 49:10, Num. 24:7; 17, I Sam. 2:10, Isa. 11:1–10. On the messianism of the Pentateuchal Targums see especially M. Pérez Fernández, *Tradiciones mesiánicas en el Targum Palestinense* (Institución san Jerónimo, 12; Valencia and Jerusalem, 1981).

⁸⁵ A sensitive minimal approach to the possible influence of messianism on the risings is outlined in M. Goodman, 'Messianism and Politics in the Land of Israel, 66–135 CE', in Bockmuehl and Carleton Paget (eds.), *Redemption and Resistance*, 158–70; a greater place for messianism is envisaged below, as affecting the atmosphere in which risings occurred, but it is taken that, just as mysticism is often united with practical gifts, so messianism is consistent with practical politics.

⁸⁶ J. Geffcken, *Die Oracula Sibyllina* (GCS 8, Leipzig, 1902); annotated translations by H. N. Bate, *The Sibylline Oracles, Books iii–v* (London, 1918), J. J. Collins, 'Sibylline Oracles', in J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols., London, 1983, 1985), i, 317–472 (390–405); on the Sibyl and revolt under Trajan, Hengel, 'Messianische Hoffnung und politischer "Radikalismus" in der "jüdisch-hellenistischen Diaspora"'. Zur Frage der Voraussetzungen des jüdischen Aufstandes unter Trajan 115–117 n. Chr., 326–32.

Yet for Jews in general at the time of Trajan and Hadrian the most authoritative prophecies of national hope will have been those found in the law of Moses, the Pentateuch, as interpreted in the early second century. The prestige of what 'Moses handed down in his secret scroll' (Juvenal) was great enough to be clear to non-Jews, and a copy of the law from the Jerusalem temple had been carried in Titus's triumph in 71 (Josephus, *B.J.* vii 150; 162).⁸⁷ Within the Pentateuch the prophecies of Jacob, Balaam and Moses himself on Israel's destiny all speak of future empire and the overthrow of foes.

Indications of Pentateuchal interpretation current in the period from Augustus to Hadrian can be gathered first of all from the widely current Septuagint translation with the comments of Philo of Alexandria and Josephus, all in Greek.⁸⁸ Hebrew and Aramaic interpretation of relevant passages is attested in biblical paraphrase and exposition in Qumran texts; these writings originated in Hasmonaean Judaea but attest interpretation which was probably still important in the early Roman empire, when the Hebrew- and Aramaic-language interpretative tradition begins to be attested again in rabbinic texts.⁸⁹ The Peshitta Pentateuch in Syriac, probably of Jewish origin, is perhaps from the second century near the time of the risings.⁹⁰ These interpretations can be viewed with the Targums in Aramaic, just discussed.

All these Pentateuchal renderings combine to present realistically expressed hope for national messianic deliverance. Thus in Balaam's prophecy, 'water shall flow from his [Israel's] buckets' (Num. 24:7) the explanatory rendering 'a man shall come forth from his seed' is shared by the Septuagint and the Peshitta, and Targum Onkelos 'a king shall proceed from his sons' brings out the implied sense further. This prophecy,

⁸⁷ The proselyte gives up Roman customs and instead reveres Jewish law, *tradidit arcano quodcunque volumine Moses* (Juvenal, *Sat.* xiv 102).

⁸⁸ On Septuagintal prophecies of Jewish empire see 'Monarchy and Messianism in the Greek Pentateuch', in M. A. Knibb (ed.), *The Septuagint and Messianism* (BETL 195, Leuven, 2006), 79–128; on Septuagintal development of prophecy concerning specific places in Egypt and elsewhere, [Chapter 4](#), below; on other aspects of the Septuagintal representation of power, 'combining the discourse of accommodation with the spirit of independence', see T. Rajak, *Translation and Survival: The Greek Bible of the Ancient Jewish Diaspora* (Oxford, 2009), 204–9.

⁸⁹ G. J. Brooke, 'Kingship and Messianism in the Dead Sea Scrolls', in J. Day (ed.), *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Sheffield, 1998), 434–55; M. A. Knibb, 'Eschatology and Messianism in the Dead Sea Scrolls', in P. W. Flint and J. C. Vanderkam (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years* (2 vols., Leiden, Boston and Cologne, 1999), 379–402; on the relation of Qumran and Septuagintal attestations of messianism, see Horbury, 'Monarchy and Messianism in the Greek Pentateuch', 105–7.

⁹⁰ For the earlier books of the Peshitta a date around 150 was suggested by M. P. Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament: An Introduction* (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 56, Cambridge, 1999), 258.

after which Balak dismisses Balaam for blessing the enemies he was hired to curse, is tied through these renderings to Balaam's last word before he goes: 'there shall come forth a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel' (Num. 24:17), the prophecy applied to Bar Kokhba. Here the Septuagint renders 'sceptre' explanatorily again by 'man', the Peshitta by 'head', and Targum Onkelos by 'messiah'. Among Qumran interpretations, the Damascus Document (CD-A vii 19–20) had understood the 'star' and the 'sceptre' as two future ruling figures, the Interpreter of the law (corresponding to the high priest) and the Prince (*nasi*) of the congregation (corresponding to the king) – a dyarchy of the kind suggested later by the Bar Kokhba coin legends ([Chapter 5](#), below).⁹¹

Interpretation held such predictions in 'the Law' together with others of like significance in 'the Prophets'. Especially influential was the world-historical prophecy in Daniel 7, mentioned already. In Daniel's vision here the divinely permitted sovereignty of four successive gentile kingdoms is to be ended by the everlasting kingdom of the saints of the Most High, the people of God, represented by one like a son of man coming with the clouds of heaven; the fourth and last gentile kingdom was identified with Rome.⁹²

These biblical texts, versions and interpretations, representing the Greek- and Aramaic-speaking diaspora as well as Judaea, where Aramaic prevailed but Greek was also used, help to interpret other expressions of hope from prayers, apocalypses, and rabbinic writings. Prayers are discussed in [Chapter 3](#), below. Among writings of a prophetic kind, bitter anti-Romanism from the Flavian period or later, together with hope for Israelite national redemption at the hands of a messianic figure, marks not only the fifth Sibylline book, but also the apocalypses of Ezra (II Esdras or IV Ezra, preserved in Latin, chapters 3–14), Baruch (II Baruch, the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch), and St John (the Revelation, preserved in Greek and eventually regarded in the church as a book of the New Testament). II Esdras and II Baruch are cited and discussed in [Chapter 3](#), below. In Rev. 11:1–13 two witnesses, who are the two olive trees of Zechariah 4, prophesy and burn up their enemies with fire from their mouths while the gentiles tread down the outer temple court and the holy city. This vision reflects the old idea of a dyarchy noted already in the Damascus Document and Bar Kokhba coinage, and fire from the mouth, often attested for messianic figures in fulfilment of Isa. 11:4 'with the breath of his lips he shall slay the

⁹¹ For the foregoing see Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 70; Horbury, 'Monarchy and Messianism in the Greek Pentateuch', 121–4.

⁹² For further discussion see [Chapter 3](#), below.

wicked', is also part of the Bar Kokhba legend; but the vision with its focus on the temple and Jerusalem is better suited to the the siege of Jerusalem in 69–70, as suggested by Wellhausen (for 11:1–2) and others, than to the Bar Kokhba rising.⁹³

There are also traces of Jewish hope for national 'redemption', focused as in the Revelation on the figure of Christ, in the two-volume Greek history consisting of the Gospel of St Luke and the Acts of the Apostles, a narrative in touch with prayer and prophecy; again, this is commonly dated in the Flavian period. In passages peculiar to Luke within the gospel tradition, God works 'redemption for his people' and Jews await 'the redemption of Jerusalem' (a phrase recalling the coin legends) when, in the Danielic terms taken up in Luke, 'the times of the gentiles shall be fulfilled'; the disciples have hoped that Christ 'would redeem Israel' (Luke 1:68, 2:38, 21:28, 24:21). In Acts they ask accordingly if he will 'restore the kingdom to Israel', and Moses is called a 'redeemer' (Acts 1:6, 7:35).⁹⁴

For all these three apocalypses and Luke–Acts, or for their principal redaction, a Flavian or early post-Flavian dating is here regarded as probable.⁹⁵ From time to time, however, all have been dated about twenty or more years after Domitian's death, and most have occasionally been linked more closely with the risings themselves.⁹⁶ Here they are taken as witnesses, during or at the end of the Flavian period, to Jewish hopes which are likely still to have been current under Trajan and Hadrian. On this

⁹³ J. Wellhausen, 'Zur apokalyptischen Literatur', in Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi (Berlin, 1899), 215–49 (221–3); R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St John* (International Critical Commentary, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1920), i, 269–92, discussing Wellhausen; Hengel, *Die Zeloten*, 244 (11:1–2 reflects a Zealot prophecy from Jerusalem in the siege); D. E. Aune, *Revelation 6–16* (Word Biblical Commentaries 52B, Nashville, 1998), 588 (11:1–13 is a reworked form of a Palestinian tradition dating from before the fall of Jerusalem in 70). Contrast T. Witulski, *Apk 11 und der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand. Eine zeitgeschichtliche Interpretation* (WUNT 2.337, Tübingen, 2012) (Chapter 11 reflects Bar Kokhba's rising).

⁹⁴ For discussion of the source of these passages in Luke–Acts and its nationally oriented view of redemption see L. Gaston, *No Stone on Another: Studies of the Significance of the Fall of Jerusalem in the Synoptic Gospels* (Supplements to Novum Testamentum 23, Leiden, 1970), 244–369 (254–67, 275–8, 291–8, 312–13).

⁹⁵ For arguments see Schürer, iii.1, 300 (II Esdras); iii.2, 752–3 (II Baruch); C. K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (International Critical Commentary, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1994, 1998), ii, xlii–xliii; Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St John*, i, xci–xcvii.

⁹⁶ See for example F. Rosenthal, *Vier apokryphische Bücher aus der Zeit und Schule R. Akiba's: Asumptio Mosis, Das vierte Buch Esra, Die Apokalypse Baruch, Das Buch Tobi* (Leipzig, 1885); from later years, the Ezra-apocalypse completed c.120: G. H. Box (1912); II Baruch completed c.120: P. Bogaert (1969); the Revelation of St John completed in the 130s: T. Witulski (2007, 2012); Luke–Acts completed c.115 (J. C. O'Neill, 1961; R. I. Pervo, 2009). For these see the Select bibliography under authors' names.

dating they also suggest Jewish restiveness in the period from Vespasian to the outbreak under Trajan, discussed in [Chapter 3](#), below.

One diaspora Jewish prophecy, however, probably does reflect the impact of Trajan's Parthian campaign on Mesopotamian Jews. This is the fragmentarily attested revelation of Elchasai, reported in the early third century by the Roman Christian Hippolytus (*Ref.* ix 16, 4) and discussed in [Chapter 4](#), below.

A second group of prophecies, all preserved in Christian texts, foretell negatively viewed messianic figures, who have sometimes been conjecturally identified with leaders of revolt under Trajan or Hadrian. Thus the Matthaean form of the 'synoptic apocalypse', the prophecy spoken by Christ on the Mount of Olives, found with variations in each of the first three gospels, envisages that false teachers will say 'I am the messiah' (Matt. 24:5). It has accordingly been related to Bar Kokhba by F. C. Baur, H. Graetz and others; however, the language may be influenced by the plural 'false messiahs', shortly to be mentioned (24:24), and the gospel, known by the mid second century and probably to be dated earlier than that, is unlikely to be late enough to allow this interpretation.⁹⁷ Earlier possible situations for the passage include the turbulence over Caligula's plan to set up his statue in the temple in the year 40, a likely setting for the section of the prophecy on the 'abomination of desolation' in the holy place (Matt. 24:15), and, later, the time of the Jewish war, when a messianic oracle from the sacred books influenced many Jews to fight (Josephus, *B.J.* vi 312–13). Other possible situations may now be unknown, in the absence of any ancient connected narrative of Jewish history after the seventies.

St John's Gospel (5:43) similarly foretells that 'if another shall come in his own name, him you will receive'. This prediction is definite in tone, and in early interpretation was referred to Antichrist. It occurs in discourse material which is arguably a late stratum in the gospel. It coheres, also, with other possibly late features of this gospel which evoke an atmosphere of unrest. Thus within discourse material is the saying 'we are Abraham's seed, and have never yet been anyone's slaves' (8:33). Again, among editorial comments, Caiaphas's prophecy is understood to mean that, despite fears that the Romans will remove the Jewish population (11:48), Christ will

⁹⁷ See the critique of F. C. Baur's reference of 24:5 to Bar Kokhba and 24:15 (on the abomination of desolation) to statues set up by Hadrian on the temple site – an interpretation followed by H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden vom Untergang des jüdischen Staates bis zum Abschluss des Talmud* (Berlin, 1853), 166–7, 515–18 (Detached Note 19) – in H. J. Holtzmann, *Die synoptischen Evangelien, ihr Ursprung und geschichtlicher Charakter* (Leipzig, 1863), 405; more briefly, W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St Matthew* (3 vols., Edinburgh, 1988, 1991, 1997), iii, 338–9 with n. 73.

bring about the ingathering of the children of God (11:52). These elements in the Fourth Gospel recall the contact with ideas of national redemption noted above in Luke–Acts. Some have referred John 5:43 to Bar Kokhba, including H. Graetz, following earlier nineteenth-century gospel criticism, J. Wellhausen and, tentatively, the ancient historian Eduard Meyer; Meyer soon retracted his suggestion in view of his ultimately earlier dating of the Fourth Gospel.⁹⁸ Others have preferred leaders of revolt under Trajan (if the gospel was completed in Asia Minor, enthusiasm for the Cypriot outbreak might perhaps be assumed).⁹⁹ Yet again, however, the gospel was probably finished at latest in the time of Trajan, perhaps before his later years, and earlier turbulence could provide a possible setting for the passage.¹⁰⁰

Last, allusion to Bar Kokhba has been detected in the Ethiopic text of the second-century Apocalypse of Peter (2:10), on a false messiah who is a deceiver and slays with the sword, making martyrs.¹⁰¹ This part of the text is an explanatory expansion of Matt. 24:5; 24: both verses are quoted. It is presented as spoken by Christ to the apostles while he is seated on the Mount of Olives, as in Matt. 24:3. In the last times false messiahs will say, I am the messiah, and when one is recognized as a deceiver, he will slay with the sword and make many martyrs. As the Matthaean and Johannine passages just noted already suggest, a tradition of depicting a great last enemy as leading astray the faithful may have been influential here (cf. Matt. 24:24, II Thess. 2:8–12). The singling-out of one figure need not then in itself imply that a definite contemporary name is in mind, but the

⁹⁸ Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden vom Untergang des jüdischen Staates bis zum Abschluss des Talmud*, 518 (end of Detached Note 19); J. Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Johannis* (Berlin, 1908), 126; E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums* (3 vols., Berlin, 1921–3), i, 331 (linking 11:52 with 5:43); iii, 647, n. 2; 650.

⁹⁹ A. Loisy, *Le quatrième Évangile* (2nd edn); *Les épîtres dites de Jean* (Paris, 1921), 219–20, rejecting a reference to Bar Kokhba, allows that instigators of revolt in 115 might be in view, but doubts whether any specifically political movement is envisaged; R. Eisler, *The Enigma of the Fourth Gospel* (London, 1938), 165–75, opts for Andreas in 115 and identifies him with Lucuas (see Chapter 3, below); taking the name to mean ‘Lycian’, he suggests revolt in Lycia. He dates I John with its ‘many antichrists’ (2:18) and its address, preserved in some Latin texts, ‘to the Parthians’, at the same time; it would have been a covering letter for the gospel, sent to Mesopotamian Christians enduring invasion and Jewish revolt.

¹⁰⁰ M. Hengel, *The Johannine Question* (London, 1989), 3, suggests the time of Trajan as the latest possible date for completion, probably before 110.

¹⁰¹ So, taking up earlier suggestions, R. J. Bauckham, ‘Jews and Jewish Christians in the Land of Israel at the Time of the Bar Kochba War, with Special Reference to the Apocalypse of Peter’, in G. N. Stanton and G. G. Stroumsa (eds.), *Tolerance and Intolerance in Early Judaism and Christianity* (Cambridge, 1998), 228–38, followed by J. Bolyki, ‘False Prophets in the *Apocalypse of Peter*’, in J. N. Bremmer and I. Czachesz (eds.), *The Apocalypse of Peter* (Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha, 7; Leuven, 2003), 52–62 (Akiba was the leader of the ‘false prophets’); O. Skarsaune, ‘Jews and Christians in the Holy Land, 132–325CE’, 162.

extended emphasis laid in the text on the martyrdoms involved does help to raise this suggestion.

Identification with Bar Kokhba is favoured by the probable date of the apocalypse and the closeness of this passage to polemic known to have been directed against Bar Kokhba, both Jewish ('liar') and Christian ('murderer'). Yet deceit and murder are standard acts of the wicked one expected to afflict the faithful in the latter days, as already in Assumption of Moses 8 (death for observing the law); I John 2:22, II John 7 (deceit); Rev. 11:7–8, 13:14–15 (deceit and slaughter).¹⁰² Moreover, as noted already, Bar Kokhba is not placarded explicitly as a false messiah by Justin Martyr or Eusebius. Justin might have been expected to use this point, if he knew it, in his *Dialogue with Trypho* (although the text as we have it is incomplete). The Apocalypse of Peter would therefore be, strikingly, isolated as an explicit early Christian attestation of this view. Yet, given that, for Bar Kokhba's treatment of Christians, Eusebius seems to have had only Justin as his source, an allusion to Bar Kokhba in this apocalypse remains a possibility; much Judaeen Christian discussion of the war must be lost. A Judaeen origin for the apocalypse itself perhaps need not be posited in connection with the view that it did envisage Bar Kokhba. Originally Judaeen traditions about Bar Kokhba like or more extensive than those known to Justin Martyr probably circulated widely, just as he himself pictures the war in Judaea being discussed by Trypho's companions in Ephesus (Justin, *Dial.* ix 3)

Of these three prophecies of false messiahs, then, only the Apocalypse of Peter is at all likely to refer to a leader in the risings under Trajan or Hadrian. Yet the passages in Matthew and John have some significance for the antecedents of these risings. Both these gospels, like Luke–Acts, are likely to have been compiled over a period spanning the fall of Jerusalem in 70. Warnings concerning false messiahs occur in what is probably the latest stratum of the Matthaean prophecy, and suggest unsettlement outside as well as within the Christian body. In John a similar warning occurs in a context which also echoes motifs of the national hope for redemption – assertion of liberty and expectation of ingathering. As with Luke–Acts, what is probably a late strand of the gospel is in touch with this hope. It seems likely that the situation after 70 in which these texts reached their present form was one in which both the Christian church and the broader Jewish community with which it was connected were stirred and troubled by movements towards national redemption.

¹⁰² Hence Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 61–2, rejects the identification; further questions are set out by E. Tigchelaar, 'Is the Liar Bar Kokhba? Considering the Date and Provenance of the Greek (Ethiopic) *Apocalypse of Peter*', in Bremmer and Czachesz (eds.), *The Apocalypse of Peter*, 63–77.

In Christian biblical exposition, anti-Roman hostility does indeed mark the Epistle of Barnabas, perhaps at the end of the first century or the beginning of the second, and some interpretations reproduced by Justin Martyr, mentioned already, in the mid second century. Probably one stream of contemporary Jewish feeling is still being reflected in these Christian texts, as some comparably anti-Roman expressions in rabbinic literature suggest. The Christian church at the time of the uprisings must then be envisaged as including some whose longing for the divinely ordained transfer of the kingdom from Rome to the people of God could be militantly expressed, a conclusion independently suggested by Christian adoption and development of the Sibylline oracles and the apocalypses of Ezra and Baruch.¹⁰³

Josephus

Finally, the antecedents and settings of the risings are uniquely illuminated by the literary work of the Jerusalemite priest and Pharisee Josephus. Jewish rebel governor of Galilee at the Roman siege of Jotapata in 67, he went over to the Romans after dreams showing the divinely ordained rule of Rome and his own appointed part in explaining it; in his own words not as a traitor, but as God's servant (Josephus, *B.J.* iii 354). Like Johanan b. Zaccai in the rabbinic narrative recalled above, he hailed Vespasian as emperor-to-be.

His writing, undertaken under the aegis of the Flavian emperors and the Herodian king Agrippa II, was in his native Aramaic (lost in this form) and then in laboriously acquired literary Greek. Beginning with his *Jewish War*, on the recent struggle, it continued to the end of the first century. His historical work, arguing at the same time for acceptance of Flavian Roman rule and for Greek and Roman recognition of the standing and contribution of the Jewish people, is of singular importance for his knowledge of Judaeen topography, revolt ideology, biblical interpretation, and the problems of Jewish-gentile coexistence in Judaea and the diaspora.¹⁰⁴ As Josephus's account of his move to the Romans shows, he also had contact with the continuation of a prophetic element in Judaism through dreams and visions

¹⁰³ See 'Jewish-Christian Relations in Barnabas and Justin Martyr', reprinted from J. D. G. Dunn (ed.), *Jews and Christians: the Parting of the Ways, AD 70–135* (WUNT 66, Tübingen, 1992), 315–45 in W. Horbury, *Jews and Christians in Conflict and Controversy* (Edinburgh, 1998), 127–61.

¹⁰⁴ See T. Rajak, *Josephus* (London, 1983); Rajak, 'Josephus in the Diaspora', in J. Edmondson, S. Mason and J. Rives (eds.), *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome* (Oxford, 2005) 79–97; Y. Shahar, *Josephus Geographicus* (TSAJ 98, Tübingen, 2004).

linked with scriptural oracles. His book defending Jewish life and thought against Apion of Alexandria illustrates literary and rhetorical attacks on Jews by Greek speakers and writers, as viewed near the time of Trajan's accession, probably after 100.¹⁰⁵ The history up to the seventies which he relates can sometimes be used with caution to shed light on the later risings, and is indispensable for their antecedents. Its detail underlines the lack of any comparable account of the Jews in the second century. His outlook, as noted already, finds echoes as well as contrasts in rabbinic literature, and like that literature he sets risings and disturbances in the larger context of Jewish life, learning and religion.¹⁰⁶

Sources compared

From all this diverse and often fragmentary material the sequence of events emerges patchily, but the attitudes of participants, and details of their actions, are often vivid. To a remarkable degree the different classes of evidence complement one another. Thus the political framework emerges most clearly from Dio and Eusebius, but Jewish and Christian sources in combination offer clues to the concerns and outlook of the rebels, on such matters as the temple or messianic hope, both receiving their clearest association with the risings in rabbinic literature.

Dio and Eusebius are themselves mutually complementary. Where Dio is sparse, as on the Trajanic revolt, it can happen that Eusebius gathers sources. Dio is imperial in outlook, Eusebius provincial. Dio as preserved encourages individual scrutiny of each revolt, Eusebius their study as successive eruptions of continuing unrest. Dio the senator has a detached but not wholly unfavourable interest in the Jews and their preservation of their ancient customs, and perhaps an aversion to Christianity; Eusebius the bishop has an ongoing engagement with the Jews and what he sees as their foreordained calamities.

¹⁰⁵ On the date see [Chapter 3](#), n. 118, below; for interpretation and discussion see E. S. Gruen, 'Greeks and Jews: Mutual Misperceptions in Josephus' *Contra Apionem*', in C. Bakchos (ed.), *Ancient Judaism in Its Hellenistic Context* (Supplements to JSJ, 95; Leiden and Boston, 2005), 31–51; J. M. G. Barclay, *Against Apion: Translation and Commentary* (Flavius Josephus Translation and Commentary, ed. S. Mason, x; Leiden and Boston, MA, 2007).

¹⁰⁶ For the contrasting view that similarities between Josephus and rabbinic tradition are outweighed by differences see A. Momigliano, 'Ciò che Flavio Giuseppe non vide', in P. Vidal-Naquet, *Il buon uso del tradimento: Flavio Giuseppe e la Guerra giudaica* (translated from P. Vidal-Naquet, *Flavius Josèphe ou du bon usage de la trahison* [Paris, 1977], Rome, 1980), 9–21 (20); translated into English as 'What Josephus Did Not See', in A. Momigliano, *On Pagans, Jews, and Christians* (Hanover, NH, 1987), 108–19 (119).

The sources divided in their later impact, now to be considered. Eusebius, both world chronicler and interpreter of history for the church, has been the major influence on Byzantine chronicles and (with his echo Orosius in the west) on the early modern church historians. Mediaeval and early modern Christian Hebraism, and then the nineteenth-century efflorescence of Jewish historiography, brought greater attention to rabbinic texts. Later study, despite the importance of new finds, has also been to some extent a return to Dio.¹⁰⁷ The revolts in their larger setting, however, have sometimes been interpreted again in terms of downfall which, from a different point of view, recall Eusebius.¹⁰⁸

Orosius and later ecclesiastical writers

The point is now reached where, for study of Jewish war under Trajan and Hadrian, a tentative line can be drawn between 'sources' and 'historians'. The documents and texts reviewed so far are sometimes indeed from noted historians, including Appian, Cassius Dio and Eusebius; but they form historical 'sources' in the sense that they offer in various ways, often through intermediate sources but independently from one another, impressions formed sometimes at the time of the events themselves and in any case within about a hundred and fifty years after the times of Trajan and Hadrian. Those later historical works now to be considered, on the other hand, although occasionally they may preserve old material which has escaped other sources, in the main depend on existing writings which have also survived. Their interest lies especially in their illustration of trends of opinion, varying approaches, and fresh historical interpretation.

Eusebius forms a main source for Christian historians after him. In the early fifth century Orosius, encouraged by Saint Augustine, wrote a world history, *Historia adversus Paganos*, 'against the pagans' who noted the contemporary calamities of Christian Rome.¹⁰⁹ On the two

¹⁰⁷ Thus Dio's history is called 'our main source' for the diaspora outbreaks under Trajan in Bennett, *Trajan*, 201, and 'the sole consistent survey' and even 'the one extant historical account' of the Bar Kokhba war, in Isaac and Oppenheimer, 'The Revolt of Bar Kokhba: Ideology and Modern Scholarship', 226 and H. Eshel, 'The Bar Kokhba Revolt, 132–135', in S. T. Katz (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, iv, *The Late Roman-Rabbinic Period* (Cambridge, 2006), 105–27 (105), respectively.

¹⁰⁸ Notably by Seth Schwartz and M. D. Goodman, discussed from time to time below and in W. Horbury, 'The Uprisings under Trajan and Roman-Jewish Relations', in A. Lange, K. F. Diethard Römhild and M. Weigold (eds.), *Judaism and Crisis* (Schriften des Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum 9, Göttingen, 2011), 183–200.

¹⁰⁹ R. L. P. Milburn, *Early Christian Interpretations of History* (London, 1954), 87–92; F. Paschoud, *Roma Aeterna: Études sur le patriotisme romain dans l'occident latin à l'époque des grandes invasions*

risings Orosius gives a réchauffée of material from Eusebius which he knew in Latin translation; he appears to have no information from other sources. He has a form of Eusebius's Christian Roman patriotism, and like Eusebius he affirms divine judgment in history, but he applies this affirmation differently here. Eusebius, the historian of the church, notes an efflorescence of the church and a downfall for the Jews, both divinely ordered; but in Orosius the Roman empire is central, and the two Jewish risings successively declare divine judgment and mercy, respectively, on two successive emperors.

For Eusebius these disastrous revolts evinced the turbulence which came upon the Jews as retribution for the Passion of Christ. Orosius did indeed interpret in the same way all recorded Jewish disturbances from Tiberius to Titus, who accomplished the divinely decreed destruction of the (now useless) temple.¹¹⁰ The outbreaks of Jewish rebellion under Trajan, however, Orosius views differently. He interprets them primarily as divine retribution for Trajan's persecution of Christians, attested by the younger Pliny; they form, he says later, the third of ten punishments inflicted on the Roman empire, on the pattern of the ten plagues of Egypt.¹¹¹ Hadrian, on the other hand, in Orosius's view, learned from the Christian apologists Quadratus and Aristides, gave a tolerant rescript on the Christians to Minucius Fundanus, and was divinely favoured accordingly. When the Jews arose, driven wild by awareness of their crimes, and laid Palestine waste, he could then subdue them thoroughly with a final slaughter, avenge Christians killed by Bar Kokhba, and rebuild Jerusalem handsomely as Aelia.¹¹²

Orosius's interpretation can then suggest that the widespread rising under Trajan, associated with the failure of the Parthian war and raising the spectre of civil strife in important provinces, might seem from Eusebius's account to have been yet more threatening than the later revolt in Judaea. However this may be, the material of his narrative remains almost word for word Eusebian.¹¹³ Orosius draws especially on Eusebius's *Chronicle*, but he omits so much from it concerning the earlier years of Hadrian that his accounts of revolt under Trajan and Hadrian come close together and, despite his strong differentiation between the two, can be read almost

(Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana vii, Rome, 1967), 276–92, 328–9; Paschoud., 'Orosius', in A. di Berardino, *Encyclopaedia of the Early Church* (2 vols., Cambridge, 1992), ii, 624–5.

¹¹⁰ See especially Orosius, *Hist.* vii 9, 1–9.

¹¹¹ Orosius, *Hist.* i 10, 8–13 (the plagues of Egypt); vii 12, 4–8 (Jewish rebellion one of the disasters which follow on the Trajanic persecution); vii 27, 6 (Jewish rebellion under Trajan the third punishment of the Romans, corresponding to the third plague).

¹¹² Orosius, *Hist.* vii 13, 2–5. ¹¹³ See [Chapter 3](#), nn. 39–40, below.

as a single narrative emphasizing the damage caused by both revolts. As with Cassius Dio, this is particularly so if his brief account of the two is read apart from the context given by other passages in his work. Through the mediaeval and early modern popularity of Orosius in the west, from Bede and Alfred the Great onwards, this presentation will have influenced many.

In the eastern empire, the sixth-century chronography of John Malalas is especially concerned with Antioch. In the eleventh book, as it survives, he deals with Trajan's sojourn in Antioch, his judgments of Christians while there (from local legend), his eastern expedition and the earthquake, but passes over his repression of the Jews. This book does mention, however, that Hadrian, being angered with the Jews, ordered Greeks to settle in Jerusalem, having changed the city's name to Aelia.¹¹⁴ Malalas had perhaps originally given a now lost account of their rioting and their resolve to rebuild the temple, like that found in the ninth-century George Hamartolos.¹¹⁵

A group of later chroniclers in the east weave the two revolts closely together. George Syncellus, at the end of the eighth century, gathers the Eusebian material on each revolt – but also conveys the impression that Jews from Libya and Egypt, where their risings had begun under Trajan, then overran Judaea under Hadrian.¹¹⁶ Comparably, Bar Hebraeus, a thirteenth-century Syrian Christian of Jewish descent, claims that the king of the rebels from Cyrene and Egypt under Trajan went to Judaea and ruled them there. Eutychius of Alexandria in the tenth century, and Michael the Syrian in the twelfth, had more generally envisaged a Jewish rebel king in Judaea under Trajan.¹¹⁷ These presentations of continuity in resistance to Trajan and Hadrian in the closest imaginable form are echoed in modern suggestions that the Jewish army in Egypt was indeed planning to advance on Judaea.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ xi 17 in I. (H.) Thurn (ed.), *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae xxxv, Berlin and New York, 2000), 211.

¹¹⁵ That George Hamartolos may depend here on the original Malalas is suggested by *The Chronicle of John Malalas: A Translation*, tr. E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys and R. Scott (Byzantina Australiensia x, Melbourne, 1986), 148n.

¹¹⁶ *Georgii Syncelli Ecloga Chronographica*, ed. A. A. Mosshammer (Leipzig, 1984), sections 425–7; translated as *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, tr. W. Adler and P. Tuffin (Oxford, 2002), 502–5; shorter ninth-century Latin version by the papal librarian Anastasius in C. de Boor (ed.), *Theophanis Chronographia* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1885, repr. Hildesheim, 1963), ii, 68.

¹¹⁷ For texts and translations of Eutychius, Michael, and Bar Hebraeus see M. Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 93–6 (nos. 64, 66 and 67).

¹¹⁸ F. Münter, *Der jüdische Krieg unter den Kaisern Trajan und Hadrian* (Altona and Leipzig, 1821), 17–18; A. Fuks, 'Aspects of the Jewish Revolt in AD 115–117', *JRS* li (1961), 98–104; S. Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene* (Leiden, 1979).

Mediaeval interpretations of Jewish tradition

Mediaeval Jewish reassessment of rabbinic tradition, perhaps helped by contemporary gentile impressions of a Jewish king at the time of Trajan and Hadrian, can now manifest a distinct pride in the achievement of Bar Kokhba – without altogether forgetting rabbinic disapproval. In view of the mingling of disapproval with approval in the rabbinic texts taken as a whole, this is perhaps the first moment in the history of interpretation of the two Jewish risings when a clear note of favour is heard. Three influential treatments of Bar Kokhba are connected in different ways with twelfth- and thirteenth-century Spain. Two are Jewish, and underline Bar Kokhba's power; the third is a Christian reaction to presentations of this kind, as they in turn were integrated afresh with the rabbinic narratives.

Abraham ibn Daud

A Jewish dynasty of three kings, founded by a messianic claimant Koziba who rebelled against Domitian, was described in twelfth-century Toledo by Abraham ibn Daud, in his Hebrew *Book of Tradition*. The thought of a dynasty was implicit in ancient and mediaeval ideas of a successful reign, and came to be applied to the messianic king.¹¹⁹ Ibn Daud's family had perhaps migrated to Christian Spain from Andalusia, after the Almohad conquest there. This book was an historical defence of the rabbinic claim to transmit traditional teaching handed down through a chain of authorities reaching back to the Great Assembly at the time of Ezra (see M. Aboth i 1).¹²⁰ Ibn Daud draws together rabbinic and later Hebrew sources with material from Christian chronicles. In the course of his account of the Tannaim in their generations he notes that, at the time of R. Akiba and his colleagues, 'a man whose name was Koziba arose, and claimed that

¹¹⁹ Compare in early Christianity the concern for successors of Jesus, studied by E. Bammel, *Jesu Nachfolger* (Heidelberg, 1988); many Jews in mediaeval Spain held that the messiah could be expected to bequeath his crown to his son, according to Nachmanides's account of the Barcelona disputation (1263), translated in O. S. Rankin, *Jewish Religious Polemic* (Edinburgh, 1956), 199.

¹²⁰ Abraham ibn Daud, *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*, iii, in G. D. Cohen, *A Critical Edition with a Translation and Notes of the Book of Tradition (Sefer ha-Qabbalah) by Abraham ibn Daud* (London, 1967), 20–1 (Hebrew text), 28 (English translation), discussed by Cohen, *ibid.*, 120, 176–7, 241–2, 247–50 (on sources, including interpretation of Num. 24:17, with the emphasis on Ibn Daud's own creativity); G. Stemberger, *Die römische Herrschaft im Urteil der Juden* (Darmstadt, 1983), 161–4 (Ibn Daud's favourable picture of Rome and critique of Jewish readiness to expect divine redemption in present circumstances); R. G. Marks, *The Image of Bar Kokhba in Traditional Jewish Literature: False Messiah and National Hero* (Pennsylvania, 1994), 57–97 (Ibn Daud drew on Christian chronicles as well as rabbinic texts, whereas Maimonides synthesizes rabbinic emphases).

he was Messiah, son of David'. Koziba slays Domitian's governor and reigns in Bethar, where he is succeeded by his son Rufus and his grandson Romulus; a great multitude of Jews from all parts of the diaspora return to their kingdom, which lasts for twenty-one years from Koziba's initial rebellion. Then, however, Hadrian marches on Judaea, captures Bethar, slays Romulus, and inflicts a great slaughter upon the Jews; the roll of martyred rabbis, burned or otherwise put to death, includes R. Akiba. 'All this came upon them in the war of Hadrian and because of the provocation of ben Koziba'; ibn Daud, who honours Roman rule, reinforces rabbinic condemnations of rebellion. The outcome fulfilled Dan. 11:33 'the wise among the people shall instruct many' – the rabbis in vain showed the right way of non-resistance – 'yet shall they fall by the sword and by flame, by captivity and by spoil, many days'.¹²¹

This account influenced later Jewish chroniclers.¹²² In the sixteenth century these included Solomon ibn Verga and David Gans, both of whom became widely known to non-Jews through seventeenth-century translations by Christian Hebraists.¹²³ In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Rufus and Romulus reappear in the works by Friedrich Münter, George Williams and Robert Eisler discussed below. More broadly, however, ibn Daud's narrative displays features which abidingly marked later historiography.

First, Talmud and midrash are treated as offering historical data, for 'Koziba' as for the tannaitic history in general, and are viewed as potentially more reliable than gentile histories. In the nineteenth century, H. Graetz would not dissimilarly make the succession of the Tannaim his framework for events under Trajan and Hadrian, justly re-emphasizing the value of rabbinic texts for history but also reactivating some of the questions on their use considered above.¹²⁴ Second, ibn Daud shows the tendency to respond to the importance of the Hadrianic conflict in Talmud and midrash, and

¹²¹ Jerome, *Comm. in Dan.*, on Dan. 11:33, says that Jews interpret this verse of the overthrow of the temple under Vespasian and Titus, when 'very many of the people knew their Lord, and were killed for keeping his law'. Probably this prophecy, like others, was interpreted indifferently of martyrdom under Vespasian or Hadrian. The latter would well fit the Jewish application of 'a little help' in the following verse to the Severi, which Jerome also notes in this context.

¹²² Krauss, 'Bar Kokba and Bar Kokba War', 507a–b; Marks, *The Image of Bar Kokhba in Traditional Jewish Literature*, 135–83 (on the sixteenth-century writers Samuel Usque, Joseph ha-Cohen, Azariah de' Rossi, Gedaliah ibn Yahya, and David Gans).

¹²³ David Gans was translated by W. H. Vorstius, *Chronologia sacra-profana* . . . (Leiden, 1644), Ibn Verga by G. Gentius, *Historia Judaica* . . . (Amsterdam, 1651).

¹²⁴ 'Abraham ibn Daud's periodization and terminology became extraordinarily well-known, especially through Graetz': I. Elbogen, 'Abraham ibn Daud als Geschichtsschreiber', in *Festschrift zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag Jakob Guttmanns* (Leipzig, 1915), 186–205 (204, n. 7).

also to bring out the glories of Israelite history, by envisaging a long duration for rebel Jewish rule. The immediate occasion for his twenty-one years was perhaps, as G. D. Cohen suggested, a text of the third-century Hebrew chronography *Seder Olam* in which, through misread abbreviation, the two and a half years allowed for the war (in a probably corrupt form of text) figured as twenty and a half; readiness to accept this figure may have been enhanced by an existing tradition of three kings and a willingness to see it as appropriate.¹²⁵ In the late nineteenth century the first number of A. M. Luncz's *Jerusalem Year-book* spread Bar Kokhba's activity in a different way over about twenty years; its chronological table put the acknowledgement of Bar Kokhba as messiah by R. Akiba in 116, a first expedition by him against the Romans in 130, his capture of Jerusalem in 132, and his end in 135.¹²⁶ Lastly, however, ibn Daud's account underlines the importance, stressed in the rabbinic texts themselves, of following rabbinic counsel against revolt.

Maimonides

Maimonides, ibn Daud's contemporary, a refugee from Almohad Cordova who settled eventually in Egypt, gave what became influential historical notes on Bar Kokhba in the context of his Code, *Mishneh Torah*. Here, seeking to give overall guidance on the halakhah, he is summarizing rabbinic sources without overt reference to other traditions like those incorporated by ibn Daud. Yet, although he does not share ibn Daud's concept of a dynasty, he also depicts ben Koziba as a great king hailed by a numerous people and – here in contrast with ibn Daud's emphasis – accepted by leading rabbis: even if, as ibn Daud also implies, he was considered wrongly to be the messiah.

Relevant passages occur as Maimonides discusses rabbinic materials for the laws relating to lamentation and, later in the work, to monarchy. 'On 9 Ab . . . the great city called Bethar was taken, and in it were thousands and ten thousands of Israel, and they had a great king, and all Israel and the chief among the Wise considered that he was the king messiah; but he

¹²⁵ Cohen, *A Critical Edition with a Translation and Notes of the Book of Tradition (Sefer ha-Qabbalah) by Abraham ibn Daud*, 120, notes to lines 40–52 and 44. A better reading of this passage in *Seder Olam Rabbah* is 'three and a half years'; see A. Neubauer, *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles* (2 vols., Oxford, 1895), ii, 66, quoted by E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 534, n. 92.

¹²⁶ A. M. Luncz (ed.), *Jerusalem. Year-book for the Diffusion of an Accurate Knowledge of Ancient and Modern Palestine. 1st Volume, 5640/1 = 1881* (Vienna, 1882; facsimile reprint, Jerusalem, 1982), 1 (giving the number of years which in 5641/1881 had elapsed since the various events).

fell at the hand of the gentiles, and all of them were slain . . . ¹²⁷ Again, in a later book of the Code, 'R. Akiba . . . was arms-bearer for ben Koziba the king, and he said of him that he was the king messiah, and he and all the Wise of his generation considered that he was messiah, until he was slain in iniquities.' ¹²⁸ These summaries no doubt underline the kingship of ben Koziba and the greatness of his kingdom partly in order to show the rationale of lament for his downfall on 9 Ab and of his consideration in connection with the laws of kings; however, they express a sense that his movement embraced 'all Israel and the chief among the Wise' or even 'all the Wise of his generation' which recurs in later historical depictions of this war as a genuinely national rising supported by the rabbis. Less emphasis is placed on the falsehood of his messianic claim, and his personal 'iniquities'.

These texts thus evince a pride in his achievement which could later lead, in association with veneration for Simeon b. Yohai as a great mystical teacher and the reputed author of the Zohar, to some reaffirmation of Bar Kokhba's messianic rôle among mystically oriented Jews in the early modern period, themselves subject to criticism from authorities. Against the background of beliefs in the transmigration of souls among the kabbalists of late sixteenth-century Safed, the rebirth of the messianic soul in successive generations was worked out by Hayyim Vital, a pupil of Isaac Luria, so as to include both Bar Kokhba and Akiba; they formed one entity, each having inherited a spark of the one messianic soul, which descended from Judah through Shela, who was born at Chezib (Gen. 38:5) – a hint at the coming re-embodiment in Bar Koziba – and would ultimately find its full stature in the future Shiloh of Jacob's prophecy (Gen. 49:10). ¹²⁹ Then Nathan of Gaza in 1665 declared that Bar Kokhba's soul was re-embodied in the widely followed contemporary messianic claimant Sabbatai Zevi. ¹³⁰

Later, Maimonides, with the Hebrew chroniclers (and for some Jews also the mystics), forms a principal part of the background of a view of Bar Kokhba largely as a memorable Jewish king. Thus in northern Italy in 1746 Bar Kokhba is the last monarch treated in a Hebrew poem *Malkhe qedhem* ('The kings of old'), on kings of Israel from Saul onwards, by Joshua Segre of Scandiano, near Reggio Emilia. ¹³¹ A view of this kind could be taken

¹²⁷ Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, iii 9 (*Ta'aniyyoth*), 5.3.

¹²⁸ Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, xiv 5 (*Melakhim*), 11.3.

¹²⁹ Marks, *The Image of Bar Kokhba in Traditional Jewish Literature*, 185–94, discussing Vital's *Sepher ha-Gilgulim* ['Book of reincarnations'] (Premisla [Przemysl], 1875), 25b.

¹³⁰ G. Scholem, *Sabbatai Zevi: the Mystical Messiah, 1626–76* (London, 1973), 284–5.

¹³¹ MS. BL Or. 9628, described by J. Leveen in G. Margoliouth and J. Leveen, *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum* (4 vols., London, 1899–1935), iv, 159; Segre, a pupil of Judah Briel of Mantua, is perhaps best known for his controversial work *Asham Talui*.

in nineteenth-century Zionism and is indicated in Jerusalem by Luncz's chronology and Raffaelli's gift to Storrs.

Raymund Martini

Lastly, Maimonides figures in the treatment of Jewish traditions on Bar Kokhba by the thirteenth-century Dominican Raymund Martini, in his *Pugio Fidei*, composed perhaps mainly at St Katharine's friary in Barcelona.¹³² Raymund was writing this monumental argument for Christianity from Hebrew scripture and rabbinic tradition in 1278, and is recorded as teaching Hebrew in the Barcelona Dominican friary in 1281.¹³³ The book was a climactic point in the anti-Jewish controversy led by the Friars Preachers in the years following the Barcelona Disputation of 1263, in which the Dominican Paulus Christiani, by birth a member of the Jewish community of Montpellier, had opposed Nachmanides of Gerona.¹³⁴ *Pugio* was prepared for by Raymund's earlier *Capistrum Iudaeorum* (1267), which also mentions Bar Koziba.¹³⁵

Raymund's practice in *Pugio Fidei* of quoting in Hebrew and Aramaic not only biblical but also rabbinic and later Jewish texts, followed by a translation, helped to make this book, during its circulation in manuscript down to the early seventeenth century, a quarry for Christian apologists and a rabbinic anthology. It won fresh influence through its two printings in the seventeenth century, working in favour of respect for rabbinic literature through Raymund's maxim that, together with much that is mistaken, rabbinic texts preserve some good and genuinely traditional interpretation.¹³⁶ For study of the risings under Trajan and Hadrian the book is significant

¹³² On Raymund's Arabic and Hebrew study and teaching and its Aragonese context see R. Vose, *Dominicans, Muslims and Jews in the Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Cambridge, 2009), 105–6, 112–14, 122–30.

¹³³ Raymund Martini, *Pugio Fidei*, ii 10, 2; see edn of J. B. Carpzov, *Raymundi Martini Ordinis Praedicatorum Pugio Fidei* (Leipzig, 1687, repr. Farnborough, 1967), 395 (Christians now reckon 1,278 years from the incarnation); Vose, *Dominicans, Muslims and Jews in the Medieval Crown of Aragon*, 114 (acts of a Dominican provincial chapter of 1281 name Raymund as reader in Hebrew in the Barcelona convent).

¹³⁴ The relation of the book with the themes of the disputation is brought out by Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews* (Ithaca, NY, and London, 1982), 131–63.

¹³⁵ The contents are summarized in H. Schreckenberg, *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte und ihr literarisches und historisches Umfeld (13.–20. Jh.)* (Europäische Hochschulschriften 23.497, Frankfurt am Main, 1994), 291–2.

¹³⁶ The first edition by J. de Voisin (Paris, 1651) was reprinted with further material by J. B. Carpzov, cited here (see n. 133); for Raymund's attribution of some rabbinic teachings to God-given tradition see *Pugio Fidei*, Proem, 5–9 (principles of the work); ii 14, 8 (discussion of the view, ascribed to R. Joshua b. Levi in Ecclesiastes R. 1:10, that Mishnah and other rabbinic teachings were already given to Moses on Mount Sinai); see Carpzov 2–3; 460.

as showing, through polemic evolved in contact with Jewish scholars, how the rabbinic narratives could be read as a continuous history of revolt and repression, against the background of the prestige of the kingdom of Bar Koziba in mediaeval Jewish writers, notably Maimonides.

The fourteenth book of the Code of Maimonides, containing the second passage on Bar Kokhba quoted above and also describing Jesus of Nazareth as a messianic claimant, had figured in the Barcelona Disputation for its remarks on the messiah and was soon afterwards banned in Aragon by a royal commission on which Raymund had served.¹³⁷ Maimonides as well as rabbinic texts on messianism and the war under Hadrian are prominent in Raymund's exposition.

The second part of his work, on the advent of the messiah, is a demonstration that the messiah has already come at the time indicated in prophecy. This had been one great theme of the Barcelona disputation.¹³⁸ Raymund argues that, just as the ten tribes who rebelled against the kingdom of the house of David went on to accept false gods, the two calves set up by Jeroboam, and were eventually made captive by Sennacherib, so the Jewish majority who rejected Christ as king went on to follow two false messiahs, one called Bar Cozba in Jerusalem, and a second of the same name in Bethther. They were made captive by Vespasian and Titus, but, piling errors upon errors, they still promise themselves a third messiah to come.¹³⁹

The historical reconstruction which Raymund envisages thus rests on the messianic interpretation of Bar Kokhba which is characteristic of rabbinic literature rather than Eusebius and Orosius. Raymund's guide to chronology is especially the Babylonian Talmud read with Rashi's eleventh-century commentary, and his discovery of two false messiahs arises from a critical contrast between accounts of Bar Kokhba in the two Talmuds. He begins to set out his view more fully in the sketch of Jewish history which accompanies his treatment of Jacob's prophecy in Gen. 49:10 'The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come.' An argument that the messiah has come must show that this refers to past events. Raymund, accepting rabbinic reference of the 'sceptre' and 'lawgiver' either to the judges of the sanhedrin in Jerusalem or to the line of

¹³⁷ Rankin, *Jewish Religious Polemic*, 171–2, 199–200 (from Nachmanides's account of the disputation); Y. Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1961), i, 155.

¹³⁸ Rankin, *Jewish Religious Polemic*, 179 (again from Nachmanides); this passage is reviewed in parallel with the Latin account of the disputation, with which it is consistent, in Vose, *Dominicans, Muslims and Jews in the Medieval Crown of Aragon*, 149.

¹³⁹ *Pugio Fidei*, ii 2, 1–2, Carpzov 264–5; the place name is given as *Bitter*.

teachers (patriarchs) claiming descent from Hillel, argues that Christ came accordingly when the sanhedrin was about to leave Jerusalem and lose its jurisdiction in 70, and when the teachers began to be slain by Herod, a process finished by Hadrian.¹⁴⁰

Now comes the story of the two false messiahs. Beginning from the statement in the Babylonian Talmud 'Bar Koziba reigned three years and a half. He said to our teachers, I am Messiah', Raymund quotes Rashi's comment 'He was with the kingdom of Herod' and accepts this as a dating in the time of Herod Agrippa (perhaps he conflates Agrippa I and II). As he later puts it, again quoting this comment of Rashi, 'together with Herod Agrippa, under whom the temple was destroyed, [Bar Koziba] had reigned over them three years and a half, as was stated earlier'.¹⁴¹

To continue an outline of Raymund's account, the Jews accepted Bar Koziba joyfully both from hatred of Christ, and because they saw that the time prophesied in the scriptures for the messiah was passing by. As Maimonides says, R. Akiba was arms-bearer of Ben Koziba, and he and the other sages of his generation believed that he was messiah. Akiba was held in the utmost veneration, notably as one of the four rabbis who mystically entered Paradise, fulfilling the saying 'The king has brought me into his chambers' (Song of Sol. 1:4). It was he who applied to Bar Koziba, according to the Talmud and Rashi's comment, the prophecy 'Yet once, it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens and the earth [and I will bring] the desirable things of all nations' to Jerusalem (Haggai 2:6–7). He rightly referred this to the days of the messiah, but wrongly to Ben Koziba in particular.¹⁴²

As Jewish tradition attests, Akiba lived one hundred and twenty years – forty years as a merchant, forty as a disciple of the Wise, and forty as a rabbi in Bethther.¹⁴³ In about the seventieth year of his age he applied the words of Haggai to Bar Koziba in Jerusalem. His teachers and fellow pupils agreed, and the Jews therefore rebelled against Rome, only to be besieged by Vespasian and Titus. When the Romans would not make peace, despite R. Johanan b. Zaccai's interview with Vespasian, the rabbis slew Bar Koziba

¹⁴⁰ *Pugio Fidei*, ii 4, 1–16, Carpzov 312–20.

¹⁴¹ Sanh. 93b, with Rashi, quoted in *Pugio Fidei*, ii 4, 17, Carpzov 320, and in *Pugio Fidei* iii 3, 16, Carpzov 872–3.

¹⁴² *Pugio Fidei*, ii 4, 18–19, Carpzov 320–1, quoting Cant. R. i 4, 1, on Song of Sol. 1:4, and Sanh. 97b with Rashi's comment ending 'Akiba interprets it [Haggai 2:6–7] of the days of the messiah'.

¹⁴³ The tradition that only when he was forty did he begin to learn Torah, expanded 'aged forty years, he learned everything; for forty years he taught Israel' (Aboth de-Rabbi Nathan, version B, Chapter 12), was interpreted as indicating a life of 120 years like that of Moses (Deut. 34:7).

as a false messiah. Titus punished the rebellion by destroying the temple and Jerusalem. When he made peace with those who remained in Judaea he decreed that henceforth no one should keep the sabbath, practise circumcision, or abstain from intercourse with a menstruous woman; however, a demon called Bentamalion restored all these things, as is told in the Talmud in the treatise Me'ilah, to be discussed, as Raymund notes, later in his book.¹⁴⁴

After Jerusalem was taken and Vespasian and Titus had returned to Rome, the Jews made Bethther their capital and set over themselves another false messiah called Bar Koziba. What God did through Hadrian in avenging the blood of Christ against the Jews and their second false messiah is attested, Raymund notes, in the treatise Taanith of the Jerusalem Talmud, in the midrash on Lamentations, and in the treatise Gittin of the Babylonian Talmud.¹⁴⁵ Embedded in this material – the 'Bethar-complex' – is Akiba's application of Num. 24:17 to Bar Koziba, with the saying 'He is king messiah'. Raymund accordingly views it as spoken to the second Bar Koziba (or Ben Koziba, as the name is printed in his quotation from Lamentations Rabbah on Akiba's salutation). He reproduces much of the 'Bethar-complex' to demonstrate the scale of the Jews' calamity, including Lamentations Rabbah on Bar Koziba's death and the discovery of a snake wound round his neck by the soldier who claimed to have killed him.¹⁴⁶

Quoting finally from the Babylonian Talmud, Gittin, on Bethar, he prepares for the pendant of this story, on Roman decrees against Jewish observance, by interpreting an anecdote from this section of Gittin concerning Joshua ben Hananiah in Rome. R. Joshua hears that a Jewish child of great beauty is in prison. Going to the prison gate he asks, in the words of Isa. 42:24, 'Who gave Jacob for a spoil, and Israel to the robbers?' The captive replies from within by quoting the sequel 'Did not the Lord, against whom we have sinned? . . . neither were they obedient to his law.' Raymund now stresses from this same prophecy that, because the Jews continued to observe the old law of Moses rather than the new law of Christ, the Lord 'poured upon them', through the Romans, 'the fury of his anger, and the strength of battle' (Isa. 42:25).¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ *Pugio Fidei*, ii 4, 20–2, Carpzov 321–3, again quoting from Sanh. 93b; on the argument as representing a new approach characteristic of the friars see Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews*, 143–7, noting the narrative of two false messiahs but not considering it especially.

¹⁴⁵ *Pugio Fidei*, ii 4, 23, Carpzov 325–8.

¹⁴⁶ *Pugio Fidei*, ii 4, 23, Carpzov 326–7, quoting for the salutation Jerusalem Talmud, Taanith iv 8, 68d and Lam. R. ii 4, on Lam. 2:2.

¹⁴⁷ *Pugio Fidei*, ii 4, 23, Carpzov 327–8, quoting from Gittin 58a.

The Romans did indeed decree, Raymund notes, that the Jews should not study the law. R. Akiba continued to gather assemblies and to expound it to them, and on that account he was put to death; other Jews were killed because they followed two false messiahs and rebelled against Rome. The apparently heavenly voice which called Akiba blessed as he died saying the word 'one' from the Shema (Deut. 6:4) was in fact demonic, and Akiba was a martyr, not of God, but of the devil.¹⁴⁸ This statement looks ahead to Raymund's interpretation of Jewish observance of the ceremonial law after the coming of Christ as demonically inspired, again taking up rabbinic narratives of the aftermath of the Hadrianic revolt.

Thus, later in his overall argument that the messiah has already come, Raymund meets the Jewish objection that the promised ingathering has not taken place. It has, he replies, in the days of Cyrus; but the Jews wrongly still expect Gog and Magog – the evil king of the last days with his people, as Rashi interprets the phrase – to arise as prophesied in Ezekiel 38–9, and then to be vanquished by the messiah, with whom the Jews will reign in Jerusalem and the holy land.¹⁴⁹ In fact, however, Gog and Magog must be understood figuratively, as Saint Augustine says, from Hebrew *gag*, 'roof' or 'covering'; indeed (to allow the Jews, for the sake of argument, Rashi's interpretation of them as a king and his people) Gog is a great devil called Bentamalion, and Magog, 'from Gog', is his people, the people of the Jews. This brings Raymund back to the sequel of the risings led by the two false messiahs named Bar Koziba. 'Through the Romans, as will shortly be proved, God took away from the Jews the observance of the sabbath, circumcision, and the other ceremonial laws; but the demon Bentamalion, by a devilish miracle, came to their aid and restored to them circumcision, sabbath, festivals, and the ability to pray, and study in the law.' The demon thus covered their impiety with a veil of religion, as the name Gog, 'covering', signifies; moreover they are his people, just as the diabolical Leviathan is 'king over all the children of pride' (Job 41:26 [34]).¹⁵⁰

Raymund now quotes the midrash on Lam. 2:3 'he has cut off every horn of Israel', which teaches that the ten horns of Israel, including 'the horn of the law' and 'the horn of the sanctuary', have been transferred

¹⁴⁸ *Pugio Fidei*, ii 4, 24–7, Carpzov 328–9, quoting from the Babylonian Talmud, Ber. 61b.

¹⁴⁹ *Pugio Fidei*, ii 14, 1–5, Carpzov 446–9.

¹⁵⁰ *Pugio Fidei*, ii 14, 15–16, Carpzov 453–4, quoting Augustine, *C.D.* xx 11, on Gog and Magog in Rev. 20:7, and David Kimchi, *Mikhlol*, on *shahats* in Job 41:26 as 'pride' like that ascribed by the rabbis to the men of Jerusalem.

to the gentiles, as indicated by the vision of the beast with ten horns in Dan. 7:7. The Romans, accordingly, have been given control of the temple, which Titus and Vespasian destroyed, and the law, which the Romans burned, forbidding observance of the sabbath, circumcision, and other commandments of the ceremonial law.¹⁵¹ Raymund then quotes the talmudic story that, after R. Reuben had been detected as a Jew when he had subtly persuaded the Romans to rescind their decree against sabbath observance, circumcision, and avoidance of intercourse with a menstruous woman, the Jews sent Simeon b. Yohai in his place. He accepted aid from the demon Bentamalion, who went ahead and entered Caesar's daughter to afflict her. Simeon arrived and called the demon forth, and Caesar in gratitude granted him the decree from his archive, to be annulled.¹⁵² In sum, Bentamalion is Gog, the Jews are Magog, and he has restored to them the observance of the sabbath, circumcision and other ceremonial laws which had been rightly removed by the Romans.¹⁵³

This legend, discussed further in [Chapter 5](#), below, is one of many rabbinic references to Roman prohibitions of Jewish observance in Judaea at the end of Bar Kokhba's war.¹⁵⁴ It is now used again in Raymund's argument in the third part of his work, where he argues that Christian beliefs concerning the Trinity, the Fall and redemption are those of the Hebrew scriptures and rabbinic tradition. This involves the claim that the ceremonial law, including circumcision and the keeping of the sabbath, was only intended to be temporary. Indeed, after Christ had come, 'God took away from them circumcision, with the sabbath, and prohibited them through the Romans, as was proved in the fourteenth chapter of the second part'. Raymund now repeats the passage on the midrash of the horns and the story of Simeon b. Yohai and Bentamalion, concluding once more that the Jews only recovered their abrogated customs through a diabolical miracle.¹⁵⁵

His argument also leads him to recur to his narrative of the two false messiahs named Bar Koziba. On the Passion of Christ, he urges that Jewish tradition recognizes a Jewish judgment against him, followed by calamities for the Jews – including slaughter, dispersion and humiliation, according

¹⁵¹ *Pugio Fidei*, ii 14, 17, Carpzov 454–6, quoting Lam. R. ii 6, on Lam. 2:3, and a parallel in Midrash Tehillim on Ps. 75:10.

¹⁵² *Pugio Fidei*, ii 14, 19, Carpzov 456–7, quoting the Babylonian Talmud, Me'ilah 17a–b.

¹⁵³ *Pugio Fidei*, ii 14, 23, Carpzov 460.

¹⁵⁴ For a collection of these see M. D. Herr, 'Persecutions and Martyrdom in Hadrian's Days', *Scripta Hierosolymitana* xxiii (1972), 85–125 (94–102).

¹⁵⁵ *Pugio Fidei*, iii 11, 18; 21–2, Carpzov 786–9.

to Maimonides.¹⁵⁶ He goes on to summarize his earlier narrative of the sequel, involving the two false messiahs. He starts by quoting again the tradition from the Babylonian Talmud that Bar Koziba reigned three and a half years, and told the Wise 'I am the messiah', but when they saw that he was not judging by scent, as promised in Isa. 11:3, they slew him. This was in Herod's reign, as Rashi says. They did not ask for a sign, a proof miracle, until they considered him to be messiah, and this agrees with Maimonides, who says that Akiba hailed him as messiah, and all the Wise of his generation agreed, but that when he died, they saw that he was not messiah, and they had not required any sign or wonder – at first, that is, Raymund adds, now guarding further against holes that might be picked in his argument.¹⁵⁷

Yet again, when Raymund is arguing that the Jews have been divinely rejected, he notes a series of wickednesses on their part, beginning when they rejected Christ but received a false messiah named Bar Koziba. These two evil deeds were punished by expulsion from their temple and Jerusalem. A third act of wickedness and madness followed when, after the destruction of the temple and the death of the first supposed messiah, the Jews set up a second named Ben Koziba in Bethther, where he reigned three and a half years.

Again Raymund guards against possible objections not noted before. He has now made a distinction between the names of the two successive rulers, Bar Koziba and then Ben Koziba, which was not explicit before – when indeed he drew attention to their shared name.¹⁵⁸ Some Jews say, he adds, that their fathers only received one false messiah, for Bar Koziba and Ben Koziba are differing forms of the same name. Yet it is madness to say that the false messiah who reigned with Herod Agrippa and was killed by the rabbis (as in the Babylonian Talmud, Sanh. 93b), is the same as he who was killed by a Scots soldier of Hadrian in Bethther (as in the Jerusalem Talmud, Taanith iv 8, 69a); the first, moreover, is not said to have had any soldiers, the second to have gathered forty thousand soldiers against Hadrian's army.¹⁵⁹ Hence it was for a third fault, in addition to the

¹⁵⁶ *Pugio Fidei*, iii 16, 46, Carpzov 872. ¹⁵⁷ *Pugio Fidei*, iii 16, 47, Carpzov 872–3.

¹⁵⁸ *Pugio Fidei*, ii 2, 2, Carpzov 265 ('another . . . called by this same name'); ii 4, 23, Carpzov 325 ('they set over themselves another false messiah, not noticing in their madness that he was called Bar Koziba, like the messiah set up by their predecessors in Jerusalem').

¹⁵⁹ In the unexpected phrase *a quodam milite Scoto*, 'by a Scots soldier', *Scoto* is probably an error, in printing or copying, for *Cutaeo*, 'Samaritan'. At ii 4, 23, Carpzov 326, the quotation from Lam. R. ii 2, 4 is printed with the probably corrupt form *gunta'e* found in editions (the word is not translated here), but Raymund will have also known the Jerusalem Talmud parallel (Taanith iv 8, 69a) with the preferable *kuta'e*, which could have been rendered by *Cutaeus*.

two mentioned already, that God through Hadrian expelled the Jews from their land.¹⁶⁰

At the end of this chapter on the rejection of the Jews he brings his whole account of the two false messiahs and the Roman decrees together briefly, in order to note Jewish evil-doing and misunderstanding of scripture, and the 'spirit of whoredom' (Hos. 5:4) which makes it impossible for them to amend – a spirit which, he says, can well be identified with Bentamalion, who has been allowed to bewitch them and remove their understanding.¹⁶¹ Here Raymund contributed to a persistent mediaeval and later view of Jews as diabolically beguiled and enchanted.

This continuous narrative obtained from rabbinic texts read with Rashi and Maimonides and against the background of mediaeval Jewish respect for Bar Kokhba's kingdom is of course related by Raymund in the service of polemic. The presentation shows signs, as noticed above, of revision in the light of second thoughts which probably arise partly from debate with Jews. This is suggested especially by Raymund's reference to what some Jews say, read in the context of the discussions attested in Aragon in this period.¹⁶²

Yet the narrative is also likely to reflect the connected reading of rabbinic haggadoth, and the currency of later accounts of Bar Kokhba's kingdom, among Jews in thirteenth-century Aragon. The polemical account of two messiahs builds ingeniously on seeming inconsistency between the two Talmuds, but its resultant narrative of two successive Jewish kings is close to the description of a dynasty of three in Abraham ibn Daud. It also forms a collection of much rabbinic material connected with the rising, outside as well as inside the Bethar-complex, including for example two of the accounts of the death of R. Akiba. The remark that he was a martyr for the devil, like the stress on Simeon b. Yohai's acceptance of demonic help, hits at names venerated in the Jewish community. The connection of this material in Raymund's polemic with narratives of the Roman 'decrees' that followed the rising, above all the story of Simeon b. Yohai and Bentamalion, will likewise reflect their connection in contemporary Jewish thought. Raymund's account shows, finally, through and despite his ingenious interpretation, both the inconsistencies within the rabbinic material

¹⁶⁰ *Pugio Fidei*, iii 21, 7; 9; 17, Carpzov 904, 907–8, 913.

¹⁶¹ *Pugio Fidei*, iii 21, 22–3, Carpzov 917–18, discussed by Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews*, 147.

¹⁶² Evidence is reviewed by Vose, *Dominicans, Muslims and Jews in the Medieval Crown of Aragon*, 157, with the suggestion (made independently of any reference to the two passages suggested above as revisions in *Pugio Fidei*, iii 16, 47, Carpzov 872–3, and iii 21, 9, Carpzov 907–8) that in 1279 Raymund may have tried out arguments from his newly or nearly completed work 'in actual debates with local Jews at Barcelona'.

and the possibility, none the less, of deriving from it a continuous narrative of the rising and its aftermath, enriched by stories of warriors, saints and martyrs.

Early modern historiography

Those earlier historical treatments which form literary sources for present-day historians merge almost imperceptibly, through the mediaeval chronicles, with the beginnings of modern historiography. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries nevertheless mark a new start, in which the recovery and printing of classical, patristic and Hebrew literature in western Europe enable a fresh approach to ancient history. Thus J. J. Scaliger in the sixteenth century anticipates that consideration of all forms of literary and non-literary evidence which became typical of *Altertumswissenschaft* in the nineteenth century.¹⁶³

Printed texts of Orosius and of the Latin translations of Eusebius's *Chronicle* and *History* were current from the 1470s onwards. The Greek text of Eusebius's *History* was first printed in 1544, and of the relevant parts of Xiphilinus's epitome of Dio in 1551, both by the scholar-printer Robert Estienne in Paris. These editions were complemented in the following century when Scaliger commented on Eusebius's *Chronicle* (1606), with Baronius's treatment of it in his *Annals* (see below) especially in view, and Henri de Valois (Valesius) published Byzantine excerpts from Dio (1634), as noted already. De Valois also re-edited Eusebius's *History* (1659), with historical notes which were reprinted and discussed down to the nineteenth century and included Talmudic material.¹⁶⁴

Subsequent historiography down to the early nineteenth century is based mainly on the same body of Greek and Latin literary sources. Rabbinic sources for the uprisings, noted by Azariah de' Rossi in the sixteenth century, were now also available in print. Thus Geronimo Soncino printed the Midrash Rabbah on the Five Rolls (including Lamentations Rabbah, with its series of Bar Kokhba narratives) in Pesaro (1519); in Venice Daniel Bomberg issued successively the Babylonian Talmud (1520–3) and the Jerusalem Talmud (1523); and the Midrash Rabbah on the Pentateuch and on the Five Rolls, already printed separately, first appeared in a single volume from Bomberg's rival M. Giustiniani in 1545. These texts are used

¹⁶³ So J. Bernays, discussed by A. Grafton, 'Jacob Bernays, Joseph Scaliger, and Others', in D. N. Myers and D. B. Ruderman (eds.), *The Jewish Past Revisited: Reflections on Modern Jewish Historians* (New Haven and London, 1998), 16–38 (28–9).

¹⁶⁴ See [Chapter 4](#), nn. 309–310, below.

by Christian historians especially in the seventeenth century and later, and coins are important especially from the eighteenth century; nevertheless, Dio, Eusebius and Orosius remain fundamental. Yet in this period changing trends in historiography and varied assessments of the sources highlight the range of possible reconstructions.

One long-continued tendency spanned the shift from Christian to more secular approaches to ancient history, but is potentially in tension with a focus on the two risings. The period from Trajan to Marcus Aurelius received high praise for peace and happiness among historians of the Roman empire from the sixteenth century onwards. The commonplace of the felicity of the early and middle second century goes back in essence to Trajan's own time. Under Nerva and Trajan the historian Tacitus was one of those who now felt free to write without the sense of peril which had oppressed them under Domitian.¹⁶⁵ He affirmed that he had seen a 'rare felicity of times' beginning when Nerva succeeded the despotic Domitian; this was the rise of a 'most blessed age' in which increasing felicity was assured by Trajan.¹⁶⁶ The stock phrases used by Tacitus, *felicitas temporum* and *beatissimum saeculum*, still stuck in later times to the period of Nerva, Trajan and their successors Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius.

So for Francis Bacon, commending learning under the learned James I, the age from the death of Domitian in 96 to the reign of Commodus, who succeeded Marcus in 180, still exhibited *felicitas temporum*, 'the felicity of times under learned princes', philosopher-kings – or at least promoters of learning, such as he reckoned Trajan to be. Indeed, he adds, moving on to *beatissimum saeculum*, this age 'for temporal respects was the most happy and flourishing that ever the Roman empire (which was then the model of the world) enjoyed'.¹⁶⁷ Bacon did not fail to note some corresponding restraint of hostility towards Christianity under both Trajan and Hadrian.

Edward Gibbon, less inclined to judge by this criterion, simply took the 'happy period, AD 98–180' as the zenith from which the great pagan empire suffered decline and fall. Now, by contrast with Bacon, the pagan character of the happy period moves to the fore. Underlining the constitutional character of monarchy under Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian and the Antonines,

¹⁶⁵ For comparable expressions of feeling, in connection with the praises of Trajan, see Martial, 10.72 (a farewell to the flatteries needed under Domitian); Dio Chrysostom (exiled from Rome by Domitian), *Or.* 50.

¹⁶⁶ Tacitus, *Agr.* iii 1 (*beatissimum saeculum* begins with liberty under Nerva, and *felicitas temporum* is being increased by Trajan); *Hist.* i 1, 4 (*rara temporum felicitas* under Nerva and Trajan); the passages are discussed in connection with the dating of Tacitus's works by R. Syme, *Tacitus* (2 vols., Oxford, 1958), i, 19, 219.

¹⁶⁷ Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning* (1605), i 7, 4; ed. W. A. Wright (Oxford, 1880), 53–4.

Gibbon wrote, in a famous echo of Bacon, that ‘if a man were called to fix the period in the history of the world, during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus’.¹⁶⁸

Ernest Renan, finally, followed Gibbon closely in the 1880s from within his own blend of idealistic Hellenism, liberal aversion from fanaticism, and attachment (despite the Third Republic) to constitutional monarchy: ‘cette souveraineté toute républicaine de Nerva, de Trajan, d’Adrien . . .’ flourished in ‘le plus beau siècle de progrès dont la mémoire ait été conservée’.¹⁶⁹ At almost the same time Theodor Mommsen similarly asked if the regions ruled by Severus Antoninus fared better then or now, and doubted if the answer would favour the present.¹⁷⁰ Reconsideration of second-century intellectual and literary culture had also led to a more negative view, trenchantly expressed by the young Gregorovius (see below) and later summed up in a counterblast to Gibbon and Mommsen by Wilamowitz, who added social and economic decline to the exhaustion of the Greek literary revival.¹⁷¹ Yet the commonplace incorporating Tacitus’s praise can still find some affirmation.¹⁷²

When the situation of the Jews is made central, however, the achievements of Trajan and the peace of Hadrian can each be overshadowed in turn by the bloody repression of revolt, at great cost to Romans and to the Jews and their neighbours.¹⁷³ The change of outlook is not unlike that given if a London-centred reader turns to view the Elizabethan period in

¹⁶⁸ E. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (4 vols., London, 1776–88, repr. 1895), i, 17 (Chapter 1), 73 (Chapter 3).

¹⁶⁹ E. Renan, *Histoire des origines du Christianisme*, vol. vii, *Marc-Aurèle et la fin du monde antique* (Paris, 1882, repr. 1922), 5–6. Renan, loyal as he was to Napoleon III, would have liked to see in France a constitutional monarchy on the British model (Renan, *La monarchie constitutionnelle en France* (1869), discussed by M.-H. Jaspard, *Ernest Renan et sa république* (Paris, 1934), 187–9).

¹⁷⁰ T. Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v, *Die Provinzen von Caesar bis Diocletian* (Berlin, 1885, repr. 1921), 4–5.

¹⁷¹ U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* (2 vols., Berlin, 1931–2, 2nd, unaltered, edn, Darmstadt, 1955), ii, 451–2.

¹⁷² Thus the suggestion that Gibbon’s age of happiness and prosperity effectively begins with Trajan is made by J. Bennett, *Trajan, Optimus Princeps: A Life and Times* (London and New York, 1997), 213, and M. Griffin, ‘Nerva to Hadrian’, in A. K. Bowman, P. Garnsey and D. Rathbone (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History, Second Edition*, xi, *The High Empire, AD 70–192* (Cambridge, 2000), 96–8; felicity is focused on Pius in the subtitle of B. Rémy, *Antonin le Pieux, 138–161. Le siècle d’or de Rome* (Paris, 2005). The tradition of five good emperors beginning with Nerva was affirmed in connection with the antecedents of revolt under Trajan by L. Finkelstein, *Akiba* (1936, repr. Philadelphia, 1962), 153, 216.

¹⁷³ This point was emphasized by Münter, *Der jüdische Krieg unter den Kaisern Trajan und Hadrian*, 1.

English history from the standpoint of events in Ireland, where successive risings are quelled with bloodshed and devastation, and a strain of Irish culture inimical to English rule renews its vigour. On the other hand, it could also be argued that Jewish life in the empire, still after the revolts and in many places even during them, had some share in Roman peace and prosperity – a contention helped by Jerome's report of a Jewish opinion that the 'little help' prophesied in Dan. 11:34 came, at the end of the second century and the beginning of the third, from the emperors (Septimius) Severus and Antoninus [Caracalla], 'who greatly loved the Jews' (Jerome, *Comm. in Dan.*, on 11:34–5).

For Hardouin, as cited above, the contrast between Jewish war and Hadrianic peace was so sharp as to encourage him, hyper-sceptical as he was, to doubt the authenticity of literary evidence for the Bar Kokhba revolt. For Gibbon, the paradox of the contrast was resolved by a return to the Tacitean emphasis on Jewish hatred of humanity.¹⁷⁴ For Renan, who treated the Old Testament and Jewish tradition with a mixture of admiration and rejection, revolt in 70 and later bade fair to revive the tyranny of a religion of revelation, and its repression marked the dawn of a new order of reason and equity – so far he was near to Gibbon – but (here a characteristic note of his own came in) humanity continued to need the religious depth and the moral pedagogy of the biblical tradition.¹⁷⁵

Although the Jewish situation itself is not fully mirrored by concentration on Jewish war, the revolts indeed belong to a series of disturbances which had marked Jewish life under Roman rule ever since Pompey took Jerusalem in 63 BC. Contemporary study has naturally picked individual revolts out of this series, and has questioned the very concept of a series, which is discussed in [Chapter 3](#). In a similar way, the vision of a Trajanic and Hadrianic golden age has become less compelling, but the possibility and actuality of a Jewish share in Roman peace remains near the heart of debate.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

To return now to the sixteenth century, early modern study of Jewish uprising under Trajan and Hadrian in particular was marked at first by a reading of Dio in the context offered by Eusebius and Orosius. Thus in the

¹⁷⁴ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, i, 333–4, 338 (Chapter xv); 383–4 (Chapter xvi).

¹⁷⁵ Renan, *Histoire des origines du Christianisme*, iv, *L'Antéchrist. Depuis l'arrivée de saint Paul à Rome jusqu'à la fin de la révolution juive (61–73)* (Paris, 1873), repr. in *Oeuvres complètes d'Ernest Renan*, ed. Henriette Psichari, iv (Paris, 1949), 1,443–5.

mid sixteenth century a single unified treatment of the two revolts, such as Eusebius and Orosius can both suggest, was offered in the *Magdeburg Centuries*, the first church history written from a Reformation standpoint, in accord with the authors' deliberately thematic rather than annalistic treatment.¹⁷⁶ By contrast, annalistic method necessarily separated the two in the *Annales* of Baronius (first issued 1588–1607), the papally approved response to the Lutheran *Centuries*. Still in line with Eusebius and mediaeval Christian presentation, however, his emphasis falls heavily on the building of Aelia and the banishment of Jews from the site.¹⁷⁷ Then at the end of the seventeenth century (in 1693), in a digest of sources which formed 'the first critical history of the Roman empire', the church historian L. S. Le Nain de Tillemont, a devout scholarly disciple of Port Royal, again published a single separate treatment of the two.¹⁷⁸

The sixteenth century, the time of renewed popularity for writers like Livy and Plutarch, was also a time of renewed fascination with the ideals of republican Rome and liberty. This did not necessarily yet, however, impinge on interpretation of the risings under Trajan and Hadrian. Within the Jewish community, Isaac Abravanel was prepared to accept that republican government can be better than kingship, taking Deut. 17:15 'thou shalt surely set a king over thee' as permissive rather than prescriptive, against the weight of earlier Jewish exegesis. He interpreted I Sam. 8:4–22, where the Israelites' demand for a king is condemned by God and his prophet Samuel, as showing that a king is unnecessary, above all for Israel; nevertheless he maintained allegiance to kings and regarded Bar Kokhba not as a justified warrior for liberty, but as an appointed agent of divine vengeance like Cyrus.¹⁷⁹ Not altogether dissimilarly, in contemporary non-Jewish writing on liberty, Étienne de La Boétie in his treatise on voluntary servitude regards

¹⁷⁶ M. Flacius [Flacius Illyricus], J. Wigand and M. Judex, *Ecclesiastica Historia*, i (Basle, 1559), Second Century, cols. 242–3; on their programme see Owen Chadwick, *The Early Reformation on the Continent* (Oxford, 2001), 348–50.

¹⁷⁷ C. Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici* (1588–1607, repr. twelve vols in six, Cologne, 1609), ii, cols. 61–2, 89–91, 99–104.

¹⁷⁸ L. S. Le Nain de Tillemont, *Histoire des Empereurs* (1693; 2nd edn, 6 vols., Paris, 1720–38), ii, 282–96, 'Révoltes et malheurs des Juifs sous Trajan et sous Adrien'; the judgment quoted is that of A. Momigliano, 'L'eredità della filologia antica e il metodo storico', reprinted from *Rivista storica italiana* lxx (1958), 442–58 in Momigliano, *Secondo contributo alla storia degli studi classici* (Rome, 1960), 463–80 (472). On de Tillemont see also Momigliano, 'La formazione della moderna storiografia sull' impero romano', *Rivista storica italiana* Ser. v, i.1 (March 1936), 35–60 (38–44); i.2 (June 1936), 19–48, reprinted in Momigliano, *Contributo alla storia degli studi classici* (Storia e letteratura 47, Rome, 1955), 107–64 (110–16).

¹⁷⁹ L. Strauss, 'On Abravanel's Philosophical Tendency and Political Teaching', in J. B. Trend and H. M. J. Loewe (eds.), *Isaac Abravanel* (Cambridge, 1937), 95–129 (111–29); Marks, *The Image of Bar Kokhba in Traditional Jewish Literature*, 131–2.

Israel as perhaps the one exception to the rule that human beings will only accept tyranny under constraint, or through deceit; Israel, 'without any constraint or need, made themselves a tyrant', an implied reference to I Samuel 8. La Boétie, continuing mediaeval and earlier emphasis on the Jews' culpability, confesses, with a striking autobiographical awareness of *Schadenfreude*, that he never reads their history without scorn, almost to the extent of becoming inhuman in rejoicing over the woes that then befell them.¹⁸⁰ Their subjection to Rome would have been regarded in an outlook of this kind, for all its humanity, as a justified penalty, not as an imposition to be legitimately resisted.

The *Centuries*, Baronius and de Tillemont all share, at any rate, one element of this approach, a Eusebian emphasis on the revolts as foreordained Jewish downfall. In de Tillemont's phrase, the story is one of 'the revolts and misfortunes of the Jews'. Dio is combined with Eusebius, but Dio's notice of the long-term success of the Jewish struggle for recognition finds no echo. The *Centuries* and de Tillemont stand out, however, for their presentation of the revolts as parts of one movement.

Side by side with this work based on classical and patristic sources stand the investigations of seventeenth-century Christian Hebraists into Jewish history on the basis of rabbinic and later Jewish texts. The printings of *Pugio Fidei* (1651, 1687) came when this process had long been under way. This rabbinic approach tends to highlight the Bar Kokhba revolt; moreover, with echoes of rabbinic literature and Maimonides on false messiahs, but also with specifically Christian emphasis on Jewish misunderstanding, Bar Kokhba becomes a standard entry in treatises on Jewish pseudo-messiahs.¹⁸¹ Both aspects are represented at the end of the seventeenth century in the rabbinic and general Hebrew bibliography of the Cistercians G. Bartolucci and C. G. Imbonati.¹⁸²

A notable integration of wide-ranging rabbinic evidence with the classical and patristic sources had then already marked the short historical account of the two risings by John Lightfoot, the effective founder of the

¹⁸⁰ E. de La Boétie, *Discours de la servitude volontaire*, with introduction by Simone Goyard-Fabre (Paris, 1983), 144; the work, published posthumously by the author's friend Montaigne, was probably written c.1546–8.

¹⁸¹ Twelve seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century works dealing with this topic are listed in connection with J. à Lent, *Schediasma de Judaeorum Pseudo-Messiiis* (Herborn, 1683) by J. A. Fabricius, *Delectus argumentorum et syllabus scriptorum qui veritatem religionis Christianae . . . asseruerunt* (Hamburg, 1725), 609–10.

¹⁸² G. Bartolucci and C. G. Imbonati, *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica* (5 vols., Rome, 1675–94, repr. Ridgewood, NJ, 1965), iii, 696–9 (historical summary, quoting Dio, Eusebius, rabbinic texts, and Hebrew chronicles); iv (s. R. Akiba ben Joseph), 272–5; v (in a chapter on false messiahs in Imbonati's separately paginated *Adventus Messiae*), 112–13.

scholarly tradition of commenting on the gospels from rabbinic literature. His account appears in the 'Discourse concerning the Fall of Jerusalem and the Condition of the Jews in that Land afterwards' which concludes his *Harmony, Chronicle and Order of the New Testament* . . . (London, 1655, preface dated 1654).¹⁸³ He continues Eusebius's concern with divine judgment upon the Jews, but also seeks to draw attention to rabbinic texts. Under the heading 'The Sanhedrin still at Jabneh . . .' (he divides his history according to the traditional rabbinic periods) he cites successively Dio on the revolt under Trajan, David Gans (with a query) on Bar Koziba as one of its leaders, the Jerusalem Talmud on Cozbian coins and Bethther in the time of Hadrian, Eusebius on Beththera, Dio on repression by Julius Severus, the Jerusalem Talmud on the destruction of all the olive trees in Judaea, and again, with the Babylonian Talmud, on the slaughter under Hadrian. Then, noting the obscurity of causes, he picks out the *Historia Augusta* on circumcision, asking if Trajan might have forbidden it (the two revolts being treated as one), citing Justin and Eusebius on Bar Kokhba's persecution of Christians, and discussing the Jerusalem Talmud on recircumcision in the days of Bar Kokhba. Talmudic notices of harsh decrees are assigned to the repression, and the ban on Jewish access to Jerusalem is cited from Eusebius. Then a section headed the 'The Sanhedrin at Usha and Shepharam' notes more of the accounts of massacre at Bethar, but stresses that rabbinic teaching continued through a number of illustrious names. In a brief space the reader receives an account using Dio, Eusebius and the *Historia Augusta*, enhanced by much relevant rabbinic material, even if use of David Gans tends to make the two risings wholly continuous. At the same time the familiar patristic stress on judgment is associated with an affirmation, in contrast with depictions of the aftermath of the risings as exile, that Jewish life in Judaea continued. 'Thus did the just vengeance of God follow the Nation, but far were they from being rooted out, and as far from laying to heart any plague that light upon them' – they showed, that is, no hesitation in continuing to explain and develop rabbinic tradition.

Basnage and Gibbon

At the beginning of the eighteenth century both the church historians and the Christian Hebraists were taken up, together with such seventeenth-century Jewish writers as Menasseh ben Israel, in the first history of the Jews

¹⁸³ J. Lightfoot, *The Harmony, Chronicle and Order of the New Testament* . . . (repr. London, 1682), included in J. Lightfoot, ed. G. Bright, *Works* (2 vols., London, 1684), i, 366–8.

in a modern Western language, by the liberal Huguenot J. C. Basnage.¹⁸⁴ Eusebius's perception of a spirit of revolt leading to misfortune and downfall had marked the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century church historians, including Lightfoot. Basnage, on the other hand, was a refugee member of a sometimes militant yet also persecuted French minority, and had contacts with the Jews of the Netherlands and their vigorous apologetic.¹⁸⁵ He rearranged the material to suggest that it was misfortune which inspired revolt, and that defeat did not mean downfall.

Basnage brought Cassius Dio and Eusebius together with accounts of great rabbis of the age of Trajan and Hadrian, but also noted the wretchedness of the Jews after 70. The sad and vengeful apocalypse II Esdras (IV Ezra), quoted above for its hopes of Israelite empire, indicates Jewish feeling under Trajan, he suggests, and the treatment of the Jews had then already deteriorated under Titus and still more under Domitian; they would have shared the Domitianic persecution suffered by Christians. Jewish violence then arose, for Basnage, not from any rebellious spirit, but in response to misfortune. The rise of the line of Jewish patriarchs, traced by Basnage to the Flavian period (but, against rabbinic tradition which he freely criticized, no further back), means that the revolts, however damaging, scarcely break the continuity of Jewish self-government.

Gibbon in two weighty paragraphs of his sixteenth chapter summarized the wars of the Jews against Rome, and their ensuing share in Roman peace. He was a diligent critical reader of Basnage and de Tillemont, and in the previous chapter he had sounded almost Eusebian in his judgment that, under Hadrian, 'the desperate fanaticism of the Jews filled up the measure of their calamities'.¹⁸⁶ In the overall view expressed in his later summary, however, he is closest to Dio, whom he quotes (Eusebius is not cited), but whose degree of sympathy he replaces by the Tacitean scorn noted already. 'From the reign of Nero to that of Antoninus Pius, the Jews discovered a fierce impatience of the dominion of Rome, which repeatedly broke out in the most furious massacres and insurrections. Humanity is shocked at the recital of the horrid cruelties which they committed in the cities of Egypt, of Cyprus, and of Cyrene, where they dwelt in treacherous friendship with the unsuspecting natives . . . ' Zealot principles and messianism heightened

¹⁸⁴ Book vii, chapters xi–xii in J. Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs, depuis Jésus-Christ jusqu'à présent. Pour servir de continuation à l'histoire de Joseph*. New augmented edn (nine Books in 15 vols., The Hague, 1716), vol. xi, 294–378; English translation of 1st edn, *The History of the Jews from Jesus Christ to the Present Time* (one-vol. folio, London, 1708), 507–20.

¹⁸⁵ R. H. Popkin, 'Jacques Basnage's *Histoire des Juifs* and the Bibliotheca Sarraziana', *Studia Rosenthaliana* xxi (1987), 154–62.

¹⁸⁶ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, i, 338 (Chapter xv).

Jewish enthusiasm (in Gibbon's view, expounded a little later, fanatical Jewish followers of Judas the Galilaean, rather than Christians, had been the victims of Nero's persecution); and (here he cites Basnage) 'the famous Barchochebas collected a formidable army'. In time, however, the gentle treatment which Jews received from Pius and his successors assuaged their stern temper. 'Their irreconcilable hatred of mankind, instead of flaming out in acts of blood and violence, evaporated in less dangerous gratifications. They embraced every opportunity of over-reaching the idolaters in trade; and they pronounced secret and ambiguous imprecations against the haughty kingdom of Edom'.¹⁸⁷ Gibbon had elsewhere cited Dio on the recognition of the Jews in the later Roman empire, but here he presents that situation much as Tacitus might have done.

Modern historians

Now, however, perceptions of Jewish history were being affected by the combined strength of the ideas of liberty and nationality mentioned already. If the ancient literary sources condemn the revolts, in modern historiography Jewish insurgence begins to meet the opposite woe, that all speak well of it. Historical interpretation of these events had long proceeded against a background which included praise of liberty. This praise could be expressed together with rejection of unbridled nationalism, including that which could be held to have influenced both Jews and Romans in the ancient world.¹⁸⁸ Increasingly, however, liberty was associated with national independence in its various modern forms, including Jewish reconfigurations of a sense of nationhood.¹⁸⁹

This background encouraged among both Jews and non-Jews a certain sympathy to balance the criticism which marks ancient literary sources.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, i, 383–4, 394–5 (Chapter xvi). Gibbon conjectured that, under Nero, other Jews would have denounced the Zealots.

¹⁸⁸ So from the standpoint of Nonconformity Richard Price, *A Discourse on the Love of Our Country* (1789), reprinted in A. C. Ward, *A Miscellany of Tracts and Pamphlets* (London, 1927), 449–50 (had early Christianity preached love of country, 'among the Jews it would have excited war and insurrections, for they were then in eager expectation of becoming (as the favourite people of Heaven) the lords and conquerors of the earth, under the triumphant reign of the Messiah. Among the Romans, likewise, this principle had, as I have just observed, exceeded its just bounds, and rendered them enemies to the peace and happiness of mankind').

¹⁸⁹ The conjunction of liberty and nationalism as reflected in the English-speaking world is epitomized in the title of Wordsworth's 1807 collection *Poems Dedicated to National Independence and Liberty*; its capacity for embarrassing liberal thinkers more recently is noted by Volkov, 'Reflexionen zum "modernen" und zum "uralten" jüdischen Nationalismus', 32.

¹⁹⁰ Among Jewish and non-Jewish historians discussed below, this is exemplified in F. Münter, I. M. Jost, H. H. Milman, H. Graetz, J. Derenbourg, Theodor Mommsen, S. M. Dubnow, and G. Alon.

A sign of the times was Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1819), in which the Jewish heroine almost eclipses the Christian one, and looks for the day 'when the God of Jacob shall raise up for his chosen people a second Gideon, or a new Maccabaeus'.¹⁹¹ Despite the vast influence of Gibbon, both in atmosphere and in scholarship the modern study of the two later revolts can best be dated from the book of 1821, mentioned already, by the biblical scholar, church historian and Danish bishop Friedrich Münter (1761–1830).

Münter to Graetz

Münter can be called the founder of modern study of these risings in two ways. First, he stands out for his perception of the importance of the subject – he was the first to devote a book to it – for his enlargement of the range of sources, and for the long-term perspective which he brought to the revolts. Following Basnage on Roman provocation, Münter went far beyond him. Münter's stance was detached rather than defensive, but – here in a second way he brings in a modern atmosphere – he had the sympathetic interest in movements for national independence which was widespread in post-Napoleonic Europe, and has marked study of the subject ever since. He began by noting that this period of Jewish war had not in his view been adequately explained, and he gathered the scattered evidence to provide discussion of pagan, Christian and rabbinic and later Jewish texts and of coinage and inscriptions.¹⁹² The two uprisings, he urged, were but phases in one long and genuinely national revolt, which had its roots in dampened but enduring Jewish messianic hopes, especially in the diaspora, and was further provoked by the increase in Roman hatred and contempt for the Jews which could be discerned under the Flavian emperors and under Trajan.¹⁹³

Presenting the two revolts as manifestations of one continuous movement in the Jewish community, amounting to a messianic war against the Roman empire, Münter enlarged a pattern which was already found before him. Its antecedents in Byzantine and Jewish chroniclers have already been noted. In early modern historiography it had been encouraged again by the Christian Hebraist interest in Jewish chronicles and by the renewed influence of Eusebius's presentation of the two uprisings as manifestations

¹⁹¹ Sir Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe: A Romance* (1819), 276 (end of Chapter xxix).

¹⁹² Thus the fact that, by contrast with H. Graetz and other Jewish historians, he paid some attention to mediaeval Jewish chronicles is noted appreciatively by S. Krauss, 'Bar Kokba and Bar Kokba War', *JE* ii (1902), 505–9 (507).

¹⁹³ Münter, *Der jüdische Krieg unter den Kaisern Trajan und Hadrian*, 4–9.

of one single Jewish movement of revolt (*apostasia*), itself a resurgence of the movement quelled by Vespasian.¹⁹⁴ Münter himself presented it in national terms, at the height of European awareness of the possibilities of national uprisings against empires; but his interpretation of it as messianic war renewed the emphasis of the seventeenth-century Christian Hebraists.

His work was soon used in three widely read general histories of the Jews. The pioneering work of I. M. Jost in German (1820–8) was followed by H. H. Milman in English (1830 onwards) and, on a larger scale, by H. Graetz in German (1853 onwards). Münter sent Jost his book just in time for it to be used in the final preparation of the relevant volume of Jost's history for publication in 1822.¹⁹⁵ Jost's lively and appreciative engagement and response, from the standpoint of a liberal Judaism and in the context of contemporary movements for national independence, leads him to the view that the Trajanic and Hadrianic war has greater significance than has been commonly recognized; 'this remarkable war-history, which bears much resemblance to the present-day Greek war, deserves still further investigation'.¹⁹⁶

Jost affirmed more strongly than Basnage the continuity of teaching and authority among Jews before and after 70, helped by a restoration of Roman peace.¹⁹⁷ Following but freely criticizing rabbinic sources, Jost held that the war was scarcely ended under Vespasian when scattered members of the sanhedrin reassembled; Gamaliel II was the first real patriarch, in the sense of a lawgiver for all communities, and the Jews of Judaea and elsewhere had a peaceful and united existence at the beginning of the second century. Rebellion broke out under Trajan because of the sufferings of the eastern Jews when he advanced through Mesopotamia in his Parthian campaign, and because of the anti-Jewish activities of the restless gentile populations in Egypt and Libya.

The liberal Anglican historian Milman draws freely on Jost, like him showing special interest in the continuity of the Jews as a people. Noting Gibbon's equal aversion from Judaism and from Christianity, Milman explained Jewish war against Rome not simply from the mutinous Jewish disposition which Gibbon stressed, but also from the oppression which,

¹⁹⁴ Eusebius, *H.E.* iv 2, 1 (a disturbance [*kinesis*] of the Jews arising 'again', under Trajan); iv 6, 1 (the *apostasia* of the Jews 'again' progressing into something great and large, under Hadrian).

¹⁹⁵ I. M. Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten seit der Zeit der Maccabäer bis auf unsre Tage nach den Quellen bearbeitet* (nine separately issued parts, Berlin, 1820–8); on Münter see *ibid.*, iii (Berlin, 1822), x–xi, 164–5, 177–87; on Jost's outlook see Brenner, *Propheten des Vergangenen*, 54–8.

¹⁹⁶ Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, iii, p. xi.

¹⁹⁷ For what follows see Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, iii, 181–225.

he argued, Jews would have suffered in Trajan's time (by analogy, he suggested in line with Basnage, with the better-documented repression of Christians).¹⁹⁸ The sequel, as in Basnage, was the remarkable voluntary adherence of Jews, at home or in dispersion, to the authority of their patriarch.¹⁹⁹

With Milman's Jewish history should be noted a large-scale Roman history which began publication twenty years later, Charles Merivale's *History of the Romans under the Empire* (1850–64). Merivale admired Thomas Arnold, from the generation just before his own, and shared much of the outlook of the liberal Anglican historians like Arnold and Milman.²⁰⁰ Thus generous indignation against Roman treatment of the Jews and Tacitus's malign depiction of them forms one memorable feature of Merivale's *History*.²⁰¹ Another is his strong assertion of the vigour of Jewish life and Judaism, and Jewish national feeling in the early empire; he followed Gibbon in thinking that Jewish fanatics rather than Christians were the first targets of the Neronian persecution.²⁰² Correspondingly, he emphasized the political importance of the large nationally aware Jewish populations in the eastern Roman provinces and the Parthian empire, both before the destruction of the temple and in new (and for Merivale religiously less admirable) but still lively manifestations, in the years that followed.²⁰³ Comparably with this general view, he held that the strength of Jews, and now of Christians too, in the eastern provinces, with the backing for disturbance which Parthia might provide, was a motive for Trajan's eastern

¹⁹⁸ H. H. Milman, *History of the Jews* (4th edn, 1866, repr. London, 2 vols., 1909), ii, 127–42; for his comments on Gibbon and 'the bitter antipathy of his school to the Jewish race' see 127, n. 2; 143–4. On Milman's Jewish history in its intellectual setting, influenced by Vico and B. G. Niebuhr, see Duncan Forbes, *The Liberal Anglican Idea of History* (Cambridge, 1952), esp. 34–5, 76–83, 118–21.

¹⁹⁹ Milman, *History of the Jews*, ii, 143–9.

²⁰⁰ 'I must not hesitate to avow, not only my regard for him [Dr Arnold], but my conviction that a great part of my habits of thought and religious sentiment is built up upon his teaching' (letter of C. Merivale, 3 May 1850, to his future wife Judith M. S. Frere, printed in Judith Anne Merivale (ed.), *Autobiography of Dean Merivale with Selections from His Correspondence* (London, 1899), 181.

²⁰¹ C. Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire* (new edn, 8 vols., 1865–73), vii, 213–20 (Tacitus's 'studied insults towards a vanquished enemy'), 251 ('the overthrow of Judaea . . . commenced in wanton aggression, and was effected with a barbarity, of which no other example occurs in the records of civilization'). Merivale's special note of a change of Roman sentiment exemplified by Tacitus has been taken up in later study.

²⁰² Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, vi, 280, discussed in connection with Gibbon by J. B. Lightfoot, *Philippians* (12th edn, London, 1908), 24; Merivale suggested that under Nero the suspected Jews in turn denounced Christians.

²⁰³ Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, vii, 187–91; viii, 136–9, 172–4; for rabbinic material, notably the legends concerning R. Akiba, he drew on an account from a liberal Jewish standpoint, Joseph Salvador's *Histoire de la domination romaine en Judée, et de la ruine de Jérusalem* (2 vols., Paris, 1847).

expedition.²⁰⁴ He gave a full account, therefore, of the Trajanic risings, noting that Jews may have taken the Antiochene earthquake as a signal for revolt, and that Cyprus, in easy reach of Antioch, had potential as a Jewish headquarters; the Bar Kokhba war was the sequel of this great insurrection. The building of Aelia then set the seal on Jewish dispersion, and encouraged Christian perceptions of independence from the Jewish community.²⁰⁵

To return to histories of the Jews, the impact of the new *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, studying Jewish traditions in the whole context of ancient history and literature, was now fully felt in the work of Heinrich Graetz. He treated the revolts in the first volume of his Jewish history to be published (1853); it stood ultimately as the fourth of eleven volumes, issued 1853–76.²⁰⁶ It covers ‘the Talmudic age’ (to quote a subtitle), and its outstanding feature, together with its focus on ‘the Jews’, the people with their national or nationlike existence, is Graetz’s insistence on the historical importance of rabbinic literature, an importance extending beyond its value as a witness to events. Jewish literature in general for Graetz was the core of Jewish history, a series of deeds rather than writings, bringing healing to the suffering nation; this was true par excellence, he believed, of the Talmud and midrash (he missed in the liberal Jost any deep sense for this ‘national’ significance of rabbinic tradition).²⁰⁷

Yet he also wants simply to restore rabbinic texts to serious historical attention as sources, to be used for Jewish history in this period side by side with Christian texts; the rabbinic and patristic literatures form the two ‘primaeval forests’ (‘Urwälder’) in which the historian of this age must walk. He regards his fresh depiction on this basis of the Bar Kokhba revolt and the woes which ensued as one of the notable contributions of the volume.²⁰⁸ A small trace of the approach of the new *Wissenschaft* is the

²⁰⁴ Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, viii, 152–3.

²⁰⁵ Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, viii, 166–79.

²⁰⁶ H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden vom Untergang des jüdischen Staates bis zum Abschluss des Talmud* (Berlin, 1853), 129–97 (chapters vi–ix). The successive editions of the whole work and of individual volumes are listed by I. Abrahams, ‘H. Graetz, the Jewish Historian’, *JQR* iv (1892), 165–203 (194–5). For comparison of Graetz and Milman see R. E. Clements, ‘Heinrich Graetz as Biblical Historian and Religious Apologist’, in J. A. Emerton and S. C. Reif (eds.), *Interpreting the Hebrew Bible: Essays in Honour of E. I. J. Rosenthal* (Cambridge, 1982), 35–55.

²⁰⁷ Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden vom Untergang des jüdischen Staates bis zum Abschluss des Talmud*, 4–5 (Jewish literature is a work of healing for the whole suffering nation, and forms the core of Jewish history); 7–8 (subtitle ‘Die talmudische Zeit’: the formation of rabbinic tradition, ‘ein echtes Nationalwerk geistigen Strebens’). On Graetz’s critique of Jost see Brenner, *Propheten des Vergangenen*, 87–93.

²⁰⁸ On these points see Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden vom Untergang des jüdischen Staates bis zum Abschluss des Talmud*, pp. x–xi.

disappearance of mediaeval and later Jewish chroniclers like Gans from the Jewish traditions under consideration; attention is focused by Graetz on the rabbinic material from antiquity rather than later reinterpretations. Another such trace is his reshaping of the figure of Simeon b. Yohai so as to remove the association with mysticism which he had in connection with the Zohar, and to present him, rather, as a leading teacher of halakhah who suffered in the Roman repression of revolt, and whose legend gives clues to the time of repression.²⁰⁹

In accord with his view of rabbinic tradition and literature as the heart of the matter for historians, Graetz sets both the risings within the traditional reckoning of the generations of the Tannaim – in the manner of Abraham ibn Daud, as noted already, but with a lively nineteenth-century depiction of their varied characters as suggested by their sayings. Tradition is also followed when Graetz (unlike Basnage) presents a post-70 sanhedrin in essential continuity with the great council of the nation in the pre-70 period, now led not by the high priest but by a rabbinic head. Gamaliel II, head towards the end of the first century, already received the title *nasi*, and was probably recognized by the Romans as patriarch.

The revolts, then, break out at a time when the sanhedrin and the patriarchate have already secured Roman recognition. Vespasian and Titus had been mild in their treatment of Judaeans after 70; Domitian was a persecutor, but Nerva brought relief. Nevertheless, the Mesopotamian Jews at the time of Trajan's Parthian expedition, and then those of Cyrene, Egypt and Cyprus, rose as if to avenge the defeat of 70. The Judaeans' outbreak under Hadrian was provoked mainly by withdrawal of Roman permission to rebuild the temple, as the midrash suggests (Ber. R. lxiv 10, cited above). In the end, however, Graetz, again on the basis of rabbinic texts, depicts revolution turning into martyrdom, for Bar Kokhba's revolt is crushed by a persecution which marks the close of the second generation of Tannaim.

The sequel is a widespread Jewish sense of powerlessness, from which the nation was rescued through the rabbinic movement, focused on the sanhedrin and the patriarchate. It is implied, however, that the revolts have helped to set the Jews on this road of suffering healed by learning, *Leidensgeschichte* met by *Literaturgeschichte*, which Graetz (following but adapting earlier views) sees as characteristic for the history of the Jews after

²⁰⁹ Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden vom Untergang des jüdischen Staates bis zum Abschluss des Talmud*, 212–18, 226–30; on this aspect of his mind see P. Schäfer, 'Adversus cabbalam' oder Heinrich Graetz und die jüdische Mystik', in P. Schäfer and I. Wandrey (eds.), *Reuchlin und seine Erben* (Ostfildern, 2005), 189–210.

the destruction of the temple.²¹⁰ His picture of one side of Jewish history as martyrdom could readily be perceived as a call for national revival, just as martyr presentations of other national histories were commending struggles for independence.²¹¹ (For a somewhat comparable patriotic stress on suffering near the time of the risings themselves, compare the portrait of mournful Jerusalem in the outspokenly anti-Roman II Esdras, highlighted by Basnage.) In the central European context, Graetz was writing in the less hopeful years of political reaction from the measures of Jewish emancipation which had accompanied the revolution of 1848 in Prussia. Thus his work made a deep impression on Moses Hess, who in his *Rom und Jerusalem* (1862) added to Graetz's evocation of the nationhood of the Jews (even if their development is expected to take place in gentile states) his own advocacy of Jewish colonization of Palestine.²¹²

The tension between the interpretations of Jewish war as downfall or as the beginning of renewal continues from Münter to Graetz. The apologetic interests (Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish) manifest in the divergence of Basnage from de Tillemont have not disappeared, but attention has been focused afresh on the wide range of the evidence and on the difficulties of interpreting Roman-Jewish relations. Thus Graetz envisages a relatively mild Roman attitude to Jews after 70, but takes into account the zealotlike as well as the more pacific strand in Jewish feeling. Rabbinic sources are fundamental for his narrative. In his hands they signal questions which remain important. Did the developments leading to the position of Judah ha-Nasi at the end of the second century begin between 70 and 135? Was the fate of the temple central in forming Jewish attitudes? How significant is martyrdom for the understanding of resistance? Münter, Milman, Merivale and Graetz combine to highlight those inner Jewish impulses which led to the messianic hope stressed by Münter and the martyrdom studied by Graetz – but also to the restructured national existence which emerged after Bar Kokhba, and might, if rabbinic texts are followed, have been anticipated before him.

²¹⁰ For these characteristics see Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden vom Untergang des jüdischen Staates bis zum Abschluss des Talmud*, 2.

²¹¹ An example close to the time of Graetz is L. Tosti's description of Italian history as a martyrdom unequalled by any other nation, a veritable Golgotha, in the preface to his patriotic *Storia della lega lombarda* (Monte Cassino, 1848), quoted by E. Renan, *Essais de Morale* (Paris, 1860), 206.

²¹² S. M. Dubnow, *Die neueste Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes* (2 vols., Berlin, 1920), ii, 349–50; his view of Graetz as bringing out the idea of a Jewish nation exemplifies the nationalist reinterpretation of Graetz which is judged to reflect some misunderstanding of Graetz's own non-nationalist outlook by Volkov, 'Reflexionen zum "modernen" und zum "uralten" jüdischen Nationalismus', 46–7 (perhaps thinking of Graetz's lack of emphasis on a territorial dimension), but which has a basis in Graetz's own emphasis on nationhood.

Special studies from the mid nineteenth century

Meanwhile, however, two treatments of the risings which are landmarks in different ways had appeared outside the stream of large-scale Jewish and Roman histories. George Williams's topographical and antiquarian work on Jerusalem, *The Holy City*, included an account of the two risings indebted to Münter and, notably, what seems to be the first modern scholarly identification of Bethar (Beththera) as Khirbet el-Yehud at Bittir; Edward Robinson in his celebrated *Biblical Researches in Palestine* (1841) had regarded the site of Bethar as unknown, but Williams drew attention to the continuity between the Arabic and the ancient Aramaic toponym, and to the traces of siege on the spot. Williams's account of his visit on 28 April 1843 remains one of the clearest descriptions of the site.²¹³

Second, the then young F. Gregorovius issued his history of Hadrian and his time in 1851. Originally written just before the 1848 revolution, his work represents what can be called a romantic approach contrasting with that of Gibbon, but having a certain kinship with Milman and Merivale. No longer is Hadrian part of the golden age of the Roman empire. Instead, he represents a dark and comfortless period, when general intellectual culture had declined and Christianity was approaching the ecclesiastical despotism of the Constantinian age. His rule marks a time of transition, a kind of Middle Age between the greatness for good or ill of the early principate, and the coming of the barbarians. The Jewish risings, here described by a fresh review of primary sources, were a response to the contempt for the Jews which marked Rome at this wretched period and thereafter.²¹⁴ Gregorovius's reaction to Hadrianic culture contrasts not only with Gibbon but also with Renan. This coolness survived in a rewritten second edition over thirty years later, despite a new recognition of golden material prosperity under Hadrian; a now much fuller account of the risings reckons especially with Münter and Graetz. Gregorovius still sympathizes with the rebels as well as their repressors, but stresses the conflict between Jewish religious devotion – which in these risings would have led to victory for fanaticism – and imperial cosmopolitanism – a true achievement, even if Rome's cultural vigour had declined.²¹⁵

²¹³ G. Williams, *The Holy City: Historical, Topographical and Antiquarian Notices of Jerusalem* (2nd edn, 2 vols., London and Cambridge, 1849), ii, 205–14.

²¹⁴ F. Gregorovius, *Geschichte des römischen Kaisers Hadrian und seiner Zeit* (Königsberg, 1851), v, viii–ix, 48–68.

²¹⁵ F. Gregorovius, *Der Kaiser Hadrian. Gemälde der römisch-hellenistischen Welt zu seiner Zeit* (2nd, rewritten edn, Stuttgart, 1884), 188–216; translated as *The Emperor Hadrian. A Picture of the Graeco-Roman World in His Time* (London, 1898).

The critique of second-century imperial culture which gives Gregorovius his freshness in contrast with Gibbon at the same time distances him from the recognition by Renan and many later scholars of the renewed if short-lived flowering of Greek literature and thought in the empire at this time. Jews participated in this revival in respect of Hebrew as well as Greek, as attested by Josephus, the Mishnah, the first- and second-century Greek translations of Hebrew scripture (represented among refugees' property in the Bar Kokhba war), and the traces in tannaitic midrashim of second-century rabbinic comment on scripture.

The renewed exploration of the historical value of rabbinic texts which was central to the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* and to Graetz's work was given a distinctive force and focus in Joseph Derenbourg's study of Palestinian history and geography from Cyrus to Hadrian 'from the Talmuds and the other rabbinic sources' (1867).²¹⁶ His creative self-restriction to these sources means that, in his final chapter on 'the Jewish wars under Trajan and Hadrian', his detailed yet clear main text can explore questions like those posed for the Trajanic revolt by the catena of rabbinic passages on Pappus and Lulianus, and his interest in geography as well as history can throw light on topography; thus he doubts Graetz's suggestions of the impact of fighting under Bar Kokhba in the north (Mount Ephraim and Galilee), although he envisages Roman repressive measures there.²¹⁷

Renan and Mommsen

Graetz's Jewish history is matched as a landmark in study of Jewish war against Rome by Ernest Renan's seven-volume history of Christian origins down to Marcus Aurelius (1863–82); its composition spanned the disastrous years for France of 1870–I. Continuing fascination with Renan's views of religion, race and nationality should not obscure his particular contribution to the history of the Jews and the early church.²¹⁸ This arose from his perception, expressed in connection with the Christian adoption of the anti-Roman Jewish apocalypse of Ezra (II Esdras or IV Ezra, mentioned already), that Judaism and Christianity in the early second century form a double entity like Siamese twins, joined together and each affected by

²¹⁶ J. Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine d'après les Thalmuds et les autres sources rabbiniques, Première Partie. Histoire de la Palestine depuis Cyrus jusqu'à Adrien* (Paris, 1867, repr. Farnborough, 1971).

²¹⁷ Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine*, 406–12, 416–18, 428–9.

²¹⁸ An account of his views of 'race' and 'nation' is given by S. Sand, 'The Unclassifiable Renan', translated by D. Fernbach from S. Sand, *De la nation et du 'peuple juif'* (Paris, 2009) in Sand, *On the Nation and the 'Jewish People'* (London and New York, 2010), 3–35.

the other's feelings and volitions.²¹⁹ Renan was correspondingly full in bringing together the Christian and Jewish sources for the period, showing the significance of Christian literature for current political tendencies but also treating coins and inscriptions with some detail. His knowledge of Hebrew and Aramaic gave him first-hand access to the rabbinic material discussed by Graetz, whom he often cites, and by his own colleagues Adolphe Neubauer and Joseph Derenbourg.

Renan was ready to detect conflicting attitudes to Roman rule within both the Jewish and the Christian communities. His experience of contemporary French history, especially the fall of Napoleon III, followed by the Paris Commune, sharpens his eye, as noted already, for what he condemns (not without balancing considerations) as fanaticism which led to 'the destruction of Jewish nationality'; thus for Renan the author of the Revelation of St John, a Jew imbued with fanatical love of Jerusalem and hatred for Rome, sees everything as if in the delusive pale yellow light of burning, somewhat as Paris looked at night from a distance in the light of its own flames in 1871, at the time of the Commune.²²⁰ Yet although the Jewish community included many who wanted peace and order, its allegiance to a law held to be divine made it in Renan's view fundamentally antipathetic to Rome, a 'narrow though fruitful theocracy' over against a secular state. Looking ahead to the nineteenth century, he wrote, 'Rome founded the state, the Jewish community founded the church. Rome created secular and rational government, the Jews inaugurated the kingdom of God.'²²¹ The confident judgment that Jewish interpretations of biblical religion could not be integrated with Roman peace, met already in Gregorovius, now reappears.

Renan describes the wars under Trajan and Hadrian as the last outbursts of the fanaticism displayed in the book of Revelation. The Cyrenaic Jews, taking advantage of apparent Roman weakness in the Parthian campaign,

²¹⁹ E. Renan, *Histoire des origines du Christianisme*, 'Livre cinquième, qui comprend depuis la destruction de la nationalité juive jusqu'à la mort de Trajan (74–117)', *Les évangiles et la seconde génération chrétienne* (Paris, 1877), repr. in *Oeuvres complètes d'Ernest Renan*, ed. Henriette Psichari, v (Paris, 1949), 55.

²²⁰ Renan, *Histoire des origines du Christianisme*, iv, *L'Antéchrist. Depuis l'arrivée de saint Paul à Rome jusqu'à la fin de la révolution juive (61–73)* (Paris, 1873), repr. in *Oeuvres complètes d'Ernest Renan*, ed. Henriette Psichari, iv (Paris, 1949), 1,410.

²²¹ Renan, *L'Antéchrist*, 1264. That Renan also regarded the convergence of the conflicting Graeco-Roman and Jewish heritages as making a positive contribution to the movement of the world is justly emphasized by T. Rajak, 'Jews and Greeks: the Invention and Exploitation of Polarities in the Nineteenth Century', reprinted from M. Biddiss and M. Wyke (eds.), *The Uses and Abuses of Antiquity* (Bern, 1999), 57–77 in T. Rajak, *The Jewish Dialogue with Greece and Rome* (AGAJU xlviii, Leiden, 2001), 535–57 (545–8).

were carried away as if by demonic possession, as Eusebius and Orosius suggest; similar fury seemed to seize Judaeans under Hadrian, headed for the first time by a messianic claimant (even though many opposed revolt, and the building of Aelia was a grave provocation).²²² Characteristic was Renan's conclusion that the peace-loving Jews who asked only the liberty to meditate on the Law deserve the sympathies of history, but that 'our principles oblige us to be severe towards Bar Coziba, who cast his country into an abyss of misfortunes, and Akiba, who lent his authority to popular frenzy. Those who shed their blood for a cause which they hold to be good deserve respect, but not necessarily approbation. The fanatics of Israel fought not for liberty, but for theocracy . . .'²²³

Renan's use of rabbinic sources in his fifth volume (1877) was soon saluted, but also criticized with regard to the Trajanic uprising, in the first part of M. Joel's *Blicke in die Religionsgeschichte* (1880), on the prohibition of Greek teaching after the war of Quietus. Renan comments that the folly of this war led Jews to forbid themselves Greek and to cut the root of all good intellectual culture.²²⁴ Joel, A. Geiger's successor as rabbi in Breslau, was a noted student of mediaeval Jewish philosophy as well as rabbinic texts. In this case he presented frustrated hopes for the rebuilding of the temple as a great cause for revolt in a fresh treatment, fuller than Derenbourg's, of rabbinic allusions to the war of Quietus, the 'day of Trajan' and Pappus and Lulianus.²²⁵ Renan, he suggests, did not give sufficient weight to such evidence when he highlighted folly and echoed, in connection with anti-Roman bitterness, Eusebius's words on a terrible spirit of faction. Amplifying this view of the revolt with regard to Dio on Jewish atrocities, Joel later proposed, in a rebuttal of suggestions of Jewish instigation for the persecution of Christians, that the passage concerned merely reflected Christian allegations mediated by the epitomator Xiphilinus (a widely followed view, discussed and rejected above).²²⁶

²²² Renan, *Les évangiles et la seconde génération chrétienne*, 340; Renan, *Histoire des origines du Christianisme*, 6, *L'église chrétienne* (Paris, 1879), repr. in *Oeuvres complètes d'Ernest Renan*, ed. Henriette Psichari, v (Paris, 1949), 500–3.

²²³ Renan, *L'église chrétienne*, 512, citing II (Syriac) Baruch 61, on the shedding of the blood of the sinful nations under David and Solomon, and 66, on the destruction of all that seemed evil in the land under Josiah.

²²⁴ Renan, *Les évangiles et la seconde génération chrétienne*, 347.

²²⁵ M. Joel, *Blicke in die Religionsgeschichte zu Anfang des zweiten christlichen Jahrhunderts*. I. *Der Talmud und die griechische Sprache* (Breslau, 1880), pp. iv–vii, 10–42; on Renan's echo of Eusebius, 14.

²²⁶ Joel, *Blicke in die Religionsgeschichte zu Anfang des zweiten christlichen Jahrhunderts, mit Berücksichtigung der angränzenden Zeiten*. II. *Der Conflict des Heidenthums mit dem Christenthume in seinen Folgen für das Judenthum* (Breslau, 1883), 163–9.

Now Renan's German contemporary Theodor Mommsen, who maintained friendly relations with him, left a deep impress on reconstruction of the Roman context of the revolts; both historians were liberals who viewed political engagement as a duty, but both feared the mob and had felt in different ways the attraction of the 'Caesarism' of Napoleon III.²²⁷ The chapter on Judaea and the Jews in Mommsen's history of the Roman provinces from Caesar to Diocletian (1885), and his essay on blasphemy and sacrilege in Roman law (1890) recall Renan in a stress on fanaticism, but they also present the suggestion of a dramatic change in Roman treatment of the Jews from 70 onwards.²²⁸ For Mommsen the years from the death of Agrippa I in 44 saw a steady increase in Jewish hatred for Rome. This was manifest in continuing unrest in Judaea, and its enduring literary monument, as in Renan, is a Christian Jewish apocalypse, the Revelation of St John. This book reflects the conditions of the seventies and eighties (here Mommsen rejects Renan's association of the Apocalypse with Nero's reign); nevertheless, it attests a hostility to Rome which goes back at least to the forties, for it had been kindled above all by Caligula's plan to erect his statue in the temple in the years 39–41; correspondingly, the focus of anti-Roman feeling in the Revelation is opposition to the imperial cult.²²⁹ The war which broke out in 66 was not a war between two powers for ascendancy, nor was it genuinely a war of national liberation; it was impelled by the ingrained hatred of fanatical peasants for Roman strangers.

Then after 70 Mommsen discerned a dramatic change in Roman policy towards the Jews, and in the position of the Jews in the Roman empire.

²²⁷ Mommsen chose Renan for his approach when seeking to renew relations with French scholarship after the Franco-Prussian war; see L. Wickert, *Theodor Mommsen: Eine Biographie* (4 vols., Frankfurt am Main, 1959, 1964, 1969, 1980), iv, 156–9. On Mommsen's fascination with the 'Caesarism' of Napoleon III's imperial rule validated by plebiscite see A. Momigliano, review of A. Heuss, *Theodor Mommsen und das 19. Jahrhundert* (1956) and A. Wucher, *Theodor Mommsens Geschichtsschreibung und Politik* (1956), reprinted from *Gnomon* xxx (1958), 1–6 in A. Momigliano, *Secondo contributo alla storia degli studi classici* (Rome, 1960), 421–7 (423); S. Rebenich, *Theodor Mommsen* (Munich, 2002), 92–5.

²²⁸ See book viii, chapter xi in T. Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v, *Die Provinzen von Caesar bis Diocletian* (Berlin, 1885, repr. 1921), 538–44, translated as *The Provinces of the Roman Empire from Caesar to Diocletian*, tr. W. P. Dixon (2 vols., London, 1886, repr. 1909), ii, 216–25; T. Mommsen, 'Der Religionsfrevl nach römischen Recht', *Historische Zeitschrift* lxiv (1890), 389–429, reprinted in Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften* (8 vols., Berlin, 1904–13, repr. 1965), iii, 389–422.

²²⁹ Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v, 519–25; for an English translation see *The Provinces of the Roman Empire from Caesar to Diocletian*, ii, 195–205; Mommsen's view of the book as reflecting Jewish hatred was energetically rebutted by Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, iii, 525, n. 2, for whom it is, for all the author's use of sources and probable contact with Jews, a Christian response to Roman persecution. Comparison with II Esdras and the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch shows in any case that Jewish apocalypses from the late Flavian period can express hatred for Rome, and were used by Christians.

This change can be compared with the change from a state to a community focused on religion which had been envisaged for the Jews under Persian rule after the Exile by Julius Wellhausen, with whom Mommsen corresponded.²³⁰ Thus, in what Mommsen saw as a breach with the policies of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid kings which the Romans had so far continued, the temple was left desolate by Vespasian, and the high-priesthood was extinguished as a political force; Mommsen held that the focus of Jewish political unity was thus deliberately removed, and that, despite continuing Roman tolerance of Jewish religious custom, a 'religious-political dissolution of the nation' was effected.²³¹ Correspondingly, he added, the Jews ceased to be treated in law as members of a nation; their civic status was simply that of enemies who had surrendered, *dediticii*, and they were now purely a confessional community.²³²

The revolts which then followed under Trajan and Hadrian evinced, however, not only religious exasperation, but also the enduring capacity of the Jews worldwide for concerted national action as a 'state within a state'; the revolts thus form not only a consequence but also an explanation of the harsh but necessary Flavian measures concerning the temple and the high-priesthood.²³³ The Jews under their traditional constitutional arrangements had been a political force which was incompatible with the unity of the Roman empire. Mommsen noted that his view of Flavian policy was supported by, although it did not depend upon, J. Bernays's argument (discussed in [Chapter 3](#)) for the view that Titus had ordered the burning of the temple. The statement that Titus did so, which is found, contradicting Josephus, in the later Christian historians Sulpicius Severus and Orosius, was based, Bernays argued, on a lost book of Tacitus.²³⁴

A short but influential rehabilitation of those condemned as fanatics by Renan and Mommsen appeared in Kaufmann Kohler's 1906 *Jewish Encyclopedia* article 'Zealots'. In a richly documented summary he used I Maccabees, rabbinic literature and other sources to complement and

²³⁰ Wellhausen's *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, stating this view of post-exilic Israel, had appeared in 1883; at the end of 1884 Mommsen asked Wellhausen to read in proof chapters ix–xi of the fifth volume of his *Römische Geschichte*. See E. Bammel, 'Judentum, Christentum und Heidentum: Julius Wellhausens Briefe an Theodor Mommsen 1881–1902', *ZKG* xviii (1969), 221–54 (221–2).

²³¹ Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire from Caesar to Diocletian*, ii, 195–205, 216–220.

²³² Mommsen, 'Der Religionsfrevel nach römischem Recht'.

²³³ Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v, 538–44; English translation *The Provinces of the Roman Empire from Caesar to Diocletian*, ii, 216–25.

²³⁴ J. Bernays, 'Ueber die Chronik des Sulpicius Severus', reprinted from the *Jahresbericht des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars zu Breslau* (1861) in J. Bernays, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, ed. H. Usener (2 vols., Berlin, 1885), ii, 81–200 (159–81).

correct Josephus's picture of banditlike rebels. The Zealot movement now appears as essentially a religious confession of God alone as king, joined with increasingly important political teaching and action for liberty, and, despite the verdict of historians in favour of peaceful Jewish acceptance of Roman rule, deserving admiration for its example of steadfastness and martyrdom.²³⁵ This presentation would find its time again after the Second World War, especially in the work of Cecil Roth and Martin Hengel.

From Juster to Dubnow and Eisler

Mommsen's view of the Flavians as bringing the end of the Jewish state, so different from Graetz's assessment, had developed the picture of the Jews as henceforth without a city and country of their own which is presented by Renan and goes back to Tertullian and the second-century pagan polemist Celsus, and perhaps in part to Josephus himself and St John's Gospel.²³⁶ It was keenly criticized, however, by Jean Juster.²³⁷ He drew attention to literary and epigraphic evidence, including legal texts, suggesting that Jews continued, after 70 as before, to be treated as members of a nation, and not simply as individuals professing the Jewish religion. This material not only makes it hard to suppose that Jews in general were deprived of rights in the way which applied to *dediticii*, but also more broadly indicates later recognition of a Jewish nation and its ancestral customs under Roman rule. Nevertheless, the gap between legal prescriptions and life can be wide, as is often acknowledged. Mommsen's presentation of a dramatic change in Roman attitudes after 70, and a deliberate Roman termination of the bond of worldwide Jewish unity constituted by high priest and temple, has continued in outline to attract historians.²³⁸

²³⁵ K. Kohler, 'Zealots', *JE* xii (1906), 639–43.

²³⁶ Renan, *L'église chrétienne*, 521, citing Tertullian, *Apol.* xxi 5 *dispersi, palabundi, et soli et caeli sui extorres vagabuntur per orbem*; Celsus in Origen, *c. Celsum* viii 69 (without land or home of any kind); John 11:48, cited above (high priests and Pharisees said to express fear that the Romans 'will take away our [holy] place and our nation'; Augustine comments 'by conquest and transference [exile]', *Comm. in Job.* xlix 26); cf. – here without the idea of permanent loss – Josephus, *B.J.* vii 109 (Titus represented as saying, in favour of Jews being allowed to remain in Antioch, that the Jews' native land has been destroyed).

²³⁷ J. Juster, *Les juifs dans l'empire romain* (2 vols., Paris, 1914), ii, 19–23; on the background of this critique in Juster's enthusiasm for Jewish liberties as accorded in France, by contrast with his native Rumania, see M. Goodman, 'Jean Juster and the Study of the Jews under Roman Rule', in G. Khan (ed.), *Semitic Studies in Honour of Edward Ullendorff* (Leiden, 2005), 309–22.

²³⁸ See for example discussion below of G. Alon and M. D. Goodman; for the continuing appeal of Mommsen's view compare J. Teixidor, *Le judéo-christianisme* (Paris, 2006), 19 ('on accepte volontiers la thèse de Mommsen . . . ' [on Vespasian's considered destruction of the power of the high priest]).

At the same time, however, Juster discussed the wars under Trajan and Hadrian together within a series of Jewish revolts, underlining the continued manifestation of a spirit of independent Jewish nationality.²³⁹ His encyclopaedic treatment brought together much of the detailed work on inscriptions, papyri and rabbinic texts which since the 1870s had been changing the picture of the Jews under Trajan and Hadrian. Examples discussed below include the edition and interpretation of the papyrus Acts of the Alexandrians, and further papyri concerning Jews in Egypt, by U. Wilcken and others.²⁴⁰ From rabbinic texts, as regards Judaea, Adolph Büchler had argued that the Bar Kokhba revolt was concentrated in the south, in the former territory of Judah and Benjamin rather than Galilee, and elsewhere Juster noted his work on economic conditions in Judaea from 70 to 135.²⁴¹

The influence of Mommsen's emphasis on Roman anti-Jewish hostility after 70, and perhaps also of Gregorovius and Renan on the Jewish-Roman antithesis, can be suspected, however, in S. M. Dubnow's Jewish history, composed in the 1920s. Dubnow (1860–1941) sketched what became a comparably influential picture of a broader Jewish-Roman incompatibility. He himself had taken refuge from the Russian civil wars in Berlin from 1922, and then from Nazism in Riga from 1933. He re-emphasized Jewish nationhood, now from a secular point of view with a debt to Auguste Comte; Dubnow saw the Jews scattered throughout the world as the pattern of the evolution towards autonomy which all nations experience.²⁴² Jewish attainment of various forms of self-government in the diaspora fulfilled this evolution (here Dubnow differed from his Zionist contemporaries). To use his terms, he differentiates this Comtist 'sociological' approach to Jewish history both from the 'theological' outlook of Christian historians and from Graetz's 'intellectual' or 'spiritual' emphasis. In Dubnow's view Graetz, for all his merit in treating the Jews as a nation, had improperly

²³⁹ Juster, *Les juifs dans l'empire romain*, ii, 185–94.

²⁴⁰ U. Wilcken, 'Ein Actenstück zum jüdischen Kriege Trajans', *Hermes* xxii (1891), 464–80; Wilcken, 'Zum alexandrinischen Antisemitismus', 783–839.

²⁴¹ A. Büchler, 'Die Schauplätze des Bar-Kochbakrieges und die auf diesen bezogenen jüdischen Nachrichten', *JQR* xvi (1904), 143–205; Büchler, *The Economic Conditions of Judaea after the Destruction of the Second Temple* (Jews' College Publications, 4; London, 1912); see Juster, *Les juifs dans l'empire romain*, ii, 190–1, n. 5; 291, n. 1.

²⁴² On his outlook and life see L. Kochan, *The Jew and His History* (London, 1977), 88–98; R. Deines, *Die Pharisäer: Ihr Verständnis im Spiegel der christlichen und jüdischen Forschung seit Wellhausen und Graetz* (WUNT 101, Tübingen, 1997), 487–90; D. Vital, *A People Apart: The Jews in Europe, 1789–1939* (Oxford, 1999), 521–2.

reduced their historical activity to the intellectual and spiritual sphere of *Geistesgeschichte*, reflected only in literature and in martyrology.²⁴³

Returning therefore to emphases of Münter and Mommsen, Dubnow depicted Roman-Jewish war rather than Jewish martyrdom. The revolts under Trajan and Hadrian became at least semi-detached from the generations of the Tannaim. Dubnow gave one chapter to the political history of the two revolts, and a second – balancing external blows with inner development – to the spiritual life of the nation in ‘the time of the Sanhedrin of Jabneh (70–135)’.²⁴⁴ In this chapter he also sketched the rise of Christianity, noting New Testament passages which seem to reflect opposition to Judaism; he suggested that Hadrian’s repression of Jewish nationalism encouraged Christian withdrawal from the Jewish community.

His major theme, however, is mutual Jewish-Roman hostility. Like Renan and Mommsen, he brought to the fore the Jewish apocalypses and their anti-Roman nationalism – which had been left in the background in this context in Graetz. Jewish hostility to Rome thus forms the setting, in Dubnow’s presentation, both for rabbinic debate on the biblical canon and for the historical writings of Josephus. Dubnow ended with a survey of Roman literary anti-Semitism, and the aphorism that, although there could be a Jewish Hellenism, there could never be a comparable syncretism of Jewish and Roman culture. He comes close to Mommsen in this emphasis on Roman hostility to Judaism after the capture of Jerusalem in 70; nevertheless he adds, (from his very different point of view) now recalling Renan, a memorable if debatable claim for a broader Roman-Jewish incompatibility.

The interpretation of revolt as social war rather than or as well as national war had of course already been put forward, and Mommsen had stressed the probable links between zealotry and poverty; this interpretation was now further encouraged by the Russian October Revolution of 1917 and the peasant Red Army’s ruin of the Czarist state. Thus M. I. Rostovtzeff, as noted already, in his *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (1926) followed Münter in suggesting that the Trajanic uprisings in Egypt were accompanied by revolts of the non-Jewish peasantry; this was in line with Rostovtzeff’s attribution of later second-century and third-century decline

²⁴³ S. Dubnow, *Weltgeschichte des jüdischen Volkes* (10 vols., Berlin, 1925–9), i, 13–17; in a later form, S. Dubnow, *History of the Jews* (English translation of the last Russian edition, Riga, 1936–9; 10 vols. in 5, South Brunswick, NJ, and London, 1967–73), i, 25–33. Note also the warmly appreciative criticism of Graetz in Dubnow, *Die neueste Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, ii, 346–8.

²⁴⁴ Dubnow, *Weltgeschichte*, iii, 47–67, 68–114; Dubnow, *History*, ii, vol. iii, 45–59, 60–95.

in the Roman empire to antagonism between the peasantry (especially as represented in the army) and the city bourgeoisie.²⁴⁵ A more specialized manifestation of this outlook was the interpretation of early Christianity as a political messianism bound up with Jewish rebellion – a line of thought which had been part of the background of study of the Jewish revolts at least since H. S. Reimarus, before the time of Münter.²⁴⁶ On this view Jesus or his followers were resisting the Roman order, just like many contemporary and later Jews, as indeed was asserted in some ancient anti-Christian polemic.²⁴⁷

Thus Robert Eisler, at the end of his celebrated book (1929–30) on early Christianity as a revolutionary movement, depicted the two revolts as a combination of messianism and class war, ‘a world-revolution of all Jewry’.²⁴⁸ He suggested that only a recognition of the terrible tensions inherent in the ancient economy permits an understanding of the blood-bath in Cyrene and Cyprus attested by Dio. The rebels here, for Eisler, were descendants of Judaeans Jews enslaved and exiled after 70, and their revolt was essentially a slave rebellion led by the messianic leader Andreas, named by Dio; in many ways it is comparable with the Sicilian slave revolt of Eunous, 250 years earlier. In their combination of zeal for social equality with biblically rooted messianism, however, the Jewish rebels are also comparable with the fierce Christian Circumcellions of North Africa in the time of Saint Augustine.²⁴⁹

Bar Kokhba’s revolt, likewise, drew support from others living the life of outlaws elsewhere, as Dio’s words on support from others eager for gain, including gentiles, might suggest; the revolt was itself an uprising of

²⁴⁵ Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, i, 348, with ii, 693, n. 105; his theory of decline through class war (summarized at i, pp. xii–xiii, 494–501) is rejected by G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World from the Archaic Age to the Arab Conquests* (London, 1981), 463–5, who simply affirms the exploitation of peasants and others by the urban propertied class. On the background in the Russian Revolution of Rostovtzeff’s theory of peasant rebellion, and his own withdrawal from it by 1930, see A. Momigliano, ‘M. I. Rostovtzeff’, reprinted from *The Cambridge Journal*, vii (1954), 334–46 in Momigliano, *Contributo alla storia degli studi classici* (Storia e letteratura 47, Rome, 1955), 341–54 (351–2).

²⁴⁶ E. Bammel, ‘The Revolution Theory from Reimarus to Brandon’, pp. 11–68, and W. Horbury, ‘Christ as Brigand in Ancient Anti-Christian Polemic’, pp. 183–95, both in E. Bammel and C. F. D. Moule (eds.), *Jesus and the Politics of His Day* (Cambridge, 1984).

²⁴⁷ Horbury, ‘Christ as Brigand in Ancient Anti-Christian Polemic’.

²⁴⁸ R. Eisler, *ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΑΣ* [Jesus Basileus ou Basileusas] (2 vols., Heidelberg, 1929–30), ii, 714–30 (‘alljüdische Weltrevolution’, 715); an English version of pp. 714–19 only, with abbreviated notes, is provided in R. Eisler, English edition by A. H. Krappe, *The Messiah Jesus and John the Baptist* (London, 1931), 588–90 (588); see also Eisler, *The Enigma of the Fourth Gospel*, 165–77 (summary in connection with Johannine suggestions). Following the association made by H. Reland between Kokhba and the place name Cochaba in Batanaea, where Eusebius says that the descendants of Jesus’s family were to be found, Eisler suggested that Bar Kokhba belonged to another branch of the same family.

²⁴⁹ Eisler, *ΙΗΣΟΥΣ*, ii, 719–22.

peasants against landowners, which soon attracted a large part of the population – a war between Disraeli's 'two nations'.²⁵⁰ Drawing on Abraham ibn Daud, Eisler noted that the leader fell with his son Rufus, whereas his grandson Romulus survived for a short time.²⁵¹ Eisler's reconstruction has been echoed in later economically oriented study of the revolts and also in emphasis on their magnitude. He finds in the bitterness of poor against rich, combined with messianic zeal, the background of the particular ferocity of the outbreaks.

Approaches suggesting a dramatic worsening of Roman attitudes to the Jews after 70 (Mommsen), the incompatibility of Jewish and Roman culture (Renan, Dubnow), and the importance of social conflict in the revolts (Rostovtzeff, Eisler), have all continued to be current. This is especially clear for socio-economic interpretation.²⁵² It was, however, the first two approaches which were discussed during the years from just before to just after the Second World War, in books by S. W. Baron, Marcel Simon, and Gedaliah Alon. Each included response to Mommsen in the light of Juster, with some consideration of Jewish attitudes to the Roman world.

S. W. Baron and Marcel Simon

Baron wrote a 'religious' as well as 'social' history of the Jews, here in contrast with the secular Dubnow, but he shared Dubnow's stress on the vigour of Jewish communal life, and also his positive view of the diaspora.²⁵³ In the second volume of his *History* (1937, second edition 1952) Baron accepted Juster's critique of Mommsen: Jews were not deprived of recognition as a nation. Baron allowed, indeed, like Juster himself, for a

²⁵⁰ Eisler, *IHΣOYΣ*, ii, 726–7, 729.

²⁵¹ Eisler, *IHΣOYΣ*, ii, 718.

²⁵² See for example L. Finkelstein, *Akiba* (1936, repr. Philadelphia, 1962); Finkelstein, *The Pharisees: the Sociological Background of Their Faith* (2nd edn, 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1940); S. Applebaum, 'Notes on the Jewish Revolt under Trajan', *JJS* ii (1950–1), 26–30; Applebaum, 'The Jewish Revolt in Cyrene in 115–117, and the Subsequent Recolonization', *JJS* ii (1950–1), 177–86; Applebaum, 'Cyrenensia Iudaica', *JJS* xiii (1962), 31–43; Applebaum, *Prolegomena to the Study of the Second Jewish Revolt (AD 132–5)* (BAR Supplement Series, 7; Oxford, 1976); Applebaum, 'Judaea as a Roman Province: the Countryside as a Political and Economic Factor', in H. Temporini and W. Haase (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, ii.8 (Berlin and New York, 1977), 355–96; Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*; Applebaum, 'The Second Jewish Revolt (AD 131–35)', *PEQ* cxvi (1984), 35–41; H. G. Kippenberg, *Religion und Klassenbildung im antiken Judäa* (Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments, 14; Göttingen, 1978); A. Fuks, 'The Jewish Revolt in Egypt (AD 115–7) in the Light of the Papyri', *Aegyptus* xxxiii (1953), 131–58 and Fuks, 'Aspects of the Jewish Revolt in AD. 115–7', *JRS* li (1961), 98–104, both reprinted in Fuks, *Social Conflict in Ancient Greece* (Leiden, 1984).

²⁵³ R. Liberles, *Salo Wittmayer Baron, Architect of Jewish History* (New York and London, 1995), 123.

lowering of Jewish legal and political status between 70 and 135, manifest in Vespasian's Jewish tax and also in Hadrian's readiness ultimately to remove Jewish privileges; but Baron then also emphasized that Jewish rights in the Roman empire after Hadrian seem to have been undiminished from those enjoyed in the Claudian period, and he noted the share which came to be taken by Jews in the honours and financial burdens of public office.²⁵⁴ The revolts, in his view, were a disaster. Arising in a divided community further weakened by the rise of Christianity, they tragically brought to an end the peaceful ethno-religious Jewish expansion of the Herodian age, substituting a vain attempt to prevail by force of arms against a government that sinned mainly by heavy taxation; nevertheless, Jews continued, despite the repressions which followed, to be politically integrated into the Roman order. The outbreaks can only be explained through recognition of the messianic utopianism which possessed their leadership. This stands, together with Renan's judgment, among the most heartfelt condemnations of the revolts by historians.

Marcel Simon probably did not know Baron's work when he was writing *Verus Israel* (1948), on Jewish-Christian relations in the Roman empire, but he shares many of Baron's affirmations, perhaps especially through a common debt to Juster, and adds the suggestion that peaceful ethno-religious expansion, including Jewish proselytism, continued in the second and third centuries. Emphasizing the variety of Jewish opinion, he distinguishes a more isolationist Judaism, which would be among the causes as well as the consequences of the revolts, from an outlook which could welcome much in Roman culture even while regretting Roman rule. At the same time he stresses the tendencies evident both in rabbinic and in Greek-language Jewish literature towards a Jewish practice which could be independent of temple and sacrifice, and he suggests that for some the enforced deprivation of the temple was in fact a not wholly unwelcome spur towards further developing such practice. Finally, he argues that Greek Jewish literature showing engagement with non-Jewish Greek thought continued after the time of the revolts, and notes that Jewish representative art now blossomed; 'even after the events of AD 70 and 135 it is still possible to speak of a Jewish liberalism'. Here a question is implied to Baron's view that the revolts stopped the old peaceful Jewish ethno-religious expansion. Simon urged, drawing especially on patristic sources, that Judaism in the second century and later was 'a real, active, and often successful competitor

²⁵⁴ S. W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* (2nd edn, 18 vols., New York, 1952–83), ii, 89–110 (102–110).

with Christianity'.²⁵⁵ Simon thus contends, against Renan and Dubnow, for a certain Jewish integration with Roman culture, and questions an understanding of the revolts as disasters which issued in Roman contempt and Jewish isolation – an understanding which has been called the 'common wisdom' of the time in which he wrote.²⁵⁶ His book encouraged widespread questioning of this view, with a greater readiness to recognize the vitality and capacity for expansion of the Jewish communities after Bar Kokhba.²⁵⁷

Y. F. Baer and G. Alon

Just before the first edition of Baron's *History*, however, Jewish resistance to Rome had received a contrasting affirmation, with a corresponding qualification of diaspora life as essentially a temporary exile, from his contemporary Y. F. Baer (1888–1980), writing with Zionist hopes in Mandatory Palestine. Baer presented Jewish life under Roman rule as governed at the time by the biblical and rabbinic understanding of diaspora as exile (*galuth*), to be ended, when the domination of the four kingdoms foretold by Daniel is over, by divine redemption; he tellingly quoted Philo of Alexandria as a witness to the lively hope for an ingathering at one stroke from all the ends of the earth to Palestine (Philo, *Praem.* 164–5, cf. 117, expanding Deut. 30:3–5 on the return of the diaspora). Baer correspondingly discerned a political struggle for the threefold structure of people, constitution and land, continuing until the Arab conquest by means of a series of martyrdoms and uprisings (both alike for the sake of national autonomy and the homeland) in combination with religious longing for redemption. Diaspora Jews knew that they fulfilled the sufferings predicted of the servant of God in Isa. 52:13–53:12 (as appears in Jewish interpretation quoted by Origen, *c. Celsum* i 55); the warning against premature revolt, in the midrash

²⁵⁵ M. Simon, *Verus Israel* (Paris, 1948, reprinted with postscript 1964; English translation London, 1986), xiv–xvi, 3–64 (quotation from 17), 273–305, 385 (quoted).

²⁵⁶ A. I. Baumgarten, 'Marcel Simon's *Verus Israel* as a Contribution to Jewish History', *HTR* xcii (1999), 465–78 (472). Simon's use of W. Bousset is perhaps not simply a defect, as Baumgarten suggests; Bousset argued for two views which are of importance in Simon's book and have continued to be taken seriously, diversity of opinion in ancient Judaism and the possibility of continued Jewish writing and prayer in Greek after the time of the revolts.

²⁵⁷ Reactions against Simon's interpretation, for example in M. Goodman, *Mission and Conversion: Proselytizing in the Religious History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1994) and M. Taylor, *Anti-Judaism and Early Christian Identity: A Critique of the Consensus* (Leiden, 1995), are reviewed by J. Carleton Paget, 'Anti-Judaism and Early Christian Identity', *ZAC* i (1997), 195–225, repr. in Paget, *Jews, Christians and Jewish Christians in Antiquity* (WUNT 251, Tübingen, 2010), 43–76; Baumgarten, 'Marcel Simon's *Verus Israel* as a Contribution to Jewish History'.

on the Song of Solomon (2:7) summarized above, was not taken to heart, Baer suggests, for a long time.²⁵⁸ Any simple likening of Jewish aspirations to those of modern independence movements in other nations is replaced in Baer by the claim that until the Romantic period the deepest European thought on the nation was itself drawn from that ancient Jewish national awareness to which Zionism is now reverting.²⁵⁹ He later filled out this sketch in an argument (soon criticized by Marcel Simon) that, until the fourth century, Jews and Christians alike suffered Roman persecution and, in the case of the Jews, became rebels as well as martyrs – although the Christian martyr-theology was itself borrowed from the Jews.²⁶⁰

A not dissimilar emphasis on national resistance marks the lectures of Baer's colleague Gedaliah Al(l)on (d. 1950), on 'the history of the Jews in the land of Israel in the period of the Mishnah and the Talmud' (mainly on the Mishnaic period), published posthumously in 1952.²⁶¹ Here the revolts are pictured, by an historian in active sympathy with the Zionist movement, against the background of the sense of a nation set firmly in its native soil, endeavouring to redevelop its national life and to unite its scattered members in what is still a lively hope for redemption.²⁶²

Alon admired Mommsen's historical exploitation of legal texts, and sought to emulate it in his own use of the halakhah as a source for Jewish history.²⁶³ As regards Jewish status in the Roman empire after 70,

²⁵⁸ J. (Y.) F. Baer, *Galut* (Berlin, 1936), 6–9; more fully, on Jewish interpretation of Isa. 52:13–53:12 and Cant. 2:7, Baer, 'Israel, the Christian Church and the Roman Empire from the Time of Septimius Severus to the Edict of Toleration of AD 313', *Scripta Hierosolymitana: Publications of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem*, vii (1961), 79–149 (108, 114–15) (revised English version of a Hebrew article published in *Zion* xxi (1956), 1–49); on Baer's outlook, I. J. Yuval, 'Yitzhak Baer and the Search for Authentic Judaism', in Myers and Ruderman, *The Jewish Past Revisited*, 77–87; Brenner, *Propheten des Vergangenen*, 229–36 (further literature).

²⁵⁹ Baer, *Galut*, 10; 103.

²⁶⁰ Baer, 'Israel, the Christian Church and the Roman Empire from the time of Septimius Severus to the Edict of Toleration of AD 313'; Simon, *Verus Israel* (English translation 1986), 402–6.

²⁶¹ G. Alon, *Toledot ha-yehudim be-eretz yisrael bi-tequmat ha-mishnah veba-talmud* (2nd edn, 2 vols., repr. Tel-Aviv, 1967); translated as *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age (70–640CE)*, tr. and ed. G. Levi (2 vols., Jerusalem, 1980–4, repr. in one vol., Cambridge, MA, and London, 1989). For Alon's historical judgments as sometimes reflecting his engagement in the struggles of the last years of the British Mandate in Palestine see A. Oppenheimer, 'Gedaliahu Alon – zwischen der jüdischen Historiographie des 19. Jahrhunderts und der modernen historischen Forschung', reprinted from A. Oppenheimer (ed.), *Jüdische Geschichte in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit – Wege der Forschung: Vom alten zum neuen Schürer* (Munich, 1999), 165–180 in Oppenheimer, *Between Rome and Babylon*, 13–29 (20–1); on his opposition to what was understood as the 'spiritual' rather than 'national' emphasis of Graetz, and his interpretation of the early rabbinic movement, S. Schwartz, 'The Political Geography of Rabbinic Texts', 80–2.

²⁶² Alon, *Toledot ha-yehudim be-eretz yisrael bi-tequmat ha-mishnah veba-talmud*, i, 1; Alon, *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age (70–640CE)*, v–vi.

²⁶³ Y. Baer in Alon, *Toledot ha-yehudim be-eretz yisrael bi-tequmat ha-mishnah veba-talmud*, i, p. vii.

he accepted Mommsen's theory only in part. He finds that Judaeans Jews for a time after 70, and again for a time after 135, indeed became *dediticii*, subjugated people with no corporate rights; this may have provided some legal basis for their maltreatment and persecution in these periods, but it was not a permanent disability.²⁶⁴ Under the Flavian emperors, conditions remained broadly unfavourable to the Jews, but thereafter there was improvement. On the other hand, as regards the diaspora he follows Juster's rejection of Mommsen's argument for a loss of national identity after 70, but he tentatively suggests that there was still something in Mommsen's suggestion; there the negative consequences might indeed have ensued not at once, but after a time.²⁶⁵

Correspondingly, for Alon, revival of the sanhedrin began with Johanan b. Zaccai immediately after 70, but he did not ask Vespasian for settlement at Jamnia; more probably he was sent there, for the Romans resettled reliable Jews at Lydda and Jamnia (Josephus, *B.J.* iv 444). The office of the Jewish patriarch would have first won Roman recognition only under Trajan; leading rabbis took its place for a time. After Bar Kokhba it had a slow revival, but it blossomed under the Severi. The patriarchate and the group of leading rabbis thus formed the focus of a Jewish revival which had begun under Vespasian, but was much more gradual and less internally directed than the traditional interpretation had suggested.

Alon picked out the years 115–35 as a watershed in Jewish history, leading to a period of great hardship in Judaea, but he refused to view the two revolts simply as successive risings against Rome, or to accept a strong element of planning. Under Trajan, in his view, anti-Greek disturbances in Cyrene, Egypt and Cyprus came together with a Jewish share in widespread Mesopotamian resistance to Roman conquest, and only in the end became a nationalist war against Roman troops.²⁶⁶ Under Hadrian, despite Dio's talk of Jewish preparation, the beginnings of the war were probably sporadic acts of rebellion, soon co-ordinated under Bar Kokhba.²⁶⁷

Here, as in Graetz, the revolts occur side by side with a Jewish revival achieved through the rabbinic movement; the latter is implicitly shown to be the main line through the minimizing of any element of direction in the

²⁶⁴ Alon, *Toledot ha-yehudim be-eretz yisrael bi-tequphat ha-mishnah veka-talmud*, i, 43, 132; ii, 46–7, 49; Alon, *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age (70–640CE)*, 71, 212, 636–7, 641.

²⁶⁵ Alon, *Toledot ha-yehudim be-eretz yisrael bi-tequphat ha-mishnah veka-talmud*, i, 230–31, Alon, *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age (70–640CE)*, 372.

²⁶⁶ Alon, *Toledot ha-yehudim be-eretz yisrael bi-tequphat ha-mishnah veka-talmud*, i, 263–4, Alon, *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age (70–640CE)*, 427–8.

²⁶⁷ Alon, *Toledot ha-yehudim be-eretz yisrael bi-tequphat ha-mishnah veka-talmud*, ii, 28–30, Alon, *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age (70–640CE)*, 610–13.

revolts. Juster is right in criticizing Mommsen's sweeping legal conclusion, but Mommsen is taken to show insight into the severe degradation of Judean Jews in the aftermath of revolt, and perhaps into the longer-term loss of a national sense in the diaspora (here Alon's Zionism can be recalled). On the other hand, Mommsen's judgment that the year 70 marked the end of Jewish nationhood, and a Roman determination to achieve this end, is not accepted as far as Judaea is concerned. There is an obvious contrast on diaspora continuity and revival with Juster, Baron and Simon, and there is a stress, shared with other contemporary Hebrew-language historians like Baer and M. Avi-Yonah, on united Judean Jewish resistance to Roman dominance.²⁶⁸

From the same historical context of the last years of the British Mandate in Palestine there emerged in 1946 the first monograph on the Bar Kokhba revolt, the archaeologist and historian S. Yeivin's Hebrew *War of Bar Kokhba*. Alon and Avi-Yonah had both discussed points with the author. His book deepened the trend towards study of each revolt singly, but he began with a salute to Münter as the first to devote a book simply to the revolts under Trajan and Hadrian, and himself treated the Trajanic events as a prelude to Bar Kokhba, attracted as he was, like Münter, by Bar Hebraeus's presentation of a march by Lucuas into Judaea.²⁶⁹ Yeivin also gave an influential presentation of a 'maximalist' view of the extent of Bar Kokhba's revolt, broadly following Münter, despite Büchler, and broadly in accord with Alon; unrest involved Galilee, Samaria and Jerusalem, as well as southern Judaea.²⁷⁰

Yeivin's book marked subsequent study of the particularities of the Bar Kokhba revolt, as both agreement and difference shows, but Baron, Baer, Simon and Alon collectively brought to the fore some larger questions which have dominated study since the 1970s. Were the revolts in effect the beginning of a Jewish decline and fall, as Eusebius (by contrast with Dio) had felt them to be, and did their repression express a new degree of Roman hostility towards Jews? Mommsen had expressed this view with special cogency, and his perceptions of Rome were shared to a considerable extent by Dubnow and Alon. Was Jewish culture, as Dubnow had suggested, essentially incompatible with Roman culture, or capable of a

²⁶⁸ M. Avi-Yonah, *The Jews of Palestine*, 1–83 (envisaging different opinions at the time of the first revolt against Rome, but greater unity under Bar Kokhba); Y. Baer, 'Jerusalem in the Time of the Great Revolt' (in Hebrew), *Zion* xxxvi (1971), 127–90, discussed in connection with Baer's attack on the rabbinic and Josephan picture of division in the Jewish community by Yuval, 'Yitzhak Baer and the Search for Authentic Judaism'.

²⁶⁹ S. Yeivin, *Milhemet Bar Kokhba* (2nd edn, Jerusalem, 1952), 10–11, 45.

²⁷⁰ See S. Applebaum, 'Sociology and Strategy of Bar Kochba's War'.

creative symbiosis with it, as Baron maintained for the pre-war period (the revolts then disastrously ending this development), and Simon for the later Roman empire? Were the revolts then indeed a turning point in Jewish history, but the opening of the next stretch of the course rather than the beginning of decline? Did they simply bring short and geographically limited intervals in empire-wide Roman protection of the way of life followed by Jews? Did they in fact mark any appreciable change in Roman attitudes to the Jews, or Jewish attitudes to Rome? Simon, building on Juster, posed these questions sharply, and some of them also emerge in Baron.

From the 1950s onwards

Now, however, events surrounding the inception of the state of Israel (1948–9), and the discoveries in the Judaean wilderness described above (1947–61), helped to provoke fresh thought on ancient resistance. The part played by Zealot tendencies or Jewish national feeling in early Christianity came to be more widely affirmed, and their ancestry in Israelite religion was now underlined by the War Scroll from Qumran Cave 1.²⁷¹ On the other hand, Jewish war against Rome could be viewed differently again, not simply as national but as religio-national, and now with the positive emphasis on the importance of the religious element brought forward by Kaufmann Kohler. At the end of the 1950s Cecil Roth and Martin Hengel, in quick succession, interpreted the Jewish war which broke out in 66 as a war of religion, rooted in a discourse on liberty, going back to Judas the Galilaean, which was through and through religious as well as political. To quote Roth, '[the revolutionaries]' concern was not merely to triumph over the Romans, but also, as a preliminary or concomitant, to establish the Kingdom of Heaven on earth'.²⁷² Roth, but not Hengel, identified the Qumran sectaries, who were responsible for the War Scroll among other works, as Zealots. Both historians were of course also interested in the later risings, which Hengel treated separately (see below). In assessment of the Zealot movement they were followed, now with an application also to Christian origins, by S. G. F. Brandon, whose earlier work had been

²⁷¹ B. Reicke, *Diakonie, Festfreude und Zelos in Verbindung mit der altchristlichen Agapenfeier* (Uppsala, 1951); W. R. Farmer, *Maccabees, Zealots, and Josephus* (New York, 1956).

²⁷² C. Roth, *The Historical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford, 1958), 5–6, criticizing both Josephus and Joseph Klausner; Roth, 'The Zealots in the War of 66–73', *JSS* iv (1959), 332–55 (337–8); M. Hengel, *Die Zeloten* (Leiden, 1961). Roth's view was shared by his colleague G. R. Driver, *The Judaean Scrolls* (London, 1965), 238–51, 440.

encouraged by Eisler; his 1967 book includes a full religious interpretation of 'the Zealot ideal', drawing especially on Roth and Hengel.²⁷³

At the same time Shim'on Applebaum was emphasizing that the two risings should be viewed together and in their socio-economic setting.²⁷⁴ His own detailed treatments of both are shaped by his personal knowledge of Cyrenaica and Judaea (and also Britain).²⁷⁵ His work combines a renewed stress on social and economic, especially agrarian, factors with a national sense, especially for the particularities of Jewish self-awareness in connection as well as contrast with the Greek world. He also, developing observations by R. Syme, underlines Trajan's awareness through his father of Jews as a potential military threat, and the likelihood that Hadrian's eastern command in Trajan's last years also shaped his attitude to Jews. The influence of Applebaum's imaginative and stimulating reconstructions can be seen especially in Martin Hengel and Martin Goodman.

Between 1976 and the time of writing the revolts have been treated together within two large-scale and contrasting studies of Jewish-Roman relations, by E. M. Smallwood and Martin Goodman, and in a number of special studies. Smallwood's history of the Jews under Roman rule, outstanding for its clarity and wealth of precisely discussed detail, describes the repression of the two revolts within a general emphasis, recalling Juster and Marcel Simon, on the tolerance accorded to Jews in the Roman empire, after the revolts as well as before them.²⁷⁶

Smallwood, echoing Juster, wrote of the decrees in favour of Jewish communities issued by Pompey, Caesar, Augustus and others as forming a Roman 'charter of Jewish religious liberty'.²⁷⁷ The years after the appearance of her book were predictably marked by reaction from this position,

²⁷³ S. G. F. Brandon, *Jesus and the Zealots* (Manchester, 1967), with acknowledgement to Roth and Hengel; the preface to his earlier *The Fall of Jerusalem and the Christian Church* (London, 1951) expresses indebtedness to Eisler for advice and encouragement.

²⁷⁴ Applebaum, 'Sociology and Strategy of Bar Kochba's War', 119 (events in 115–17 were the prelude of Bar Kokhba's war, and deserve full treatment in study of it).

²⁷⁵ S. Applebaum, 'Notes on the Jewish Revolt under Trajan', *JJS* ii (1950–1), 26–30; Applebaum, 'The Jewish Revolt in Cyrene in 115–117, and the Subsequent Recolonization', *JJS* ii (1950–1), 177–86; Applebaum, 'Cyrenensia Iudaica', *JJS* xiii (1962), 31–43; Applebaum, *Prolegomena to the Study of the Second Jewish Revolt (AD 132–5)*; Applebaum, 'Judaea as a Roman Province: the Countryside as a Political and Economic Factor'; Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*; Applebaum, 'The Second Jewish Revolt (AD 131–35)', *PEQ* cxvi (1984), 35–41. His interest in Roman Britain in this connection is exemplified in the chapter 'Judaea and Wales: a Comparison' in his *Prolegomena to the Study of the Second Jewish Revolt (AD 132–5)*, 49–52.

²⁷⁶ E. M. Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule, from Pompey to Diocletian: A Study in Political Relations* (2nd edn, Leiden, 1981), especially 389–466, 539–45.

²⁷⁷ Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 539; compare Juster, *Les juifs dans l'empire romain*, i, 217, on Caesar's decrees as 'une véritable Magna Charta', with acknowledgement for the phrase to B. Niese.

for example in the debate over the authenticity and significance of these decrees summed up in Tessa Rajak's (1984) question 'Was there a Roman Charter for the Jews?', and reconsidered by M. Pucci.²⁷⁸ A. Linder, exemplifying widespread emphasis on the ambiguity of laws as evidence for practice, urged that the – often negative – imperial measures of the period of the revolts outweighed in effectiveness the body of decrees, although the latter did have an impact in the continued protection of the synagogues.²⁷⁹

Meanwhile some existing scholarly trends continued. The topic of resistance to Rome (both intellectual and activist) was being explored again, and a landmark here was Ramsay MacMullen's *Enemies of the Roman Order* (1967).²⁸⁰ This tendency converged with emphasis on Roman repression, including the attempts, noted in ancient sources, to exterminate the population in rebel areas.²⁸¹ The suggestion that second-century Jews in general suffered Roman persecution like the Christians was revived, as noted already.²⁸²

Social and economic impulses were again identified for war which was also being described as national, with Alon, or religious, with Roth and Hengel. H. G. Kippenberg (1978) suggested that, in the ancient context, it was a mistake to regard 'religion' and 'economics' simply as alternative explanations, for religion often sanctified older economic practice which was more favourable to the small landholder; this could be seen in Judaea above all in the Pentateuchal jubilee regulations for the restoration of land and cancellation of debt, in Leviticus 25. The motto 'redemption', *ge'ullah*, referred to this, in the First Revolt and again under Bar Kokhba (see [Chapter 3](#)). These Levitical arrangements jointly favoured the interests of peasants and of the inferior members of the priesthood.²⁸³ Then the broad and detailed Marxist study of 'class-struggle in the ancient Greek world'

²⁷⁸ T. Rajak, 'Was there a Roman Charter for the Jews?' *JRS* lxxiv (1984), 107–23; M. Pucci Ben Zeev, *Jewish Rights in the Roman World: The Greek and Roman Documents Quoted by Josephus Flavius* (Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum 74, Tübingen, 1998).

²⁷⁹ A. Linder, *The Jews in Roman Imperial Legislation* (Detroit, 1987); Linder, 'The Legal Status of the Jews in the Roman Empire', in S. T. Katz (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, iv, *The Late Roman–Rabbinic Period* (Cambridge, 2006), 128–73 (136–7).

²⁸⁰ Harald Fuchs, *Der geistige Widerstand gegen Rom in der antiken Welt* (Berlin, 1938, reprinted 1964) exerted post-war influence, and was part of the background of R. A. MacMullen, *Enemies of the Roman Order: Treason, Unrest, and Alienation within the Empire* (Cambridge, MA, 1967).

²⁸¹ S. Yeivin, *Milhemet Bar-Kokhba* (2nd edn, Jerusalem, 1957), 90; Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, 256–7, following ancient sources; Applebaum, *Prolegomena to the Study of the Second Jewish Revolt*, 52.

²⁸² Baer, 'Israel, the Christian Church and the Roman Empire from the Time of Septimius Severus to the Edict of Toleration of AD 313'.

²⁸³ H. G. Kippenberg, *Religion und Klassenbildung im antiken Judäa: eine religionssoziologische Studie zum Verhältnis von Tradition und gesellschaftlicher Entwicklung* (Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments, 14; Göttingen, 1978), 9–13, 153–72.

by G. E. M. de Ste Croix (1981) could touch the risings under Trajan and Hadrian only in passing; but it was a powerful reminder of the likelihood that social conflict played a part in them.²⁸⁴ In a reworking of Eisler's interpretation, the concept of the 'social bandit', drawing on the heroic traits in bandit lore (an important theme of Ramsay MacMullen) as well as on Marxian thought, and presented influentially by E. J. Hobsbawm in 1971, was applied both to the Jewish revolts against Rome and again to the interpretation of the early Christian movement.²⁸⁵ The surge of interest in radical historiography from the 1960s onward, which encouraged these trends, was modestly depicted by Hobsbawm as one key to his own influence.²⁸⁶

The interpretation of Jewish revival in and after the period of the revolts was substantially modified in these years by changing evaluations of the early rabbinic movement. Alon did not accept rabbinic tradition without attention to non-rabbinic sources, but he identified revival with the work of Johanan ben Zaccai immediately after 70, and in effect confirmed the picture of a continuity in Jewish institutions, maintained after 70 through the sanhedrin and the patriarch, which Basnage, Milman, Graetz, and Dubnow had taken over from Jewish tradition. Jacob Neusner, however, as noted in discussion of rabbinic literature above, concluded that the Mishnah pointed to the concerns of a small group before 70, and a larger but still not nationwide body between 70 and 135, as is suggested for example by the lack of material on civil law in the earlier Mishnaic traditions; only after 135 was an attempt made to represent the nation in general.²⁸⁷

A major part of P. Schäfer's study of the sources for the history of the Bar Kokhba revolt (1981) was his re-evaluation of rabbinic texts against this background of form-critical and redaction-critical rabbinic study, including a more sceptical approach to the link between Akiba and Bar Kokhba, and to the classical picture of a patriarchal succession after 70. Very notably,

²⁸⁴ G. E. M. de Ste Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World from the Archaic Age to the Arab Conquests* (London, 1981), 442; 641–2, n. 5.

²⁸⁵ E. J. Hobsbawm, *Bandits* (Harmondsworth, 1971), on the social setting of banditry, helped to form the background of books such as R. A. Horsley and J. S. Hanson, *Bandits, Prophets, and Messiahs* (Minneapolis, 1985), and Neil Faulkner, *Apocalypse: The Great Jewish Revolt against Rome AD 66–73* (Brimscombe Port, Stroud, 2002); but on idealizing tendencies in this interpretation see L. Blumell, 'Social Banditry? Galilaean Banditry from Herod until the Outbreak of the First Jewish Revolt', *SCI* xxvii (2008), 35–53. For comment on this in connection with shifting interpretations of Christianity see D. R. Schwartz, 'Christian Study of the Zealots', in D. R. Schwartz, *Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity* (WUNT 60, Tübingen, 1992), 128–46 (142–6).

²⁸⁶ E. J. Hobsbawm, *Interesting Times: A Twentieth-Century Life* (London, 2002), 305–10; see n. 285 and also his *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge, 1990).

²⁸⁷ Neusner, *Judaism: The Evidence of the Mishnah*, 76–121.

however, he also urged that rabbinic texts gave a key to interpretation of the war of Bar Kokhba as a whole; passages in the Tosefta and elsewhere on recircumcision in Bar Kokhba's days indicate intracommunal division at the time of the rising between the more zealous on the one side, and Hellenized Jews supportive of Hadrian on the other.²⁸⁸ Review of another aspect of rabbinic evidence led to a return by Schäfer and M. Mor to Büchler's position on the limited territorial extent of Bar Kokhba's revolt.²⁸⁹

On the patriarchate, M. Goodman comparably found, in his study of state and society in Roman Galilee (1983), that those first- and second-century figures who have been traditionally regarded as patriarchs recognized by the Romans were simply leading rabbis without such recognition.²⁹⁰ S. J. D. Cohen similarly concluded that only at the end of the second century did rabbis begin to become national leaders; earlier, they formed an insular group.²⁹¹ C. Hezser, in her large-scale depiction of the origins and social structure of the rabbinic movement, found a network spread in many villages and towns from the first century onwards, but not the sanhedrin envisaged by the editors of the Mishnah.²⁹² This trend in scholarship is supported in general by the signs of editing in rabbinic material on the succession of authority, and although investigation from a more traditional viewpoint has continued, the confident presentation of Jewish institutional continuity and revival during and after the period of the revolts has become open to question.²⁹³

Then the incompatibility of Roman and Jewish culture in some important respects, as emphasized by Dubnow, became a theme of Martin Goodman's work, from *The Ruling Class of Judaea* (1987) onwards, combined with a stress on the increase in Roman hostility after 70. Benjamin Isaac (1990) brought out the consistent use of the Roman army for the policing of Judaea, before, during and after the period of the revolts, and aligned this with equally consistent evidence for a strain of Jewish resistance to

²⁸⁸ Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 46–50, 71–3.

²⁸⁹ Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 134; M. Mor, 'The Geographical Scope of the Bar Kokhba Revolt', in Schäfer, *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, 107–31, restating arguments of M. Mor, *The Bar-Kokhba Revolt: Its Extent and Effect* (Hebrew: Jerusalem, 1991).

²⁹⁰ Goodman, *State and Society in Roman Galilee*, xi–xii, 111–18.

²⁹¹ S. J. D. Cohen, 'The Place of the Rabbi in Jewish Society of the Second Century', in L. I. Levine (ed.), *The Galilee in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA, 1989), 157–73; 'The Rabbi in Second-Century Jewish Society', in W. Horbury, W. D. Davies and J. Sturdy (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, iii (Cambridge, 1999), 922–90.

²⁹² C. Hezser, *The Social Structure of the Rabbinic Movement in Roman Palestine* (TSAJ 66, Tübingen, 1997), 66–8, 171–80, 492–3.

²⁹³ E. Habas (Rubin), 'Rabban Gamaliel of Yavneh and His Sons: The Patriarchate before and after the Bar Kokhba Revolt', *JJS* 1 (1999), 21–37, suggests on traditional lines how a patriarchate might have been continued in what appears to be an interregnum after the death of Gamaliel II.

Rome.²⁹⁴ By his 1976 study, with I. Roll, of the elder Trajan's Judean career under Vespasian, and his son's involvement in it, he had underlined the personal knowledge available to the younger Trajan when faced with Jewish uprising.²⁹⁵ H. Schwier (1989) restated J. Bernays's view of Titus's responsibility for the burning of the temple, presenting the war of Vespasian as a disastrous clash of Roman and Jewish ideologies.²⁹⁶ M. Hadas-Lebel (1990) set the revolts within the history of Jewish attitudes to Rome, from the Maccabees to the age of Constantine, underlining Jewish opposition to Roman religion and the importance of messianism for the revolts.²⁹⁷ War under Trajan and Hadrian began in these approaches to look once again, as in Mommsen, like the logical expression of fundamental Roman and Jewish attitudes, perhaps with an element of social revolution as well as political revolt, rather than as an exception to Jewish participation in Roman peace.

Yet at the same time substantial essays by Martin Hengel (1983, 1984–5, 1986) on both revolts were drawing attention again to the importance of religion.²⁹⁸ Here there was an emphasis not so much on the continuities of tolerance or hostility as on the variation in Jewish and in Roman attitudes under Trajan and Hadrian and within the policies of these emperors, and (here recalling Renan) on division in the Jewish community. Again, the importance of poverty among the causes of the two outbreaks was questioned, with special reference to Applebaum, and they were attributed, rather, to the power of the ideal of 'zeal', on the lines of Hengel's study of the Zealots; they were 'wars of religion', in each case carefully planned in advance yet also influenced by messianism, and this, rather than class warfare, accounts for their bitterness. With Hengel's work can be associated Schäfer's emphasis on Jewish division in the Bar Kokhba revolt, which

²⁹⁴ B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 421–2.

²⁹⁵ B. Isaac and I. Roll, 'A Milestone of AD 69 from Judaea: the Elder Trajan and Vespasian', reprinted from *JRS* lvi (1976), 9–14 in B. Isaac, *The Near East under Roman Rule*, 36–45.

²⁹⁶ H. Schwier, *Tempel und Tempelzerstörung: Untersuchungen zu den theologischen und ideologischen Faktoren im ersten jüdisch-römischen Krieg (66–74 n. Chr.)* (Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus 11, Freiburg, Switzerland, and Göttingen, 1989).

²⁹⁷ M. Hadas-Lebel, *Jérusalem contre Rome* (Paris, 1990).

²⁹⁸ M. Hengel, 'Messianische Hoffnung und politischer "Radikalismus" in der "jüdisch-hellenistischen Diaspora". Zur Frage der Voraussetzungen des jüdischen Aufstandes unter Trajan 115–117 n. Chr.', in D. Hellholm (ed.), *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East* (Tübingen, 1983, 2nd edn 1989), 655–86, reprinted in Hengel, *Judaica et Hellenistica: Kleine Schriften I* (WUNT 90, Tübingen, 1996), 314–43; Hengel, 'Hadrians Politik gegenüber Juden und Christen', *JANES* xvi–xvii (1984–5), 153–81, reprinted in Hengel, *Judaica et Hellenistica: Kleine Schriften I*, 358–91; Hengel, 'Die Bar-Kokhbamünzen als politisch-religiöse Zeugnisse' [review of L. Mildenberg, *The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War* (1984)], *Gnomon* lviii (1986), 326–31, reprinted in Hengel, *Judaica et Hellenistica: Kleine Schriften I*, 344–50.

recalls the perspective of E. Bickerman and Hengel on the Maccabean revolt.²⁹⁹

Then in the area of Jewish-Roman relations G. Stemmerger's survey of Jewish literary evidence, complemented by comments on the earlier period in his book on fourth-century Palestine, brought out the strength of favourable as well as unfavourable opinion on Rome.³⁰⁰ The aftermath of the revolts was surveyed from a point of view sympathetic to Simon by C. Haas (1997) and T. Braun (1998).³⁰¹ For D. Mendels, it marked the 'fall of Jewish nationalism'; active striving for a Jewish state in Palestine disappears after 135 (contrast Baer's assertion of its persistence), even though a 'passive political nationalism' survives, attested in rabbinic literature.³⁰²

Finally, however, a group of writings renewed the emphasis on Roman hostility as a key to the revolts. Martin Goodman's *Rome and Jerusalem* (2007) sums up a series of his earlier studies.³⁰³ It can also, however, be viewed together with the often comparable treatment of the two revolts by M. Aberbach and D. Aberbach (2000), which builds on Goodman's earlier work, with Seth Schwartz's Mommsen-like presentation of the revolts (2001) as bringing a deeply wounding institutional breach, 'the end of the rule of Temple and Torah', and with essays by F. Millar, T. D. Barnes

²⁹⁹ Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 49–50 ('Nicht die Juden erhoben sich gegen die Römer, sondern eine bestimmte, mit einer römerfreundlichen Partei rivalisierende, Gruppe rebellierte gegen die Römer. . .'); Schäfer, 'Hadrian's Policy in Judaea and the Bar Kokhba Revolt: a Reassessment', in P. R. Davies and R. T. White (eds.), *A Tribute to Geza Vermes: Essays on Jewish and Christian Literature and History* (JSOT Supplement Series 100, Sheffield, 1990), 281–303.

³⁰⁰ Stemmerger, *Die römische Herrschaft im Urteil der Juden*; Stemmerger, *Juden und Christen im Heiligen Land* (Munich 1987), published in English (with additions by the author) as *Jews and Christians in the Holy Land: Palestine in the Fourth Century*, tr. R. Tuschling (Edinburgh, 2000).

³⁰¹ C. Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity: Topography and Social Conflict* (Baltimore and London, 1997), 103–9; T. Braun, 'The Jews in the Late Roman Empire', *SCI* xvii (1998), 142–71.

³⁰² D. Mendels, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Nationalism* (New York, 1992; 2nd edn, Grand Rapids, 1997), discussed by Goodblatt, *Elements of Ancient Jewish Nationalism*, 204–5.

³⁰³ M. Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem* (London, 2007), 476–98, 578–85; for antecedents of this reconstruction see M. Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judaea* (Cambridge, 1987), 231–51; Goodman, 'Diaspora Reactions to the Destruction of the Temple', in Dunn (ed.), *Jews and Christians: the Parting of the Ways, AD 70 to 135*, 27–38; Goodman, *Mission and Conversion: Proselytizing in the Religious History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 42–9, 120–8; Goodman, 'Judaea' (1), in Bowman, Champlin and Lintott (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History, Second Edition* x, *The Augustan Empire, 43 BC–AD 69*, 737–81; Goodman, 'Josephus' Treatise Against Apion', in M. Edwards, M. Goodman and S. Price (eds.), *Apologetics in the Roman Empire: Pagans, Jews, and Christians* (Oxford, 1999), 45–58; Goodman, 'Judaea' (2), in Bowman, Garnsey and Rathbone (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History, Second Edition* xi, *The High Empire, A.D. 70–192*, 664–78; Goodman, 'Trajan and the Origins of the Bar Kokhba War', in Schäfer (ed.), *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, 23–9; Goodman, 'Trajan and the Origins of Roman Hostility to the Jews', *Past and Present* 182 (February, 2004), 3–29; Goodman, 'The Fiscus Judaicus and Attitudes to Judaism', in Edmondson, Mason and Rives (eds.), *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome*, 167–77.

and J. Rives, on aspects of the Flavian treatment of the Jews, considered in [Chapter 3](#).³⁰⁴ The gravity of the Bar Kokhba revolt in Roman eyes has been underlined by W. Eck and G. W. Bowersock, claiming a geographical extension of the revolt into Galilee and Arabia through exploration of epigraphic evidence, not wholly clear in its implications, concerning Romans involved in the repression.³⁰⁵

Among these authors, M. and D. Aberbach offer a reading of the revolts which also contributes to argument on the applicability of the term 'nationalism' to ancient ways of thinking in general and to ancient Jewish opinion in particular.³⁰⁶ The repression of rebellion led, they suggest, to the growth of a Hebrew-language culture and a more distinctive way of life, that is, to what can be called a 'cultural nationalism', a recreation of national identity apart from any state independence. This development would form an ancient counterpart to the modern cultural nationalism which can emerge likewise from disaster or defeat.³⁰⁷ Defeat drove the Jews from a messianic militancy which Rome did not tolerate 'into a tolerated cultural nationalism, . . . forcing unity, distinctiveness, and a form of divorce from the imperial system'.³⁰⁸

Their account of the revolts themselves appeals to Mommsen. Judaism as a political force was incompatible with the unity of the empire, and Rome correspondingly showed a 'wilful hostility' which provoked all three

³⁰⁴ M. Aberbach and D. Aberbach, *The Roman-Jewish Wars and Hebrew Cultural Nationalism* (London and New York, 2000); S. Schwartz, *Imperialism and Jewish Society, 200 BCE to 640 CE* (Princeton and Oxford, 2001), esp. 105–19, 158–61, 186–91, 226–33, 291–2; F. Millar, 'Last Year in Jerusalem: Monuments of the Jewish War in Rome'. T. D. Barnes, 'The Sack of the Jerusalem Temple in Josephus and Tacitus', and J. Rives, 'Flavian Religious Policy and the Destruction of the Jerusalem Temple', in Edmondson, Mason and Rives (eds.), *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome*, 101–28, 129–44, and 145–66, respectively.

³⁰⁵ W. Eck, 'The Bar Kokhba Revolt: The Roman Point of View', *JRS* lxxxix (1999), 76–89 (inscription found at Tell Shalem, near Scythopolis, suggests arch erected there to commemorate victory over Bar Kokhba). Eck, 'Hadrian, the Bar Kokhba Revolt, and the Epigraphic Transmission', 153–70 (inscriptions honouring an admiral and three generals); G. W. Bowersock, 'The Tel Shalem Arch and P. Nahal Hever / Seiyal 8', 171–80 (the Tel Shalem arch attests Hadrian's visit, not repression of revolt, but rebellion extended to north-western Arabia, as suggested by evidence including Bar Kokhba deed of sale from Kephar Baru, probably near Machaerus); criticism of Eck in M. Mor, 'The Geographical Scope of the Bar Kokhba Revolt', 106–31; all in Schäfer (ed.), *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*. See further [Chapter 5](#), below.

³⁰⁶ For discussion see [Chapter 1](#), n. 16, above.

³⁰⁷ M. Aberbach and D. Aberbach, *The Roman-Jewish Wars and Hebrew Cultural Nationalism*, 2–5, 12–15; in his Introduction to their book J. Hutchinson, author of *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism* (1987), on modern Ireland, compares rabbinic activity with the work of nationalist lower clergy in nineteenth-century Greece, Ireland and Denmark.

³⁰⁸ Aberbach and Aberbach, *The Roman-Jewish Wars and Hebrew Cultural Nationalism*, 15.

revolts. Roman hostility would have included, under Trajan, harsh measures against diaspora as well as Judaeans Jews. The quoted phrase is from M. D. Goodman, on Roman dismissal of Judaism as a *superstitio* rather than a respectable cult; this would have led, Goodman says, to the treatment of Jews as outsiders, and so to each outbreak.³⁰⁹ The revolts were justifiable responses which expressed widely shared national feeling. The prevalence of such feeling can be affirmed, however, like the interest of the parallel with modern nationalist development, without what seems to be the too uniform picture of Roman and Jewish attitudes in this reconstruction.

Seth Schwartz, on the other hand, posits an aftermath of the revolts in which Jewish observance was radically weakened, and many Jews gave observance up, because the destruction of the temple and the end of the Roman recognition of the high priest meant that the Torah and its interpreters no longer had any formal constitutional authority.³¹⁰ Any revival of the kind envisaged by M. and D. Aberbach was both marginal and slow. Rabbinic figures were gaining in authority in the third century, but the rabbinic texts reflect figures and groups who for a long time were far from central in the disintegrated Jewish life of Judaea and Galilee (here Schwartz follows S. J. D. Cohen and C. Hezser). It is likely, rather, that many Jews simply acquiesced in Roman administrative and religious arrangements, as is suggested for the second and third centuries, especially in Tiberias and Sepphoris, by pagan motifs in coinage, archaeological finds and inscriptions; these indicate a full Jewish share in an urban culture shaped by Roman paganism, without any distinction between aspects of Roman life classed as 'religious' and aspects classed as merely 'cultural'.³¹¹

This conclusion reaches the opposite extreme from both Alon and the Aberbachs. The book impressively holds together much second-century rabbinic and non-rabbinic evidence, but its view that the end of the temple and the high-priesthood meant the end of general Jewish respect for the law of Moses and its interpreters seems to be questioned by the treatment of this subject by Josephus, writing in the period from 70 to 100, and Justin Martyr, writing about 150. These writers suggest the continuing importance of teachers of the law in the Jewish community, of the *proseuche* or synagogue as a focus of the public reading and interpretation of the law, and of the attraction of Jewish law and custom for

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 25, 69–82; Goodman, 'Judaea' (1), 781.

³¹⁰ Schwartz, *Imperialism and Jewish Society, 200 BCE to 640 CE*, 110.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, 104–76.

gentiles. Then at the end of the second century the Mishnah assumes the general use of forms of public prayer and takes it, as noted above, that the laws concerning king, high priest and temple are still worthy of consideration. Somewhat comparably, with a broader concentration on elements of what can be called nationalism, M. Goodblatt finds less dramatic modifications after 135 than the Aberbachs and Schwartz in different ways suggest.³¹²

M. Goodman's *Rome and Jerusalem* builds on a series of his earlier studies. Here, so far from seeing the occasionally interrupted continuum of Roman tolerance and Jewish well-being presented by Simon, he finds a movement from tolerance to repression and demonization of the Jews on the Roman side, and from felicity to despair on the Jewish side. This shift was occasioned not least by developments outside the scope of Roman-Jewish relations, like the death of Nero, or dramatic accidents, like the burning of the temple. The period from Vespasian to Hadrian then brought, he suggests, an unprecedented and lasting Roman anti-Jewish hostility, and an almost uninterruptedly anti-Jewish Roman policy which influenced the later empire, both pagan and Christian. The ambitions of the emperors from Vespasian to Hadrian left a legacy of prejudice which contributed to the origins of anti-Semitism. Every emperor from 70 to 135, apart from Nerva, had some personal or family link with Jewish war; the officially encouraged Roman attitude to Judaism, apart from a brief remission under Nerva, was that of hostility to a superstition. The temple remained unrebuilt under Domitian, and then under Trajan, not for the sake of security, but because these emperors needed a continuing sign of victory over the Jews. Under Hadrian, rebuilding was indeed probably ruled out for security reasons, but in a delayed reaction to the revolts at the end of Trajan's reign.

The destruction of the temple and the failure to rebuild it were the cause of the hatred for Roman rule evident in the uprising under Trajan, and the foundation of Aelia, confirming refusal to rebuild, was the occasion of Bar Kokhba's revolt. The latter represented the realization of a carefully planned Jewish state, and may well have had rabbinic support, as suggested by the narratives of Akiba. The aftermath of the two later revolts, as in Schwartz's reconstruction, was large-scale abandonment of Jewish observances by the Jews remaining in Judaea and Galilee; there were no signs of revival until the coming of the Severan dynasty, towards the end of the second century.

³¹² Goodblatt, *Elements of Ancient Jewish Nationalism*, 6–7, 202–210.

This reconstruction recalls Mommsen, and its exceptionally wide-ranging and nuanced description of Roman and Jewish attitudes also recalls elements of Graetz's *Leidensgeschichte* (on the aftermath of revolt) and of Dubnow's emphasis on mutual Roman-Jewish antipathy. The questions it raises about the antecedents of the risings are central in the following chapter.

Retrospect

To look back for a moment, early modern and modern study moved from the Eusebian theme of judgment in the *Centuries* and de Tillemont, through Gibbon's not wholly dissimilar view of fanaticism bringing calamities, to the modern recognition by Münter, Jost and Milman of strivings for 'liberty and national independence'. This recognition inevitably lost its first simplicity and glow, and in Merivale was aligned with reassessment of the eastern Jewish populace as a formidable foe of Rome; down to the present, however, it has encouraged among both Jews and non-Jews a certain sympathy to balance the criticism which marks ancient literary sources. Notable exceptions include the measured condemnations by Renan and Baron. More broadly, imaginative identification with imperial Rome continued.³¹³ It is more typical of recent historiography, however, that the Trajanic revolt becomes 'heroic' as well as 'furious'.³¹⁴

Even where the glamour of nationality has been fading, and class struggle has come to the fore, the uprisings can be viewed approvingly, if not as full-scale social revolutions, yet as resistance to oppression or as rare occasions when concerns and activities of the non-élite may become visible. More recent post-colonial approaches have focused once again on the plight or rather the resilience of conquered peoples, but have placed rebellion within a broader spectrum of responses to empire.³¹⁵

³¹³ Contrast for instance T. S. Eliot's 1951 broadcast 'Virgil and the Christian World', excerpted as 'Virgil and Destiny' in T. S. Eliot, *Selected Prose*, ed. J. Hayward (Harmondsworth, 1953), 96–9 (97, 'we are all, so far as we inherit the civilization of Europe, still citizens of the Roman empire'), with Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, 253 ('Here were we [in the Judaean desert in 1960], living in tents erected by the Israeli Defence Forces, walking every day through the ruins of a Roman camp which caused the death of our forefathers').

³¹⁴ '[L']eroica e furibonda ribellione sotto Traiano': Momigliano, 'Ciò che Flavio Giuseppe non vide', 11; (English translation) 'What Josephus Did Not See', 110.

³¹⁵ On post-colonial interpretation of Josephus see J. Barclay (ed.), *Negotiating Diaspora: Jewish Strategies in the Roman Empire* (London, 2004).

A lasting legacy of mediaeval and early modern study has been the recognition of the importance of rabbinic sources, mediated initially to non-Jewish scholarship through Christian Hebraists. This recognition recurs in modern times not only in historians of the Jews such as Graetz, but also in many who have approached the risings from other angles, including Renan, Simon, Hengel and Schäfer. The inheritance of the rabbinic sources has meant indeed that, even for markedly nationalist history, the risings have continued to be ambiguous. Rabbinic literature embraces not simply the criticism of Bar Kokhba and his zealot predecessors, but also the view that, with Johanan b. Zaccai, a more legitimate national revival had already begun under Vespasian with Roman approval. Historians who gave at least qualified credence to this tradition saw the two later revolts as unlucky attempts at force in parallel with the existing peaceful revival.³¹⁶

The mediaeval heroized portrait of Bar Kokhba gained fresh lustre from Jewish self-defence at the beginning of the twentieth century, from fighting in the 1940s and later, and from the Judaeen wilderness finds in 1951–61; but it could hardly survive unmodified beside an affirmation of rabbinic tradition. The two-sided treatment of revolt against Rome in the Talmud and midrash has meant that, even with martyr memorials and patriotic interpretation, these risings could never quite reach that ‘pinnacle of history far above common nationalist struggles’ which for G. M. Trevelyan was attained by the Italian Risorgimento.³¹⁷ In modern Israel, the currency of a heroized image of Bar Kokhba has by no means excluded revival of the reserve expressed in rabbinic literature.³¹⁸

Since the 1960s, however, criticism of rabbinic literature has brought qualification or rejection of its suggestions of peaceful self-determination under the Flavian aegis. The revolts now stand out more starkly, perhaps unaccompanied by any significant contemporary effort towards reconstruction, as disastrous national defeats followed at best by a slow renewal, at home and abroad.³¹⁹ On the other hand, rabbinic study has also brought revival of the perception that in these risings the Jewish population is likely to have been divided, and that some followed the line symbolized by the figure of Johanan b. Zaccai (Renan, Hengel, Schäfer).

³¹⁶ Examples include Alon as well as Graetz and Baron.

³¹⁷ G. M. Trevelyan, *Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic, 1848–9* (new edn, 1908, repr. London, 1919), 8.

³¹⁸ Y. Zerubavel, ‘Bar Kokhba's Image in Modern Israeli Culture’, in Schäfer (ed.), *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, 279–97. One literary focus of debate on Bar Kokhba has been the 2012 novel *Ha-Pardes shel Akiva* [Akiba's orchard] by Yokhi Brandes.

³¹⁹ This appears in different ways in S. Schwartz and M. Goodman.

In the last twenty years, attention to archaeological finds, papyri and inscriptions, culminating in the achievement of a corpus of inscriptions for Judaea/Palaestina (CIIP), has shed further light on particularities of the risings, notably their geographical extent and their impact on refugees and combatants, including Roman forces and commanders. Yet interpretative questions, discussed from Renan, Mommsen and Juster to Dubnow, Baron and Simon, still surround these perceptions (see especially Goodman and Seth Schwartz). Did the origins and repression of the risings reflect a new degree of Roman hostility towards Jews, beginning a Jewish decline and fall? Was the religio-political Jewish entity essentially incompatible with Roman culture? This debate still stands behind the narrative below.

CHAPTER 3

Antecedents

The wars under Trajan and Hadrian broke out in circumstances shaped by the war of the Jews against Rome which began under Nero in 66, and by tendencies in Roman, Jewish and Greek opinion which had been evident well before that. Here the antecedents of the later revolts are approached first of all from the Roman side. To recall conflicting interpretations outlined already, the relatively favourable position of the Jews in the Flavian and early Trajanic period has sometimes been stressed, with reference to the continuing Roman protection of Jewish religion and the hope engendered by non-Jewish attraction to Judaism.¹ On the other hand, it has been suggested that the war won by Vespasian and Titus opened a new era of unprecedentedly intense and official Roman hostility to the Jews, a 'war on Judaism' as well as an antagonism towards Jews.² With these two poles of current opinion in mind, Roman-Jewish relations before the Trajanic and Hadrianic conflicts will be considered with a focus first on Rome, and then, in the second part, on the Jewish situation after 70 in Judaea and the diaspora.

I ROME AND THE JEWS

When Jewish rebellion broke out in 66, Vespasian, selected as general by Nero, directed the repression with three legions.³ Nero's death in June 68

¹ So, with variations from one another, Simon, *Verus Israel*, 40–1, 98–100; L. Goppelt, *Christentum und Judentum im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert* (Gütersloh, 1954), 221–4; T. Rajak, *Josephus* (London, 1983), 226–8; J. G. Gager, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism* (New York, 1983), 55–88; Mildenberg, *The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War*, 92–4; S. G. Wilson, *Related Strangers: Jews and Christians 70–170 CE* (Minneapolis, 1995), 3–5. Somewhat comparably, both toleration and prejudice are discerned in ancient Roman attitudes, without distinction between the pre-Flavian and later periods, by B. Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity*, 440–91.

² Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem*, 452–75, 580–1 (the phrase 'war on Judaism' is from p. 453); for his development of this view in earlier publications see [Chapter 2](#), n. 303, above. A broadly similar view of hatred of the Jews as 'normal' for Romans after 70 is taken by A. Avidov, *Not Reckoned among Nations: the Origins of the So-called 'Jewish Question' in Roman Antiquity* (TSAJ 128, Tübingen, 2009), 7–12.

³ Tacitus, *Hist.* i 10, 3 *bellum iudaicum Flavius Vespasianus (ducem eum Nero delegerat) tribus legionibus administrabat.*

was followed by the brief principates of Galba, Otho and Vitellius. Vitellius entered Rome as emperor in June 69, but Vespasian was proclaimed emperor in Alexandria on 1 July, supported by the prefect of Egypt, Tiberius Julius Alexander, and the army in Egypt, Judaea and Syria. Civil war in Italy between Vespasian's party and the Vitellians ended with the murder of Vitellius in December 69; it had involved the destruction of Cremona and, in Rome itself, the burning of the Capitol. This was felt by Tacitus as a shameful crime and a national disaster.⁴ He adds that the Germans and Gauls who rebelled in 69–70 took it as the sign of the end of Rome's imperial rule.⁵ Vespasian entered Rome as emperor in the summer of 70.⁶

Vespasian's successful bid for the principate was supported in the eastern provinces by eminent Jews who were not involved in the revolt – notably the prefect of Egypt (Tiberius Julius Alexander) who proclaimed him, and the last Herodian king, Agrippa II, with his sister, Queen Berenice.⁷ They helped Vespasian and Titus to put down rebellion in Judaea. Since June 68 the chief remaining Roman war aim had been the capture of Jerusalem, with the fortresses of Herodium south-east of Bethlehem, Machaerus opposite Herodium on the east of the Dead Sea, and, further south, Masada on the western Dead Sea coast.⁸ Vespasian had sent Titus to Jerusalem for this purpose when he himself set sail from Alexandria for Rome.

Titus captured Jerusalem and the temple in 70, but the reduction of the fortresses near the Dead Sea took a further three years, largely occupied in the sieges first of Machaerus by Lucilius Bassus, governor of Judaea, and then of Masada by his successor Flavius Silva; Masada was the stronghold

⁴ Tacitus, *Hist.* iii 72 *id facinus post conditam urbem luctuosissimum foedissimumque rei publicae populi Romani accidit*, 'that crime was the most grievous and shameful happening to befall the republic of the Roman people since the founding of the City'.

⁵ Tacitus, *Hist.* iv 9–10 *nihil aequae quam incendium Capitolii, ut finem imperio adesse crederent, inpulerat... fatali nunc igne signum caelestis irae datum et possessionem rerum humanarum Transalpinis gentibus portendi superstitione vana Druidi caneabant*, 'nothing had driven them as much as the burning of the Capitol into believing that the end of empire had come... the Druids in their vain superstition were prophesying that now this disastrous fire was a sign of heaven's anger, and of the transfer of sovereignty over human affairs to the peoples beyond the Alps'. For earlier views of the Capitol as the symbol of Rome's dominion see Virgil, *Aen.* ix 448–9; Horace, *Od.* iii 3, 42–4 (quoted in n. 60). Emphasis on the rebellion of the Gauls helped to cover its civil-war aspect as Vitellian resistance, and the sacrilege of the Capitol fire could be stressed to vilify the Vitellians, but there is no reason to doubt the symbolic impact of the fire.

⁶ These events are described in the context of the war in Judaea and from the standpoint of a Flavian supporter by Josephus, *B.J.* iv 491–6, 545–8, 585–658; vii 21–2, 63–74.

⁷ Tacitus, *Hist.* ii 79 (Alexander); 81 (Agrippa and Berenice); support from the Herodian family and their friends for the Flavians was traced back to the forging of connections by Vespasian's father Titus Flavius Sabinus by B. W. Jones, *The Emperor Domitian* (London and New York, 1992), 5–7. The political influence of Agrippa II and Berenice is presupposed in the account of Paul's appearance before Festus at Caesarea in Acts 25:13; 23.

⁸ Josephus, *B.J.* iv 555.

of the militant Jewish faction who for the last twenty years had been known by the Latin name Sicarii, 'dagger-men' or simply 'assassins'.⁹ At about the same time there was Jewish insurgence in Egypt and Cyrenaica, exacerbated by refugee Sicarii from Judaea; the head of the Cyrenaic rising was Jonathan the weaver, a prophet-leader like Theudas in Judaea in the 40s.¹⁰ Southern Judaea, Egypt and Cyrene, the three areas which were the last to be pacified, were all to be involved in the later revolts. Over forty years elapsed, however, before the serious recurrence of Jewish insurgence in Cyrene, Egypt and Mesopotamia in 115. During these years the three successive Flavian emperors, Vespasian, Titus (79–81) and his younger brother Domitian (81–96), were followed by Nerva and then in 98 by Trajan.

Roman opinion from the Republic to the Principate

Roman opinion between 70 and 115 was influenced not simply by Vespasian's war, but also by the long earlier history of Roman-Jewish relations, beginning in the second century BC. Initially the Maccabaeen resistance to Seleucid rule had converged with Roman interests and led to a Roman-Jewish alliance against the Greek empires. The story of the alliance is introduced in I Macc. 8:1–16 by a glowing evocation of the Roman repute for conquest and virtue, and this, no doubt reflecting views approved in the Hasmonaeen court, forms one of the earliest literary traces of Jewish opinion on Rome. Soon the Romans began to be identified by Jewish interpreters with the Kittim of the Hebrew scriptures, who dwell overseas in the west (Gen. 10:4, perhaps originally referring to Cyprus). In the Septuagint (Old Greek) version of Dan. 11:30, where the Hebrew can be rendered 'ships of Kittim shall come against him [the Greek king who threatens the Jews]', the Old Greek has 'The Romans shall come and drive him out'; however, the textual tradition suggests that the context could be understood unfavourably as well as favourably towards the Romans.¹¹ It is likely,

⁹ Josephus, *B.J.* vii 163–215 (Herodium and Machaerus), 252–406 (Masada); *B.J.* ii 254–7 (rise of the Sicarii); on Bassus and Silva, Schürer, *History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 515. In Flavian Rome the term *sicarius* was not restricted to those who used a dagger, as noted by Quintilian, *Inst.* x 1, 12.

¹⁰ Josephus, *B.J.* vii 407–53; for the Egyptian disturbances Josephus puts the blame on the refugees, following the official Egyptian Jewish opinion, but it seems likely that Jewish sympathizers already in Egypt were also responsible; for Theudas see Josephus, *Ant.* xx 97–9 and (retrojecting him by a decade or more) Acts 5:36.

¹¹ This rendering can favourably evoke the old Roman-Jewish alliance, but the continuation in the Greek has a variant which shows that the verse as a whole could also be taken negatively; in part of the Greek textual tradition 'they' (the Romans) rather than 'he' (the king) are indignant against the covenant.

as argued below, that Jewish anti-Roman feeling soon also emerged in the diaspora of the eastern Mediterranean. Then, with Pompey's Asian and Syrian campaigns (67–62 BC), Judaea became a nation within the Roman empire. As Tacitus later put it, 'Gn. Pompeius was the first of the Romans to tame the Jews' (*Romanorum primus Cn. Pompeius Iudaeos domuit*, Tacitus, *Hist.* v 9). As noted above, in Pompey's time, Roman empire was already regarded in Rome itself as worldwide.

This imperial context now governed Roman-Jewish relations. Roman recognition of Pompey as a world ruler on the model of Alexander foreshadowed that accorded to Caesar, Augustus and their successors, including Trajan and Hadrian. In Roman eyes the Jews were from now on a nation with a duty to be subject, and war on their part became rebellion. At the same time Jewish anti-Roman opinion – matched of course by parallel Jewish expressions of loyalty to Rome – was further strengthened, as is suggested by the treatment of the Kittim in Qumran texts which reflect the impact of Pompey's defeat of the Hasmonaeans, notably the Habakkuk commentary and the War Scroll. As the Habakkuk commentary puts it, 'in counsel all their thought is to do evil, and in cunning and deceit they will deal with all peoples'.¹²

This Qumran material is matched perhaps some years later by the invective against Pompey in particular in the Psalms of Solomon, one of which sees Pompey's ignominious death in Egypt in 48 BC as a divine judgment in favour of Israel.¹³ Another portrays Pompey's advent in Jerusalem as like that of a father, coming in peace and security – perhaps the psalm hints bitterly at the Roman ideals of *pax* and *securitas*, peace and safety – until he pours out the blood of the inhabitants like dirty water.¹⁴ In these years the memory of Jewish independence under the earlier Hasmonaean kings

¹² 1 QpHab iii 5–6, on Hab. 1:7 'their judgment . . .', highlighted for its contrast with I Macc. 8 in the treatment of the Habakkuk commentary by Stemberger, *Die römische Herrschaft im Urteil der Juden*, 16–20; the compositions forming the Qumran Rule of War in their present form likewise reflect above all the immediate aftermath of Pompey's intervention, according to P. S. Alexander, 'The Evil Empire: the Qumran Eschatological War Cycle and the Origins of Jewish Opposition to Rome', in S. M. Paul, R. A. Kraft, L. H. Schiffman and W. W. Fields (eds.), with the assistance of E. Ben-David, *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2003), 17–31; the focal point of the Qumran historical data as a whole is formed by Pompey's invasion of Judaea, according to G. Vermes, 'Historiographical Elements in the Qumran Writings: a Synopsis of the Textual Evidence', *JJS* lviii (2007), 121–39.

¹³ Ps. Sol. ii 24–35, discussed with other passages from these psalms by N. R. M. de Lange, 'Jewish Attitudes to the Roman Empire', in P. D. A. Garnsey and C. R. Whittaker (eds.), *Imperialism in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, 1978), 255–81.

¹⁴ Ps. Sol. viii 18, taken as an early allusion to the catchwords *pax* and *securitas* which become well attested in the early empire by E. Bammel, 'Romans 13', in Bammel and Moule (eds.) *Jesus and the Politics of His Day*, 365–83 (375–8).

was fresh, and Jews, even those who could not admire their own contemporary Hasmonaean or Herodian kings, did not forget the imperial strain in their own national tradition. Over a century later, however, Pompey's intervention could still seem the end of true Jewish liberty. As Josephus put it in a frequently quoted summary, perhaps indebted to ideas of freedom as an attribute of humanity and pre-eminently of Jews: 'we threw away our liberty and became subject to the Romans' (Josephus, *Ant.* xiv 77).¹⁵

In the same passage, however, Josephus blames the factional war between the Hasmonaean brothers Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II for what happened. This is no doubt only partly true, for Roman influence would have been asserted in some way over any Jewish government, but it implicitly underlines the importance of inner-Jewish division in Roman-Jewish relations. About thirty years before Pompey's advent in Judaea, Jewish opposition to Hasmonaean rulers, in circles including Pharisaic activists who 'understood how to hate', as E. J. Bickermann put it, had not hesitated to call in the help of the Seleucid king Demetrius III against Alexander Jannaeus; now, comparably, Pompey received a Jewish embassy requesting Roman protection for a high priest rather than a king, and later on Augustus, after the death of Herod the Great, received a request that no further Herodian king should be appointed (Josephus, *Ant.* xiv 41, xvii 300–14).¹⁶

Surviving Roman comment on the Jews as rebellious and superstitious begins in the first century BC with Cicero, in Pompey's time; however, the Jewish people will then already have had a reputation at Rome for intolerance of foreign customs and rule, and for attracting non-Jews to their own rites. The background of the Maccabaeal alliance with Rome was rebellion against the Seleucids, and Jews had been expelled from Rome (139 BC) for trying, as it was said in the time of Augustus, to infect Romans with their cult.¹⁷ Later on, it is likely that Jews were involved in uprisings against Roman claims to rule in Cyrene (87–86 BC).¹⁸ At about the same

¹⁵ For the idea of being born free within a Stoic argument that the good and wise are the truly free (Zeno being viewed as indebted to Moses), see Philo, *Prob.* 18; for the children of Abraham as free, John 8:33, cited in [Chapter 2](#).

¹⁶ E. Bickermann, *Die Makkabäer: eine Darstellung ihrer Geschichte von den Anfängen bis zum Untergang des Hasmonäerhauses* (Berlin, 1935), 64, 69; translation in E. Bickerman, *From Ezra to the Last of the Maccabees* (New York, 1962), 168, 174.

¹⁷ Valerius Maximus, *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia*, i 3, 3, discussed by Stern (ed.), *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, i, no. 147, pp. 357–60.

¹⁸ Strabo, as summarized by Josephus, *Ant.* xiv 114 (Sulla sent Lucullus 'against the Cyrenian *stasis* of our nation . . .'); but Stern (ed.), *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, i, no. 105, pp. 277–9, envisaging a pause after *stasis*, excludes any reference to Jewish sedition in particular, and thereby aligns this passage with Plutarch (*Lucullus*, 2.3–4) on general unrest in Cyrene. Yet it seems unlikely that Strabo would have expanded on the Jews to the extent which he does in this passage (quoted

time, to judge from anti-Roman oracles in the third Sibylline book, Asian Jews appear to have shared Greek resentment of Roman punitive measures against supporters of Mithridates.¹⁹ In any case, the already well-worn charge that the Jews hated and attacked foreigners is exemplified in the early first century BC in the Carian rhetor Apollonius Molon, whose lectures both Caesar and Cicero had attended in Rhodes.²⁰ Now Pompey's capture of Jerusalem in 63 BC was at once interpreted in Rome as the suppression of a general Jewish rebellion, the Jewish nation became one of the fourteen over which Pompey's triumph was celebrated in the year 61, and the 'taming' of the Jews became a theme of Roman authors.²¹

This view of Pompey's intervention as the subjugation of rebels commended itself because, despite the submission of the followers of the high priest and king Hyrcanus II, Pompey won the city only after three months' siege of the temple, which was held as a fortress by the followers of Hyrcanus's brother and rival Aristobulus II. Hence Cicero could declare rhetorically, four years later, '[T]hat people showed by taking up arms what it thought of our rule'.²² A contrasting Jewish view, that resistance to Pompey by a people who were still free was not a rebellion but a 'just war' (*agon dikaios*), surfaces later in Josephus.²³ This consideration could

in Josephus, *Ant.* xiv 115–18) if Jews had not been involved in the disturbance. Had he mentioned that they took the Roman side, Josephus would probably have included this point in his quotation or summary. Here and in connection with the Jews in the Ptolemaic realms under Cleopatra III (Josephus, *Ant.* xiii 284–7), Strabo probably draws on an Alexandrian Jewish source; see Chapter 4, nn. 99 and 312, below.

¹⁹ Sib. iii 175–95, 350–66, discussed by R. Buitenerwerf, *Book III of the Sibylline Oracles and Its Social Setting* (SVTP 17, Leiden and Boston, 2003), 184–90, 221–4, 308–9, 319–20.

²⁰ Stern (ed.), *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, i, no. 29, pp. 148–51; Josephus (*Ap.* ii 96, 148, 258) ascribes to him allegations of an oath of enmity against Greeks, atheism and misanthropy, and unwillingness to associate, and links him with Posidonius as an anti-Jewish writer, but his treatise on the Jews included reaction against a relatively positive account of them by Posidonius, according to B. Bar-Kochva, 'Apollonius Molon versus Posidonius of Apamea', in J.-U. Kalms (ed.), *Internationales Josephus-Kolloquium, Aarhus 1999* (Münsteraner Judaistische Studien 6, Münster, 2000), 22–37. For *amixia*, 'dissociation', as a sign of civil disturbance, in Egyptian papyri of the second and first centuries BC, see A.-E. Veisse, *Les 'révoltes égyptiennes': recherches sur les troubles intérieurs en Égypte du règne de Ptolémée III à la conquête romaine* (Studia Hellenistica 41, Leuven, 2004), 82 'the *amixia* which has taken hold of the nome' (BGU XIV 2370, col. iii, lines 39–40, of about 84–83 BC), with other examples noted in her Index, s.v.

²¹ The fourteen nations were listed on written tablets carried in the triumph, and represented by statues in the Theatre of Pompey, under the patronage of Venus Victrix, whose temple surmounted the theatre complex; see Varro, quoted by Pliny the Elder, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi 41 and Plutarch, *Pompey*, 45, discussed with other sources by H. Cancik, 'Die "Repraesentation" von "Provinz" (nationes, gentes) in Rom. Ein Beitrag zur Bestimmung von "Reichsreligion" vom 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis zum 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.', in H. Cancik and J. Rüpke (eds.), *Römische Reichsreligion und Provinzialreligion* (Tübingen, 1997), 129–43 (130–2).

²² Cicero, Flacc. 28.69 *illa gens quid de nostro imperio sentiret ostendit armis*.

²³ *B.J.* ii 355–6 (Agrippa II's speech); to fight against being made subject is *agon dikaios*, and the time for it was when Pompey invaded.

appeal to an element in Roman opinion, the recognition of the striving for liberty by nations which became subject, which emerges in Josephus's contemporary Tacitus.²⁴

Soon afterwards the party of Aristobulus, with his sons Alexander and Antigonus, again caused serious and repeated revolt, quelled at its height by Gabinius in campaigns from 57 to 55 BC – in what Josephus describes as another 'expedition (*strateia*) against the Jews', like Pompey's – and then from 53 to 51 BC by Crassus's quaestor Cassius Longinus (Josephus, *B.J.* i 160–78, 179–82; *Ant.* xiv 82–104, 105–9). It was against this background of rebellion that Crassus himself, governor of Syria from 54 BC to his death at Parthian hands in 53 BC, had taken money and gold ornamentation from the Jerusalem temple. Also in the year 54 BC, the curule aedile Aulus Plautius struck a denarius showing the submission of 'Bacchius Iudaeus' to Rome. The identity of this Jewish leader is uncertain, but the use of the adjective 'Iudaeus' on the coin will have enhanced the impression that the Jews had a place among the standard enemies or subjects of Rome – just as the place of 'Judaea' among the fourteen nations vanquished by Pompey and placarded in his triumph would suggest.²⁵ The years from 55 to 52 BC saw the construction in the Campus Martius of the Theatre of Pompey with the temple of Venus Victrix, and the deposition of Pompey's spoils under her patronage; the symbols of victory represented there included statues of the fourteen nations.²⁶

Yet the years after Pompey's death in 48 also saw close Roman-Jewish ties, or at least recognition by Roman rulers of Hyrcanus II, Antipater, Herod, Jewish loyalty and Jewish privileges. The series of decrees by Julius Caesar in favour of Hyrcanus II and the Jews, after Jewish loyalty helped him win the Alexandrian War (48–47 BC), and the confirmations of these decrees for Judaeans and diaspora Jews by Mark Antony and others, were gratefully quoted later on by Josephus (*Ant.* xiv 185–267). In 44 BC Jews were prominent in lamentation at Caesar's pyre in Rome (Suetonius, *Div.*

²⁴ Tacitus, *Agr.* 30 (the speech attributed to the British leader Calgacus), noted further below.

²⁵ Hart, 'Judaea and Rome: the Official Commentary', 178–9, with Plate I, 2, shows by comparison with a denarius of 58 BC representing king Aretas that the submission of Bacchius is likely to have been accepted; Bacchius was therefore probably not the Syrian dynast Dionysius of Tripolis (beheaded by Pompey, as noted in Josephus, *Ant.* xiv 39). This suggested equation is noted with other suggestions, but without discussion of Hart, in Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 237, n. 14. On A. Plautius's career, with further suggestions, see Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 26, n. 16.

²⁶ Cancik, 'Die "Repraesentation" von "Provinz" (nationes, gentes) in Rom', 132; on trophies and other symbols in the complex see G. C. Picard, *Les trophées romains: Contribution à l'histoire de la Religion et de l'Art triomphal de Rome* (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 187, Paris, 1957), 186–9.

Iul. 84.8). In 40 BC the Parthian invasion of Syria and Judaea helped to strengthen Roman support for Herod. This led in the end to Herod's close ties with Augustus, the friendships between members of the Herodian and Julio-Claudian families, and Agrippa's confirmation of Jewish privileges in many cities of Asia Minor – once again gratefully recorded by Josephus (*Ant.* xii 125–8; xvi 27–65, 160–78).

On the other hand, the imperial view of Judaea and doubts about Jewish loyalty will have been further enhanced by the triumph held in 34 BC by C. Sosius, governor of Syria, after his capture of Jerusalem in alliance with Herod's forces in 37 BC; 'he brought the Jews into subjection', in the formulaic language used of him by his contemporary Seneca the Elder and then again, after the Flavian era, by Tacitus.²⁷ The justification for this phrase will have been the appreciable Jewish loyalty manifested towards Herod's rival Antigonus, last of the Hasmonaean kings, whose claims were supported by the Parthians against Herod and Rome. After Herod's death, the repression of grave unrest throughout Judaea by a later Syrian governor, P. Quinctilius Varus, made a mark in Jewish tradition and seems for Josephus to be comparable with the pacification by Sosius; traces of its impact in Rome survive in Tacitus.²⁸

Roman opinion will also have been affected by the later series of disturbances which began after the Roman banishment of Herod's son Archelaus in AD 6 and the subjection of his Judaeian territory to direct Roman rule – as continued to be the case, apart from the brief reign of Herod's grandson Agrippa I as client king of Judaea (41–4).²⁹ The view of these disturbances as forming a series goes back to Josephus and Tacitus, and it is of course influenced by the retrospect which they share; both were writing after the

²⁷ Seneca, *Suas.* ii 21 *Sosio illi qui Iudaeos subegerat*; Tacitus, *Hist.* v 9 *Iudaeos C. Sosius subegit*; Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 59, n. 42, notes that these Roman authors, with Cassius Dio (xlix 22, 3–6), make no mention of Herod.

²⁸ Compare Josephus, *B.J.* v 408 (the series of invaders Pompey, Sosius, Vespasian) with *Ap.* i 34 (Pompey, Varus, Vespasian) and *B.J.* i 19–20 (Pompey, Sosius, Varus, war under Nero). Varus's repression also figures in *Ass. Mos.* vi 8, from the early first century AD, and probably in *Seder Olam Rabbah*, 30 ('from the war of Ahasuerus [read: Varus] to the war of Vespasian, eighty years'); see Stemberger, *Die römische Herrschaft im Urteil der Juden*, 25–6, 63–4.

²⁹ The continuity of direct Roman rule, apart from the years 41–4, is not affected by the ambiguity of Josephus and Tacitus with regard to the degree of Judaea's separation from the province of Syria; contrast Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 357–61 (the governor of Syria could exercise superior authority as need arose, but from AD 6 Judaea was a province with a governor of equestrian rank) with W. Eck, *Rom und Judaea* (Tübingen, 2007), 24–51 (from AD 6 Judaea was part of the province of Syria under the oversight of a special *praefectus*, and this was again the position from 44, despite terminology in Josephus and Tacitus which could suggest that Judaea was an independent province – a position first in fact brought about after Vespasian's arrival in Judaea).

revolt of 66–70, and inquiring into its causes. Nevertheless, the view which both authors present in different ways is consistent with the less unified references to insurrection in Mark and Luke-Acts, and to Judaeen opposition to Christianity in Paul.³⁰ The concept of a series should not be dismissed out of hand.³¹

The recurrent surges of unrest over the sixty years from AD 6 are traced by Josephus back to Judas the Galilaeen and Saddok, who led an uprising against the census taken by the Syrian governor Quirinius when direct Roman rule of Judaea began; this movement also left its mark in a slightly different account, probably not dependent on Josephus, in the Acts of the Apostles (5:37).³² For Josephus, then, the out-and-out rebels who in 66 were calling themselves Zealots were linked with Judas and his followers by a continuous history of disaffection.³³ As his description suggests, it will have been associated with a set of religio-political ideas focused on divinely given deliverance and liberty. It is indeed likely that this history goes back still further, as is suggested by the tenacious resistance to Pompey and his lieutenants noted above. Tacitus, however, in the summary just cited, passes from Varus directly to two later disturbances requiring the intervention of the governor of Syria, namely the turbulence of 40–1 (when Gaius Caligula had ordered his effigy to be placed in the temple) and the Samaritan and Jewish internecine strife and uprising of the year 52.³⁴

³⁰ Mark 15:7 (insurrection, otherwise unknown); Acts 5:36–7 (Theudas and Judas), 21:38 ('the Egyptian' and his sicarii); I Thess. 2:14 (Jewish hostility to Judaeen Christians). For an affirmation and analysis of unrest in this period, using both Josephus and the New Testament, see B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 78–83; on I Thess. 2:14 in this setting, Horbury, 'Beginnings of Christianity in the Holy Land', in O. Limor and G. G. Stroumsa (eds.), *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land: From the Origins to the Latin Kingdoms* (Turnhout, 2006), 7–89 (66).

³¹ A warning against uncritical adoption of Josephus's view of these years as markedly turbulent, with a lively demonstration of the common debt to this view in otherwise widely differing scholarly treatments, is offered by J. S. McLaren, *Turbulent Times? Josephus and Scholarship on Judaea in the First Century CE* (Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series 29, Sheffield, 1998); he does not, however, discuss the overlap between Josephus, Tacitus and the New Testament.

³² Josephus, *Ant.* xviii 4–10, discussed with the brief notice of Judas in *B.J.* ii 117 and with Acts 5:37 by M. Hengel, *The Zealots*, 76–81, 330–37; Josephus's self-distancing from all that he associates with Judas is clear, but his presentation is too circumstantial and too congruent with Acts (despite considerable difference) to be taken as almost wholly free invention, with J. S. McLaren, 'Constructing Jewish History in the Diaspora: Josephus's Accounts of Judas', in J. Barclay (ed.), *Negotiating Diaspora: Jewish Strategies in the Roman Empire* (Library of Second Temple Studies 45, London and New York, 2004), 90–108.

³³ On those who claimed the name Zealot see Josephus, *B.J.* ii 651, iv 160–1, vii 268–74, among other passages from the *Jewish War*; on the long-term influence of Judas and Saddok, *Ant.* xviii 4–10, discussed in n. 32.

³⁴ Tacitus, *Hist.* v 9; here Tacitus simply alludes to the misgovernment of Felix in Judaea, but at *Ann.* xii 54 he gives a fuller account of disturbances under Felix which were quelled in 52 by Quadratus, governor of Syria.

This recurrent repression of insurgence over the sixty years from the deposition of Archelaus was not marked by triumphs, but will have impinged on Roman opinion not only through the tradition of the governing class and its literary deposits, but also through the army and soldiers' talk.³⁵

Its impact will have been further reinforced by the prominence of the Jews in the city of Rome itself, attested by writers from the late republic onwards to the time of Nero: Cicero, Horace, Ovid, Valerius Maximus and Persius. It was under Nero, towards the end of the sixty years beginning with the deposition of Archelaus, that Lucan picked out Judaea and its hardly known deity, *incerti Iudaea dei*, for fuller mention in a selective list of Pompey's conquests (Lucan ii 592–3), Persius wrote of the superstitious awe induced by Jewish celebrations in Rome (Persius v 179–84), and the younger Seneca called the Jews, perhaps with reference to their unrest, a criminal people (*gens sceleratissima*).³⁶ Thinking of the allure of their rites as well as their subjection, Seneca also applied to them the commonplace that 'the conquered have given laws to their conquerors', *victi victoribus leges dederunt*.³⁷

Flavian publicity

When revolt broke out again under Nero in 66, it will then already have been a Roman commonplace that Judaea was one of the nations of the empire that should properly exhibit loyal obedience but had a marked proclivity towards rebellion, and a special cult with an attraction for Romans. It can be assumed that the long-drawn-out repression of this revolt will have strengthened existing anti-Jewish feelings. W. H. C. Frend assessed Roman opinion on the Jews after 70 as follows: 'what had previously been suspicion, tinged with a certain amount of contempt and hostility by individuals, becomes a widespread and deep-seated fear'.³⁸ The pre-70 antecedents are justly noted here, but perhaps still more emphasis should be laid on the continuity of widespread anti-Jewish feeling from the pre-Flavian years; the

³⁵ The importance of soldiers' reminiscence for public opinion is underlined by N. Horsfall, *The Culture of the Roman Plebs* (London, 2003), 114–15.

³⁶ Interpretation of the observance of 'days of Herod' described by Persius is discussed in 'Herod's Temple and "Herod's Days"', reprinted with revisions from W. Horbury (ed.) *Templum Amicitiae* (Sheffield, 1991), 103–49 in Horbury, *Messianism among Jews and Christians*, 83–122.

³⁷ Seneca, *De Superstitione*, quoted by Augustine, *C.D.* vi 11, and discussed by Stern (ed.), *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, i, no. 186, pp. 429–32.

³⁸ W. H. C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church: A Study of a Conflict from the Maccabees to Donatus* (Oxford, 1965), 210.

acceptability of anti-Jewish polemic was already presupposed when Cicero used it in his speeches in court. Moreover, its expressions between 70 and 135 continue to be mingled with attestations of the attraction of Judaism. Fear is probably implied in respect of the multitude of the Jews and their capacity for drawing non-Jews to them, and perhaps also their connection with the standing Roman nightmare of a threat from the east, the 'Median destiny which too closely rivals ours', as Lucan had put it under Nero.³⁹ More obvious on the surface, however, is the continuation by Tacitus of the Ciceronian combination of interest and contempt, and by Juvenal of the lively pre-70 mockery seen in Horace and Persius.

Flavian political propaganda now gives prominence to Jewish defeat, yet for this purpose the Jews must seem worthy foes; in the end publicity stresses not just the low estate of the Jews but rather the rise of the Flavians, and it receives an important Jewish contribution from Josephus and others. The state of opinion after 70 was, then, not wholly new or unmitigatedly anti-Jewish; development of anti-Jewish feeling was the deepening of an existing trend, was still counterbalanced by the attraction of Judaism, and was not unambiguously encouraged by Flavian publicity.

This publicity, however, and the new Jewish measures which it surrounded, began to set the scene in which Jewish war would break out again. For Vespasian and his sons after the fall of Jerusalem in 70, the victory over Judaea, rebellious once more, formed a great part of their dynastic claim to govern. Once Augustan publicity had harped on victory over Cleopatra and Egypt at the battle of Actium; now 'Jerusalem was the Actium of the Flavians'.⁴⁰ Somewhat as Actium was a civil-war battle against Antony, remodelled in court poetry as a victory of Augustus and Rome over Egypt, so the Flavian triumph over Judaea in 71 presented the acceptable foreign face of Vespasian's accession to power; it hinted at the civil-war triumph which could not decently be celebrated, that over the supporters of Vitellius, and its publicity for peace in the east was bound up with the implicit claim to have ended the internecine Italian strife of

³⁹ Lucan, viii 307–8 *fatis nimis aemula nostris | fata movent Medos*, continuing *multumque in gente deorum est*, 'and their nation has plenteous divine favour'. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church*, 210–11, cites among other texts Quintilian, *Inst.* iii 7, 21 on the originator of the Jewish superstition as producing 'a people dangerous to others', *pernicosam caeteris gentem*, and Tacitus, *Hist.* v 5, on the Jews' contempt for death; Tacitus is likewise identified as expressing widespread Roman fear, above all on the ground of the attraction of Judaism, by P. Schäfer, *Judeophobia* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1997), 192. For Jewish exploitation in the Flavian period of Roman fears of Parthia and the myth of Nero's flight to the east see especially Sib. iv 119–24, 137–9 (Nero returns from the east with Parthian hordes).

⁴⁰ Picard, *Les trophées romains*, 343–4.

'the year of the four emperors'.⁴¹ The triumph and its echoes in further publicity used victory over a well-known foe in an appeal for unity and concord at home.

The triumph itself rediffused the assurances of divine favour which had already clustered about Vespasian. Josephus's writing would incorporate such assurances from the Jewish side, but the triumph in 71 highlighted, rather, the favour of Graeco-Egyptian deities. Vespasian and his sons themselves could have illustrated the Roman satirists' despair at the appeal of alien cults to responsible Romans. In the year 69, Vespasian's imperial charisma had received divine recognition from Serapis in Alexandria (Tacitus, *Hist.* iv 81–4), and in Rome the young Domitian had disguised himself in the linen garment of a votary of Isis in order to escape the Vitellians on the Capitol (Tacitus, *Hist.* iii 74, 1). Now in 71 Vespasian and Titus spent the night before their triumph at the temple of Isis and Serapis in the Campus Martius (Josephus, *B.J.* vii 123).⁴² The new dynasty continued to present these deities as protectors of the Flavian fortune, through coinage and attention to their shrines.⁴³ Vespasian exploited the propaganda value of their patronage, especially among the Greeks of Alexandria and Egypt, who would not have rejoiced at the support he received in Jewish circles; but he appears also to have been himself a convinced client.⁴⁴

The non-Jewish population of Palestine could likewise claim a part in imperial prophecy of this kind, through the promise of greatness given to Vespasian, even before he went to Alexandria, by the Syrian god of Carmel.⁴⁵ Josephus was, no doubt significantly, silent on these pagan

⁴¹ Virgil's presentation of Actium elicited the ancient comment: 'Because triumph in a civil war seems disgraceful, the poet labours to show that the war was a just war' between Rome and Egypt (*sed quia belli civilis triumphus turpis videtur, laborat poeta ut probet iustum bellum fuisse*); see G. Thilo and H. Hagen, *Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii* (3 vols., Leipzig, 1881, 1884, 1887, with appendix 1902), ii, 299, on *Aen.* viii 678.

⁴² On this temple, later rebuilt by Domitian after the fire in 80, see M. Beard, J. North and S. Price, *Religions of Rome* (2 vols., Cambridge, 1998), i, 264–5, with plan; F. Coarelli, 'Iseum et Serapeum in Campo Martio; Isis Campensis', in Steinby, *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, iii, 107–9.

⁴³ J. Beaujeu, *La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'empire*, i, *La politique religieuse des Antonins (96–192)* (Paris, 1955), 48; J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion* (Oxford, 1979), 179–82; Picard, *Les trophées romains*, 345–6; R. E. A. Palmer, 'Paeon and Paeonists of Serapis and the Flavian Emperors', in R. M. Rosen and J. Farrell (eds.), *Nomodeiktēs: Greek Studies in Honor of Martin Ostwald* (Ann Arbor, 1993).

⁴⁴ B. Levick, *Vespasian* (London, 1999), 68–9 (noting the value of Serapis as a counterweight to feeling against Vespasian's Jewish support); Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion*, 181.

⁴⁵ Tacitus, *Hist.* ii 78; Suetonius, *Vesp.* v 6, discussed by Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, ii, 12–14 (no. 278), 122–3 (no. 313), and N. Belayche, *Judaëa-Palaestina: The Pagan Cults in Roman Palestine (Second to Fourth Century)* (Religion der Römischen Provinzen 1, Tübingen, 2001), 187–8.

presages at Mount Carmel and in Alexandria, for he wished to emphasize, on the part of the Jews and as a sign and explanation of their loyalty, that their God too had given comparable prophetic confirmations of Vespasian's imperial destiny. He expatiated on his own scripturally based prophecy to Vespasian (*B.J.* iii 351–4, 400–4). Similarly, he stressed that the Jewish scriptural oracle of a coming ruler, which was prized in Jerusalem under siege, was in fact fulfilled by Vespasian's proclamation as emperor in Judaea (*B.J.* vi 312–13). That Josephus was not alone among upper-class Jews in asserting the Jewish prophetic testimony to the Flavian destiny is suggested, as already noted, by the rabbinic legend of Johanan ben Zaccai's salutation to Vespasian as emperor-to-be.⁴⁶ Yet, despite Jewish readiness to offer oracular endorsement, it was the patronage of the Graeco-Egyptian cult to which Vespasian and his children publicly adhered. This cannot have been welcome to Jews, but their position was ameliorated by the fact that Vespasian and Titus did accept support from the Jews as well as from their bitter enemies, the Greeks of Alexandria, Egypt, Palestine and Syria.

Literary remains of publicity are scattered. The older Latin poetic and rhetorical commonplaces on vanquished Judaea, recalling the incursions by Pompey and Sosius in the first century BC, are amplified under the Flavians with allusions to the destruction of Jerusalem by fire, mingling horror and bombast.⁴⁷ Memoirs of the war by Vespasian and Titus will have influenced accounts issued under their patronage.⁴⁸ There were soon histories of the recent Jewish war, marked sometimes, according to Josephus, by flattery of the Romans or hatred of the Jews (Josephus, *B.J.* i 1–2; cf. *Ap.* i 46). It is uncertain whether, as is often held, a Latin narrative was written by Antonius Julianus, one of the chief officers of Titus.⁴⁹ The Jewish historian

⁴⁶ Aboth de-Rabbi Nathan, version B, vi, 10a ('He said to him: *Vive, domine imperator*'), printed as no. 127, with other forms of the narrative, by S. Krauss, *Griechen und Römer* (Monumenta Talmudica v.1, Vienna and Leipzig, 1914, repr. Darmstadt, 1972), pp. 65–8; this version of the story underlines Johanan's support for Rome, whereas in another (Lam. R. i 31, on Lam. 1:5; Babylonian Talmud, Gittin 56a–b) his links with the Zealot leadership in Jerusalem are brought out, as shown by Schäfer, 'Die Flucht Johanan b. Zakkais aus Jerusalem und die Gründung des "Lehrhauses" in Jabne'.

⁴⁷ Pliny the Elder, *N.H.* v 73, notes that Engadda, like Jerusalem, is 'now a funeral pyre', *bustum*; Statius, *Silvae* v 2, 138, asks an officer going to serve abroad 'Will you be treading the ashes of Jerusalem?', *Solymum cinerem*; Martial, vii 55, 7, quoted in part below, speaks of *Solymi perusti*, 'burnt-out Jerusalem'. See Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, i, nos. 204, 237, 242. Valerius Flaccus on Titus as 'black with the dust of Jerusalem' is quoted below, n. 74.

⁴⁸ See Josephus, *V.* 342 (Vespasian's memoirs); 358 (Caesar's memoirs – on events at Jerusalem); *Ap.* i 56 (the memoirs of the emperors on the war), discussed by Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 32–3.

⁴⁹ The second-century Minucius Felix, *Oct.* 33.4, cites Josephus and then Antonius Julianus as a Roman author 'on the Jews', *de Iudaeis*; he may refer to the second-century rhetor Antonius Julianus rather than the first-century commander of that name whom Josephus mentions (*B.J.* vi 238), from whom

Justus of Tiberias issued his Greek history later, after the death of Agrippa II (Josephus, *V.* 359–60).

The fullest surviving literary contribution comes from another Jewish author, Josephus. His *Jewish War* as we have it makes Vespasian and Titus the embodiment of imperial Rome.⁵⁰ The narrative of their conquest of Jerusalem is framed by portrayals of the Roman army and the Flavian triumph. The strategy and wisdom of Vespasian are matched by the courage and clemency of the young Titus, who sorrows in the end over fallen Jerusalem; and their victory over so mighty a foe and so glorious a city bears the clear mark of divine favour. (Compare the passages on scriptural prophecy cited above.) The emphasis here on Jewish power and glory no doubt implicitly rebuts a current view that the repression of the Jews, who had cut themselves off from humanity, was an enterprise wholly unworthy of a Roman emperor.⁵¹

Josephus's book, circulated first in Mesopotamia in Aramaic and then within the Roman empire in Greek, is a reminder of the importance of Jewish participation in Flavian publicity and support. The part played by eminent Jews in the Flavian rise to power has been noticed already. Correspondingly, the vast Jewish minority in the Roman empire and just over its eastern frontiers – the area first reached by Josephus's book – remained for the Flavians, as for their predecessors, a consideration in the maintenance of imperial peace. This consideration can be presupposed behind the relative moderation of the Vespasianic Jewish measures described below. What is more explicit in Josephus, however, is the predestined victory of Rome under the Flavians.

The Flavian literary publicity thus stressed, like the triumph, the dynastic and Roman significance of the victory in Judaea. The same emphasis

a title like *de bello iudaico*, not the general *de iudaeis*, might perhaps have been expected. The first-century identification is preferred, however, by Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 33–4.

⁵⁰ The prominence of Titus in Josephus's *Jewish War* would suit publication in the reign of Titus (79–81), but the book must have been at least largely ready before the death of Vespasian; Josephus stresses that he presented it both to Vespasian and to Titus (Josephus, *V.* 361, *Ap.* i 51), and he adds (but in the same context) that Titus personally commanded its publication (Josephus, *V.* 363). Aspects which suggest completion under Titus or even later are brought out by Seth Schwartz, *Josephus and Judaeae Politics* (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition xviii; Leiden, 1990), 12–16; T. D. Barnes, 'The Sack of the Jerusalem Temple in Josephus and Tacitus', in Edmondson, Mason and Rives (eds.), *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome*, 129–44. This discussion of the completion date does not affect the main point made in the text above, that Josephus represents Flavian propaganda.

⁵¹ This view is expressed in imagined dialogue with Vespasian in Alexandria, in speeches allotted to Euphrates the philosopher and Dio Chrysostom, in Philostratus, *V. Apollonii* v 33–4; Apollonius of Tyana is comparably presented as too disgusted to entertain the thought of visiting Jerusalem, in a land defiled by the deeds and sufferings of the inhabitants (*ibid.*, v 27, 3).

marked the wide-ranging propaganda constituted by the coinage commemorating the triumph. Series of coins, gold, silver and bronze, from a variety of mints in the east and west of the empire, bear legends including *Judaea capta*, 'Judaea captured', and *Judaea devicta* 'Judaea defeated'; they may show the palm tree of Judaea, the mourning lady Judaea, and sometimes a Jewish captive or a trophy of arms.⁵² Among these, a sestertius issued under Vespasian and Titus, without any *Judaea capta* legend, was indeed taken by L. Mildenberg to indicate not an emphasis on the capture of Judaea, but an affirmation that war is over and Judaea is to be restored – for it shows an unbound Jewish man and woman greeting the emperor.⁵³ Yet the emperor holds a spear, and on his right arm is a figure of Victoria. The type has also been plausibly interpreted, with reference to parallels, as showing 'a Jew kneeling on one knee and stretching suppliant hands in who-knows-how-hopeless a petition'; behind him 'we see a Jewess running to join the group and re-enforce the suppliant's prayer'.⁵⁴

The message of the coins was underlined in Rome itself by the great public building programme initiated by Vespasian and continued by Titus and Domitian.⁵⁵ Two famous buildings begun by Vespasian could arouse thoughts of the Jewish War among other associations. Thus the temple of Pax which Vespasian built and Domitian enlarged recalled the subjection of Judaea, but within the context of wider Roman dominion and peace at home. The sanctuary held not only the golden vessels of the Jerusalem temple but also many treasures of Greek art captured in the past (Josephus, *B.J.* vii 158–61). It was approached through a vast square colonnaded precinct, on the east of the neighbouring fora of Caesar and Augustus.⁵⁶ Somewhat comparably, the Colosseum or 'Flavian Ring', *amphitheatrum*

⁵² Hart, 'Judaea and Rome: the Official Commentary', 183–92.

⁵³ Mildenberg, *The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War*, 92–3 (not discussing the interpretations cited in n.54).

⁵⁴ Hart, 'Judaea and Rome: the Official Commentary', 187–9, following with further comments Ph. Lederer, 'Über eine Judaea-Münze', *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* (1930), 42–59.

⁵⁵ See in general F. Millar, 'Last Year in Jerusalem: Monuments of the Jewish War in Rome', in Edmondson, Mason and Rives (eds.), *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome*, 101–28; the treatment below attempts to bring out the way in which Jewish aspects of the monuments, highlighted by Millar, merge into other aspects of their message.

⁵⁶ R. H. Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture: A Study of Flavian Rome* (Collection Latomus 231, Brussels, 1996), 59–68; F. Coarelli, 'Pax, Templum', in E. M. Steinby, *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* (6 vols., Rome, 1993–2000), iv, 67–70; for two different collections of ancient texts on the temple, with general accounts, see D. R. Dudley, *Urbs Roma: a Source Book of Classical Texts on the City and Its Monuments* (London, 1967), 129–32 (translations); A. van Heck, *Breviarium Urbis Romae Antiquae* (Leiden and Rome, 1977), 118–20 (originals); on Martial's reference to the bookseller who sold his works nearby (*Epigr.* i 2, 8), with a clear plan, see P. Howell, *A Commentary on Book One of the Epigrams of Martial* (London, 1980), 108–9.

Flavianum, Vespasian's 'new amphitheatre' (finished by Titus), was built on the site of Nero's private lake, and an inscription records that it was funded 'ex manubi[i]s', 'from spoils of war'.⁵⁷ Here there was an implied reference to the Jewish war, but the inscription will also have been intended to show that, on a site where formerly Nero indulged his taste for luxury, the people had now been provided with their traditional sports at no expense to themselves.⁵⁸ In these two cases, then, the Jewish war was one theme touched by the monuments, but not their single or primary emphasis.

A third great Flavian building project was the reconstruction of the Capitol, a work fit for the emperor who might claim to represent Capitoline Jove here on earth.⁵⁹ It had to be undertaken twice, first by Vespasian after the civil-war destruction (he initiated the reconstruction work in person) and secondly by Domitian after the disastrous fire of Rome in 80 (Suetonius, *Vesp.* 8.12; *Domit.* 5.1–2). The link between Capitol and empire is expressed in what may be called the implicit motto for this restoration work, coined in the Augustan age by Horace:

Let the proud Capitol in glory stand
And Rome, to triumph'd Medes, give forth her stern command.⁶⁰

Vespasian's restoration formed part of the background of his new Jewish tax.

The Jewish tax and the desolation of Jerusalem

Josephus records that Vespasian imposed an annual tribute (*phoros*) of two drachmas 'on the Jews, wherever they might be, for the benefit of the Capitol, as formerly they had contributed to the temple at Jerusalem' (Josephus, *B.J.* vii 218). An old internal Jewish levy was now diverted to the Capitol and its restoration. Whether the tribute was so used or not, that was its nominal object.

This tax, together with the continuing desolation of the temple of Jerusalem, is the only retributive measure taken by Vespasian which

⁵⁷ G. Alföldy, 'Eine Bauinschrift aus dem Colosseum', *ZPE* cix (1995), 195–226, discussed by F. Millar, 'Last Year in Jerusalem: Monuments of the Jewish War in Rome', in Edmondson, Mason and Rives (eds.), *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome*, 101–28 (117–19).

⁵⁸ Compare Martial, *De Spectaculis*, ii, on the Colosseum erected where 'the lakes of Nero were', *hic . . . stagna Neronis erant*, 'a resort for the people which was once the private possession of their lord', *deliciae populi, quae fuerant domini*.

⁵⁹ Thus Apollonius of Tyana is presented as praying to Capitoline Zeus for Vespasian, who is destined to rebuild his temple (Philostratus, *V. Apollonii*, v 30).

⁶⁰ Horace, *Od.* iii 3, 42–4 *stet Capitolium | fulgens, triumphatiscue possit | Roma ferox dare iura Medis*, in the English translation by Philip Francis.

impinged on Jews everywhere. The clause 'the Jews, wherever they might be' appears to echo Roman official language about the Jews' former contribution to their own temple.⁶¹ This was the annual tax collected by the Jews themselves in the diaspora as well as Judaea, hitherto under Roman protection (Flaccus's plunder of this tax was defended by Cicero, but it needed defence); it was understood as the levy of 'half a shekel, an offering for the Lord' commanded in Exod. 30:13–16. The Pentateuchal law here requires payment, for the upkeep of divine service in the Tabernacle, from everyone registered in the census of Israelites. Josephus, interpreting the commandment in Exodus, says that 'the shekel is worth four Attic drachms' (*Ant.* iii 195); and the half-shekel levy is correspondingly called 'the didrachm', *didrachmon*, both elsewhere in Josephus (*Ant.* xviii 312) and in St Matthew's Gospel (17:24).

The new tax instituted by Vespasian is likewise called *didrachmon* by Cassius Dio (lxvi 7), and the Egyptian tax records begin by calling it 'the two denarii', but its more formal Latin designation was *fiscus iudaicus*.⁶² This name, 'Jewish basket' or 'Jewish bag', probably denotes a special treasury to receive the revenue from this tax, and is then applied to the tax itself.⁶³ An officer concerned with this revenue is named in an epitaph assigned to the Flavian period, probably from the city of Rome, as Titus Flavius Euschemon, who was *ab epistulis procurator ad capitularia Iudaeorum*, 'secretary in charge of Jewish poll-taxes'.⁶⁴ The 'Jewish basket' now helped to make good the gravest injury of the year of the four emperors, the burning of the Capitol, the great temple of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva on its hill above the forum, imitated in the Capitols of cities throughout the Roman empire.

From a Roman viewpoint, there will have been rough justice in the measure. Jewish communities had been allowed to collect their own levy for the Jerusalem temple under Roman rule, but one Roman opinion had long been that any such monies collected for transfer belonged by right to the imperial power. This view forms the basis of Cicero's defence of Lucius Flaccus, and it reappears when Titus in Josephus calls the Jewish temple

⁶¹ Closely similar terminology is used in Philo, *Leg.* 315 and Josephus, *Ant.* xvi 166, both citing a letter of Augustus on the protection of Jewish temple tax collection in Asia discussed by Rajak, 'A Roman Charter for the Jews?', 313–15.

⁶² Suetonius, *Dom.* 12, under Domitian *iudaicus fiscus acerbissime actus est*, 'the Jewish tax was most harshly exacted'.

⁶³ On this name as clearer in its import than other possibly comparable uses of the term *fiscus* – *fiscus Asiaticus*, *fiscus Alexandrinus* – see P. A. Brunt, 'The "Fiscus" and Its Development', reprinted from *JRS* lvi (1966), 75–91 in Brunt, *Roman Imperial Themes* (Oxford, 1990), 134–62 (138).

⁶⁴ CIL vi 8604 = ILS 1509, discussed by Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 375, n. 69.

tax 'our own money'.⁶⁵ Moreover, the rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple begun by Herod the Great, and continued until the outbreak of revolt under Nero, had been followed by its occupation as a rebel stronghold, just as had happened in Pompey's time. The Jews had gathered their tax for the temple under Roman protection and yet, it now appeared, had used the proceeds against Rome. Josephus (*B.J.* vi 335) represents Titus as saying 'we allowed you to collect tribute for the God . . . and you made preparations with our own money against us', doubtless with reference to the fortresslike character of the new temple buildings. Jews themselves could call the temple the pride of their strength, following Ezek. 24:21 'my sanctuary, the pride of your strength'.⁶⁶ Tacitus writes correspondingly that 'the temple was like a citadel, with its own walls, built with exceptional labour and finish; even the porticoes surrounding it formed an excellent defence'.⁶⁷

One Roman aspect of this Jewish tax was less punitive. Like other such tributes, it conferred toleration. The new tax was a sign of submission, but it was also a sign that Jews were allowed to survive in the empire 'wherever they might be', and that Jewish custom, for all its frequently deplored attraction to non-Jews, could be legitimately followed by Jews. At the end of the second century the Christian apologist Tertullian noted, with envious bitterness, the *vectigalis libertas* of the Jews, their 'liberty' – including the liberty of public reading of the Law of Moses, which he is speaking of – 'paid for by tribute' (Tertullian, *Apol.* xviii 8).

The punishment for the revolt was inflicted not only by the Jewish tax, but also by the desolation of Jerusalem. The holy city and the temple itself had been burnt and overthrown. The burning of the temple had probably not been intended by Titus. After consulting his officers in a meeting at which varying opinions were expressed he ruled against it, according to Josephus (*B.J.* vi 236–42, 250–66, 346). Josephus's account had to stand up to scrutiny by other eyewitnesses, and to gain the approval of Titus; it is preferable to the report that at the meeting Titus decided to set the temple on fire, although this too probably goes back to the Flavian age.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Cicero, *Flacc.* 28.67 *exportari aurum non oportere cum saepe antea senatus tum me consule gravissime iudicavit*, 'that gold should not be exported has been the solemn judgment of the senate, when I was consul and often before'; Josephus, *B.J.* vi 335, quoted more fully below.

⁶⁶ Sifra, Behuqqothay, Pereq v 2, on Lev. 26:19, discussed under 'Pappus and Lulianus' in Chapter 4, below.

⁶⁷ Tacitus, *Hist.* v 12 *templum in modum arcis propriique muri, labore et opere ante alios; ipsae porticus, quis templum ambibatur, egregium propugnaculum*.

⁶⁸ So Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, ii, 93; T. Rajak, *Josephus* (London, 1983), 206–11; Goodman, 'Trajan and the Origins of the Bar Kokhba War', 24; Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem*,

Renan, noting that this latter report sounds more like the aristocratic scorn of Tacitus than the bourgeois respect for oriental cults characteristic of the Flavians, suggested that Titus neither ordered nor forbade the fire, but let events take their course; he then wished to be shown as having respected the sanctuary.⁶⁹ Yet it seems likely that Titus would have had to state a view of the matter at the end of the siege.

The alternative report is preserved in different forms by the early fifth-century Christian historians Sulpicius Severus and Orosius.⁷⁰ To quote the account of discussion at the meeting in Sulpicius Severus, 'others, including Titus himself, judged that the temple should first be overthrown, in order that the religion of Jews and Christians might be more completely removed; for these religions, though contrary to one another, had proceeded from the same origins, and if the root were taken away, the branch would readily perish'.

J. Bernays suggested, as noted in the previous chapter, that Sulpicius Severus depends on a passage in the portion of Tacitus's *Histories* which is now lost (from the second half of the fifth Book onwards). Tacitus in turn, Bernays held, would have used the account written by Antonius Julianus, mentioned above, who is named by Josephus as one of the officers consulted by Titus – and he would have reported the decision accurately.⁷¹ Bernays's suggestion was approved by Mommsen and has been widely

440–3, having moved from the view that Titus made a decision to burn the temple, which he had sponsored in Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judaea*, 237–8, and seems to presuppose in Goodman, *Mission and Conversion*, 45; T. Leoni, "Against Caesar's Wishes": Flavius Josephus as a Source for the Burning of the Temple', *JJS* lviii (2007), 39–51.

⁶⁹ E. Renan, *Histoire des origines du Christianisme*, iv, *L'Antéchrist. Depuis l'arrivée de saint Paul à Rome jusqu'à la fin de la révolution juive* (61–73) (Paris, 1873), repr. in *Oeuvres complètes d'Ernest Renan*, ed. Henriette Psichari, iv (Paris, 1949), 1,430–2.

⁷⁰ Sulpicius Severus, *Historia Sacra*, i 30, 6–7, quoted and discussed by E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 506–7, n. 115 (preferring Josephus), and Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, ii, 64–7 (no. 282) (preferring Sulpicius Severus, held to reflect Tacitus); more briefly, Orosius, *Historiae adversus paganos* vii 5–6, where Tacitus is likewise tentatively suggested as the source by C. (K.) Zangemeister in his edition (CSEL v, Vienna, 1882), p. 460.

⁷¹ Bernays, 'Ueber die Chronik des Sulpicius Severus, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der classischen und biblischen Studien' (1861), reprinted with additions in Bernays, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, ii, 81–205 (see especially 159–81); cf. H. W. Montefiore, 'Sulpicius Severus and Titus' Council of War', *Historia* xi (1962), 156–70 (suggesting that Antonius Julianus's lost Jewish history was itself, rather than Tacitus, the source of Sulpicius Severus); A. Momigliano, 'Jacob Bernays', *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afd. Letterkunde, N.R. xxxii.5 (1969), 151–78, reprinted in Momigliano, *Quinto contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico* (2 vols., Rome, 1975), i, 127–58 (endorsing Bernays's view). For the question of whether the Antonius Julianus mentioned by Josephus did indeed write an account see n. 49.

followed; past British sponsors have included Sir William Ramsay and H. StJ. Thackeray.⁷²

In both Sulpicius Severus and Orosius, however, the report of Titus's option for destruction, which in mood is Tacitean enough, as Renan saw, receives a Christian interpretation; a probably anachronistic wish to eradicate Christianity as well as Judaism is imputed to Titus by Sulpicius Severus, as quoted above, and according to Orosius, Titus was the instrument of a divine decree to erase the now forsaken and useless temple, for the church was now flourishing throughout the world.⁷³ Yet, as Bernays noted, the report itself is paralleled by Valerius Flaccus's vignette of Titus in the Jewish war, in a poem dedicated to Vespasian, as black with the dust of Jerusalem, and hurling firebrands.⁷⁴ Indeed, it can well be supposed that Tacitus, in line with his Ciceronian contempt for the temple cult and his awareness of the temple's importance as a fortress, correspondingly assumed that Titus would have opted for destruction. Yet the version of events sponsored by Josephus, under the aegis of Titus and the scrutiny of other eyewitnesses, should be preferred.

Titus did, however, afterwards order the demolition of both the city and the temple (Josephus, *B.J.* vii 1–3). Both, seen from a Roman standpoint, had been strongholds of rebellion requiring costly siege and capture. Similarly, Vespasian later ordered the removal of the Jewish temple of Onias at Leontopolis in the eastern Nile Delta, and it was closed in two stages, c.73–4, by the successive Egyptian prefects Lupus and Paulinus. Between them they carried off all the votive offerings, goods and ornaments, which emulated those in Jerusalem, and Paulinus closed the gates permanently;

⁷² W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire before AD 170* (4th edn, London, 1895), 253–6, 264–8, 354–6; H. StJ. Thackeray in H. StJ. Thackeray, R. Marcus, A. Wikgren and L.H. Feldman, *Josephus* (Loeb Classical Library, 9 vols., London and Cambridge, MA, 1926–65), ii (1927), pp. xxv–xxvi. Sponsors since 2000 include F. Parente, 'Sulla doppia trasmissione, filologica ed ecclesiastica, del testo del Flavio Giuseppe: un contributo alla storia della ricezione della sua opera nel mondo cristiano', *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* (2000), 3–51 (17–21: Josephus falsified a report which Tacitus reproduces in its genuine form); T. D. Barnes, 'The Sack of the Jerusalem Temple in Josephus and Tacitus', and J. Rives, 'Flavian Religious Policy and the Destruction of the Jerusalem Temple', in Edmondson, Mason and Rives (eds.), *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome*, 129–44 and 145–66 (146–54), respectively; M. Hengel, *Geschichte des frühen Christentums*, i, *Jesus und das Judentum* (Tübingen, 2007), 120, n. 438. Discussion since Bernays is documented by Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, ii, 64–7 (no. 282), and Leoni, "Against Caesar's Wishes".

⁷³ That a reference to Christianity is unlikely to have stood in the lost text of Tacitus here was convincingly argued by T. D. Barnes, 'The Fragments of Tacitus' *Histories*', *CP* lxxii (1977), 224–31 (228), reprinted in T. D. Barnes, *Early Christianity and the Roman Empire* (London, 1984), no. XV.

⁷⁴ *Solymo nigrantem pulvere... spargentemque faces...*, Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica*, i 13–14; but poetic commonplace may mingle with tales of the fall of Jerusalem here (cf. Virgil, *Aen.* ix 535–6, on Turnus as the first to throw a blazing torch).

it is not clear, though, that the sanctuary was demolished.⁷⁵ The occasion of this closure was unrest among Egyptian Jews, stirred by Sicarii who had fled from Judaea; Josephus states that the emperor feared that Jews in Egypt would again gather for revolt, and implies that the temple would have been expected to form their focus. In the same way the holy mount Gerizim, the site of the Samaritan sanctuary, had been the centre of Samaritan tendencies to rebel, and of corresponding Roman repression, in 67 (Josephus, *B.J.* iii 307–15). A similar and greater fear will have attached to the temple in Jerusalem.

The demolition of the city and temple of Jerusalem was a blow to daily life and prosperity in the rebel territory in particular, but it also deeply affected Jews everywhere. Yet no new Vespasianic settlement was founded on the site of Jerusalem, and Jews could still own land in Judaea (Josephus, *B.J.* vii 216–17, discussed below). The restraint shown in these provisions permitted hope for future restoration. Yet the rough justice and the restraint of Vespasian's measures were probably overshadowed for Jews by their acceptability to that strain of Roman opinion which despised the Jewish religion. Cicero had invoked this Roman contempt in 59 BC when, as noted above, he was defending L. Flaccus, who had seized the Jewish temple tax contributions in Asia – doing no wrong, according to Cicero, but laudably standing firm 'to resist barbarous superstition'.⁷⁶

There seems, however, to have been no further general restriction of Jewish ancestral religion. The tax indeed was also a sign that Jewish custom could be legitimately followed. Moreover, as Josephus emphasizes, events in Judaea were not permitted to form a reason for gentile attacks on other Jewish communities in the empire. Thus Titus, in his post-war progress from Jerusalem to Antioch and then to Alexandria, celebrated his victory with a series of public shows, and built a theatre at Daphne inscribed, according to John Malalas, EX PRAEDA IVDAEA, 'from Jewish booty'.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, he and his father resisted Greek attempts to expel Jews, or to deprive them of what Josephus calls their 'rights of citizenship' or 'constitutional rights', *ta dikaia ta tes politeias*, in both Antioch and

⁷⁵ Josephus, *B.J.* vii 420–32; contrast the initial order to remove (*kathelein*) the temple with the concluding remark that, when Paulinus finally closed the gates, he made the sanctuary inaccessible and left no trace of divine service on the site. On the four or five Egyptian prefects who held office under Vespasian see Brunt, *Roman Imperial Themes*, 219, 247.

⁷⁶ Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, xxviii 67, *barbarae superstitioni resistere*; on the passage see Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, i, 196–201 (no. 68).

⁷⁷ John Malalas, *Chronographia*, x 337–8 (attributing the foundation to Vespasian), discussed by Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 364 and n. 33.

Alexandria.⁷⁸ In Rome itself, Jews like Agrippa II and Josephus himself remained close to the Flavian emperors.⁷⁹

The seemingly two-sided character of Vespasian's treatment of the Jews, viewed in connection with the ascription to Tacitus himself of the tradition that Titus ordered the burning of the temple, has however evoked the suggestion that Vespasian identified the temple service as the heart of Jewish religion. He would have imagined, on the lines suggested by Sulpicius Severus, that the ending of the temple service would ensure that Judaism (and perhaps Christianity also) would wither away, for he did not understand that the Jewish laws also formed a focus of national identity. This suggestion, exemplified, with Christianity also in view, in the work of Sir William Ramsay, and revised with special attention to Flavian Jewish policy by J. B. Rives, develops the interpretation of the burning of the temple offered by Sulpicius Severus.⁸⁰ As Rives puts it, Vespasian would have shared a Roman analysis of Judaism, somewhat on the lines of Varro's threefold division of teaching about the gods into mythical, philosophical and civil theologies; the temple service, for Vespasian, would then have been the civic cult uniting the universal Jewish community, and the law of Moses would have been separable from it, being understood, it is urged, simply as a compilation of the sacred philosophy and custom of the Jews, not as a focus of religion and national loyalty connected with the temple.⁸¹ Vespasian, then, it is argued, designedly put an end to the temple service, and he aimed thereby to remove the centralizing institution which evoked national allegiance in Jews and hindered their integration into the empire; but he did not appreciate the power of the law of Moses as a focus for Jewish national identity, and so left other Jewish customs alone. Josephus in turn would have failed to understand and to represent Vespasian's disjunction between the holy place and the divine law.

⁷⁸ Josephus, *B.J.* vii 37–62, 96–118 (on Titus at Antioch and Alexandria, without mention of Greek demands at Alexandria); *Ant.* xii 120–4 (both Antiochene and Alexandrian demands rejected by Vespasian and Titus). On the problems of defining the rights claimed by Jews see Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, iii.1, 127–9.

⁷⁹ On Josephus in the setting of Flavian Rome see J. M. G. Barclay, 'Against Apion': Translation and Commentary (Flavius Josephus Translation and Commentary, ed. S. Mason, x; Leiden and Boston, MA, 2007), xxxvi–xliv.

⁸⁰ Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire before AD 170*, 355 ('Titus conceived that the destruction of the temple would destroy the unity centred in it'); J. Rives, 'Flavian Religious Policy and the Destruction of the Jerusalem Temple', in Edmondson, Mason and Rives (eds.), *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome*, 145–66.

⁸¹ So Rives, 'Flavian Religious Policy and the Destruction of the Jerusalem Temple', referring to Varro as cited by Augustine, *C.D.* vi 5 and elaborated by Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* xii 39–48. On Varro's tripartite division see Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion*, 36–7.

This interpretation of Vespasian's measures does less than justice, however, to non-Jewish recognition of the law of Moses as a revered symbol of national identity. Thus the law had a prominent place in the Greek accounts of the Jews which were rediffused towards the beginning of the Augustan age by Diodorus Siculus. In Hecataeus of Abdera, according to Diodorus, the high priest expounds laws which end with the statement that they were revealed by God to Moses. Again, in Diodorus's account of Antiochus VII Sidetes's siege of Jerusalem (c. 134 BC), perhaps dependent on Posidonius, the king's advisers urge that if possible he should wipe the Jews out, but failing that he should imitate Antiochus IV, who defiled their holy books of law, and abolish their xenophobic ordinances. The king, however, cleared the Jews of accusations against them, once he had exacted due tributes and demolished the walls of Jerusalem – a procedure, it may be added, not altogether unlike that adopted by Vespasian, but in this case allegedly followed with the Jewish laws at the centre of attention.⁸²

With a corresponding recognition of the Jews' reverence for their sacred laws, Roman measures in favour of the Jews of Asia included a decree of Augustus penalizing the theft of their holy books from their meeting-houses (Josephus, *Ant.* xvi 164); and in Judaea under Claudius, the procurator Cumanus, to avert an uprising, executed a Roman soldier who (in the course of officially authorized punitive action) had torn in two a copy of the laws of Moses kept in a village near Jerusalem (Josephus, *B.J.* ii 228–31, parallel with *Ant.* xx 113–17). Roman protection for such copies was cynically invoked under Nero by the governor Florus in 66, when he imprisoned leading members of the Caesarean synagogue who had fled, after gentile provocation, with 'the laws' (Josephus, *B.J.* ii 291–2). Philo reasonably takes it that Augustus will have known that the Jews resided in Rome across the Tiber, had their prayer-houses there and assembled in them for learning the ancestral philosophy (Philo, *Leg.* 155–6). When Juvenal, under Trajan and Hadrian, singled out the spiritual power exerted by 'the laws of Solymae' and the 'secret scroll' of Moses, he was expressing a point that had long been recognized by Romans.⁸³

Vespasian's demolition of the Jerusalem temple, like the closure of the Leontopolis temple, seems then unlikely to have been influenced by ignorance of the importance of the laws and the synagogues or prayer-houses,

⁸² Diodorus Siculus, *Hist.* xl 3, 6 (Hecataeus); xxxiv–xxxv 1, 4–5 (on Antiochus VII), both preserved through Photius, *Bibliotheca*, no. 244; texts with translation and comment in Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, i, 26–35 (no. 11), 181–5 (no. 63).

⁸³ Juvenal vi 542–3, on a mendicant Jewess as *interpretes legum Solymarum*, 'interpreter of the laws of Solymae'; xiv 101–2, on Roman Judaizers who learn, observe and fear the Jewish law, *tradidit arcano quodcumque volumine Moyses* 'whatever Moses has handed down in his secret scroll'.

or by an illusory view that the temple service was the whole of Jewish civil religion. His action was not a futile attempt to destroy the Jewish community. It can rather be understood as an intensification of the caution which rulers in Judaea had long exercised with regard to the inflammatory potential of assembly in the temple. Thus Herod had continued to keep in custody in Antonia the high-priestly vestments lodged there originally by the Hasmonaeans, 'believing that for this reason the people would never rise against him'; and the Romans in turn kept them there, save for a few years under Tiberius and Claudius, letting them out for the three pilgrim festivals and the Day of Atonement (Josephus, *Ant.* xviii 91–5, cf. xv 403–9). Jewish identification of the temple as the place of national assembly is prominent in Jewish literature from the Pentateuch to I Enoch and Josephus.⁸⁴

For the Jews' gentile neighbours the capture of the temple could imply the capture of the deity.⁸⁵ It led to the later jibe that the Jews were 'taken captive together with their God'.⁸⁶ For the Jews themselves, the desolation of Jerusalem meant that sacred rites which sustained the cosmos and atoned for evil were impaired. The holy place which was the focus of national assembly and universal pilgrimage was trodden down. The source of Sulpicius Severus cited above may reflect Jewish feeling when it makes some counsellors of Titus say that the temple, if destroyed, would present 'an abiding mark of cruelty', *perennem crudelitatis notam*.⁸⁷

Domitian and the Jews

The Jewish aspects of Flavian publicity came to the fore again when Domitian succeeded Titus in 81. Reinforcing the Flavian claim to power, he re-emphasized triumph over Judaea at the same time as he sponsored the cult of the divine Vespasian and Titus. After the fire of the year 80, Domitian rebuilt the restored Capitoline temple, as noted above, with the gilded

⁸⁴ Exod. 15:17; I Enoch 90:29–36; Josephus, *B.J.* ii 320 (the high priests in 66 assemble the multitude in the temple), discussed with other passages by A. Büchler, *Types of Jewish-Palestinian Piety from 70 BCE. to 70 CE. The Ancient Pious Men* (London, 1922), 205–8.

⁸⁵ Thus Livy imagines that, when the Sabine chieftain Appius Herdonius seized the Capitol in 460 BC, the consul P. Valerius Poplicola would have exhorted the Romans to rescue 'your gods captured by enemies', *deos vestros ab hostibus captos* (Livy iii 17, 3).

⁸⁶ Thus the pagan in the early third-century pagan–Christian dialogue of Minucius Felix, *Oct.* x 4, rebutted by the Christian, *ibid.* xxxiii 5 (you will understand that they are not, as you impiously say, *cum deo suo captos*).

⁸⁷ This reads like an elucidation of the view that the loss of the temple would harm the Romans, attributed to Titus himself by Josephus, *B.J.* vi 241.

roof which had been a feature of the temple destroyed in 69, to a great height and at vast expense.⁸⁸

Domitian became notorious for his use of informers. It is in this context that Suetonius recalls his harsh exaction of the Jewish tax.⁸⁹ Was this stringency thought to be justified by the pressing need to recover funds spent on the restoration of the Capitol? In any case, Suetonius's eyewitness description of a man of ninety being examined to see if he is circumcised and therefore liable to pay attests the distaste which stringency in a setting of denunciation aroused. According to Suetonius it affected those who 'lived a Jewish life' without avowing that this was the case (*improffessi*), or who were of Jewish origin but concealed this in order to evade the tax. His first relative clause suggests by its implicit contrast with the second that, even in a place and time which might be considered unfavourable to Judaism, there were those non-Jews or people of mixed Jewish-gentile descent who 'lived a Jewish life' – a point endorsed by Josephus and Juvenal.⁹⁰ The passage then also strikingly suggests that, since such Jewish practice by non-Jews is taxable, it remains legitimate.⁹¹ This tax was clearly also evaded, however, by many who were of Jewish birth. Stringency bore heavily on them as well as on gentiles who adopted Jewish customs.

In seeming contrast with Suetonius on payment of the tax by non-Jews, Cassius Dio relates that Domitian killed the consul Flavius Clemens and banished his wife Domitilla on a charge of atheism (*atheotes*), and that others who followed Jewish customs were condemned on this charge.⁹² It seems then from Dio that, contrary to what is suggested by Suetonius

⁸⁸ Silius Italicus, *Pun.* iii 623–4 *aurea Tarpeia ponet Capitolia rupe, | et iunget nostro templorum culmina caelo*, 'a golden Capitol shall he set on the Tarpeian rock, and merge the roofs of our temples with the sky'; Tertullian, *Apol.* xxv 13, in primitive Rome, *nulla Capitolia certantia ad caelum*, 'there was no Capitol contending for the sky'. The gilding cost 12,000 talents, according to Plutarch, *Publicola* 15.

⁸⁹ Suetonius, *Dom.* 12.1–2; his agents collected the tax 'mercilessly', *acerbissime*.

⁹⁰ For this exegesis see Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 376–8. The view that both clauses refer to ethnic Jews, who concealed either their practices or their origins, is taken, following L. A. Thompson, 'Domitian and the Jewish Tax', *Historia* xxxi (1982), 329–42, by Goodman, *Mission and Conversion*, 123; Goodman, 'The *Fiscus Iudaicus* and Attitudes to Judaism', in Edmondson, Mason and Rives, *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome*, 167–77; but this interpretation makes the passage clumsy and tautologous, for concealing practice in this case amounts to concealing origin. This view of the passage is preferred partly because, to judge by Cassius Dio on T. Flavius Clemens (see below), adoption of Jewish practices could lead under Domitian to a charge of atheism; but that may have occurred only in the case of the eminent (see n.91).

⁹¹ Juster, *Les juifs dans l'empire romain*, i, 257, n. 1; he suggests that poorer proselytes might be permitted under Domitian to pay the tax and continue, whereas the eminent might be denounced and brought into the position of having to refuse to honour the official deities, so that their wealth could be confiscated.

⁹² Cassius Dio, *Hist.* lxxvii 14, also mentioning the execution of the former consul M. Acilius Glabrio partly on the same charges.

on the Jewish tax, adoption of Jewish custom could lead under Domitian to a potentially capital charge of disrespect to the deities. This difficulty has played a part in the reinterpretation of the Judaizing mentioned here by Dio as Christianity.⁹³ The apparent inconsistency between Suetonius and Dio is resolved, however, if, as Jean Juster suggested, Dio refers to the more eminent among the Judaizers. Under Domitian, eminent persons on whom this suspicion could be cast might be brought into the position of having to refuse to honour the deities; their political rivalry could then be eliminated, and their wealth confiscated.⁹⁴

The Judaizing attributed to Flavius Clemens and others has also been interpreted as a slur with no foundation, or as less an approach to Judaism than a way for those who defied Domitian's tyranny to symbolize their opposition.⁹⁵ These suggestions, however, are made on the view that the apparent powerlessness of the Jewish deity whose great shrine had been destroyed would have made Judaizing unlikely in Flavian Rome. Yet this view is itself questionable, given the emphasis laid on the attractive power of Judaism by Josephus, Tacitus, and Juvenal in Flavian and Trajanic Rome. Flavius Clemens and Domitilla could readily be envisaged as following in the steps of the eminent Roman Judaizers Pomponia Graecina and Poppaea Sabina, in Nero's time.⁹⁶ In any case it seems likely that, whether these particular charges were justified or not, there was some Judaizing in Rome under Domitian. Moreover, Judaizing was familiar, as appears from Epictetus – exiled by Domitian, and the slave of Nero's secretary Epaphroditus whom Domitian also exiled – precisely in the circle of those who were suspect as seekers for liberty under Domitian.⁹⁷ Suetonius and Dio then together indicate adverse conditions for proselytes and sympathizers under

⁹³ The case is presented with care by K. Gross, 'Domitianus', *RAC* iv (1959), cols. 91–109 (102–6). Probably Christians were persecuted under Domitian, as suggested by Pliny, *Ep.* x 96, 6, about the year 112, on those in Bithynia who had given up Christianity twenty years before; but it seems more likely that Flavius Clemens and Domitilla (Glabrio's position is unclear) were attracted to Jewish custom, like those Romans satirized by Persius and Juvenal.

⁹⁴ Juster, *Les juifs dans l'empire romain*, i, 257, n. 1; this interpretation was developed by M. H. Williams, 'Domitian, the Jews, and the "Judaizers" – a simple matter of cupiditas and maiestas?', *Historia* xxxix (1990), 196–211 and followed by Jones, *The Emperor Domitian*, 118–19.

⁹⁵ Goodman, 'The *Fiscus Iudaicus* and Attitudes to Judaism', 174–5; Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem*, 468.

⁹⁶ Schäfer, *Judeophobia*, 183, makes this point as regards Pomponia Graecina, who was charged with attachment to 'foreign superstition', Tacitus *Ann.* xiii 32, 3–4; on Poppaea, described by Josephus, *Ant.* xx 195 as *theosebes*, see M. H. Williams, 'Theosebes *gar en* – the Jewish Tendencies of Poppaea Sabina', *JTS* N.S. xxxix (1988), 97–111.

⁹⁷ Epictetus in Arrian, *Diss.* ii 9, 20 (one who 'has been immersed and has made his choice' has definitely become a Jew), linked with conditions under Domitian by S. Applebaum, 'Domitian's Assassination: the Jewish Aspect', *SCI* i (1974), 116–23; Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 247–8.

Domitian, and Suetonius also suggests that Jews by birth could expect unsympathetic treatment.⁹⁸

In Judaea under Domitian the already strong pre-war garrison appears to have been reinforced.⁹⁹ Strict policing there is suggested by second-century Christian legend on the grandsons of Jude, the Lord's brother.¹⁰⁰ Some recurrence of Judaeian unrest would suit the anti-Roman sentiments of the Apocalypse of Ezra (II Esdras 3–14), which in part reflects the time of Domitian, and the Apocalypse of Baruch preserved in Syriac, important elements of which will have been current; particularly striking in the latter book is the reuse of the scene known from the Qumran Rule of War and elsewhere in which the Lord's anointed slays the last leader of the enemy empire – in this case, on Mount Zion after a war crimes trial.¹⁰¹

The repression of Jewish rebellion, however, was further underlined by the building of the now lost arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus; it was dedicated by the senate and people in 81.¹⁰² The inscription honours Titus as son of the divine Vespasian, who through his father's counsel and protection 'tamed' the Jewish people and destroyed the seemingly impregnable city of Jerusalem.¹⁰³ This language is close to that which (Josephus says) Titus himself studiously avoided after the capture of the city (*B.J.* vii 112–13). Its bombast suggests the desirability, for public consumption, of presenting the Jews and their great stronghold as formidable.

The surviving arch of Titus on the Sacred Way, probably also erected in the early years of Domitian, has a shorter inscription to 'the divine Titus, son of the divine Vespasian'. It does not mention the Jews or Judaea, but

⁹⁸ Jones, *The Emperor Domitian*, 119; B. Isaac, 'Roman Religious Policy and the Bar Kokhba War', in Schäfer, *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, 37–54 (48), puts Dio on Clemens, Domitilla and Glabrio in the context of the consistent Roman dislike of the appeal of foreign cults.

⁹⁹ On the strength of the garrison before 66 and as suggested by an inscribed diploma of the year 86 (CIL xvi 33, also reproduced earlier at CIL iii.2, p. 857) see Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 105–6.

¹⁰⁰ Hegesippus in Eusebius, *H.E.* iii 20, 1–5 (they were denounced as descendants of David, but released by Domitian when he was convinced that they were only poor farmers).

¹⁰¹ II (Syriac) Baruch 40, discussed with similar material from II Esdras 12–13 and Qumranic and other sources, all based on Isa. 11:4 'with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked', in W. Horbury, 'Antichrist among Jews and Gentiles', in M. Goodman (ed.), *Jews in a Graeco-Roman World* (Oxford, 1998), 113–33 (119–23). The book lacks the signs of Christian influence which might be expected if it were a Christian composition, as is suggested by R. Nir, *The Destruction of Jerusalem and the Idea of Redemption in the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch* (Atlanta, 2003).

¹⁰² P. Ciancio Rossetto, 'Arcus Titi (Circus Maximus)', in Steinby, *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, i, 108–9; Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 95–6.

¹⁰³ ... *Tito Caesari divi Vespasiani f. . . quod praeceptis patr[is] consiliisq. et auspiciis gentem Iudaeorum domuit et urbem Hierusolymam omnibus ante se ducibus regibus gentibus aut frustra petitam aut omnino intemptatam delevit* (CIL vi 944 = M. McCrum and A. G. Woodhead, *Select Documents of the Principates of the Flavian Emperors* (Cambridge, 1961), no. 53, from an early mediaeval copy of the lost inscription; see CIL vi, Index Auctorum, Sylloge Einsidlensis, no. 29; Sylloge Poggiana, no. 18).

the arch bears representations of the temple candelabrum and sacred vessels being borne in triumph, as if this victory confirms Titus's apotheosis, which is also represented.¹⁰⁴ The Flavian victory was again one of the themes emphasized by Domitian's additions to the temple of Pax; he figured as a second founder.¹⁰⁵ Similarly, as already noted, he rebuilt the Iseum in the Campus Martius, with its connection with the triumph of Vespasian and Titus, and added to it temples for them.¹⁰⁶ He was also reputed himself to be a potential dynastic poet, with an epic planned on their capture of Jerusalem.¹⁰⁷ The memory of their victory was therefore lively, and in this period, as appears from Martial, an allusion to the two punitive measures of Vespasian sufficed for an insulting description of a Jew: 'coming from burnt-out Jerusalem (*de Solymis . . . perustis*), and lately condemned to tribute (*tributum*)'.¹⁰⁸

From Vespasian to Domitian, then, the renewed subjection of the Jews and the destruction of their mother city and temple were declared by the triumph, and later on by the two arches of Titus. Jewish subjection could likewise be underlined by the great public buildings connected with victory over the Jews, especially the temple of Pax, the rebuilt Capitol, and the Colosseum – although in these the symbolism of worldwide Flavian dominion, Flavian peace after civil war, and Flavian beneficence after Neronian excess was at least equally to the fore. The lesson of subjection was rubbed in perhaps most of all by the Jewish tax. This tax indeed implied toleration, but its link with repression was obvious; it could seem to degrade not only the Jewish people but also their deity, whose offering now went to Jupiter Capitolinus. Jews in Rome will perhaps have averted their eyes from the brilliance of the soaring Capitol, for it was twice rebuilt magnificently with the aid of the Jewish tax, while the temple of Jerusalem still lay in ruins.¹⁰⁹

Yet it was in the thirteenth year of Domitian (93–4) that Josephus brought his *Antiquities* to completion, with the aim of making Jewish

¹⁰⁴ J. Arce, 'Arcus Titi (Via Sacra)', in Steinby, *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, i, 109–11; Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 166–72.

¹⁰⁵ Domitian 'brings Peace back to dwell in her own shrine', *Pacem proprio domo reponit* (Statius, *Silvae* iv 3, 17).

¹⁰⁶ Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 139–53.

¹⁰⁷ Quintilian, *Inst.* x 1, 91 (Domitian's early poetic works); Tacitus, *Hist.* iv 86 (the young Domitian's pretence of a love of poetry); Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica*, i 12–13 (addressed to Vespasian) 'let your offspring tell of the overthrow of Idume [here denoting Judaea], for he is able', *versam proles tua pandet Idumen* | (*namque potest*).

¹⁰⁸ Martial vii 55, 8–9, in Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, i, 526 (no. 242).

¹⁰⁹ To avert the eyes from pagan temples in general is a laudable Jewish characteristic according to the fourth Sibylline book (lines 25–7), which later (lines 115–39) includes reference to the destruction of the Jerusalem temple in 70 and (envisaged as retribution for it) the eruption of Vesuvius in 79.

history available to the Greek-speaking world; this voluminous work continued his Jewish contribution to the bilingual Greek and Latin literature of the Roman empire, and appeared at the beginning of the Roman 'Greek renaissance', even if it is not one of its landmarks.¹¹⁰ Like the *Jewish War*, it condemns rebellion but underlines the worldwide extent of the Jewish people and the connection of their struggle against Rome, however misguided, with the longing for liberty which had always characterized them.¹¹¹ This emphasis on liberty could have appealed to the contemporary strand in Roman thought which recognized the quest for liberty of subject peoples.¹¹² Moreover, as Josephus shows in the *Antiquities* and elsewhere, the Jewish community continued to be capable of attracting proselytes and sympathizers.¹¹³ The presentations of this process in Josephus, Tacitus and Juvenal lay emphasis on the influence of the law of Moses.¹¹⁴ In Rome and other diaspora communities, as attested for example by Philo on Rome under Augustus, a prominent part was played by the prayer-houses or synagogues in which the Torah was publicly read and interpreted. These continued unimpaired, despite the disaster of the Jerusalem temple. Even after 70, Judaism did not lack the attraction of a place of assembly, which could gather to itself some of the associations of a 'holy and beautiful house' (Isa. 64:11).¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ Compare the emphasis on the Greek works of Josephus's contemporaries Dio Chrysostom and Plutarch as part of the literature of the Roman empire in D. A. Russell (ed.), *Dio Chrysostom, Orations VII, XII and XXXVI* (Cambridge, 1992), 1, with discussion of this relationship by S. Swain, *Hellenism and Empire: Language, Classicism And Power in the Greek World, AD 50–250* (Oxford, 1996); T. Whitmarsh, *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire: The Politics of Imitation* (Oxford, 2001), and of the 'Greek renaissance' by Desideri, 'City and Country in Dio', in S. Swain (ed.), *Dio Chrysostom: Politics, Letters and Philosophy* (Oxford, 2002), 93–107 (93–5).

¹¹¹ See for example *Ant.* iv 115–16, quoted in [Chapter 1](#) (Balaam foretells the worldwide extension of the Jews); ii 281 (Moses goes to Pharaoh once he is assured of the Israelites' obedience and love of liberty); xiv 77, quoted in this chapter, n. 15, above (our liberty thrown away at the time of Pompey's intervention); xviii 23 (the love of liberty among the followers of Judas the Galilaean, which combined with the insolence of Gessius Florus to provoke rebellion). Further passages on liberty in the *Antiquities* were collected by Hengel, *The Zealots*, 113, n. 200.

¹¹² Thus Tacitus envisages 'liberty for the whole of Britain' as the express object of the British leader Calgacus, in his speech before battle (Tacitus, *Agr.* xxx 1).

¹¹³ See especially *Ant.* xviii 82, xx 17–96; *Ap.* ii 123, 210, 282–6 (comparable references in Philo, the New Testament and elsewhere are gathered by Barclay, *Against Apion*, pp. 232–3).

¹¹⁴ Tacitus, *Hist.* v 5 (those who go over to their customs observe their practice of circumcision); Juvenal, *Sat.* xiv 96–106, quoted below (Judaizers learn, keep and fear the law of Moses; soon they discard their foreskins).

¹¹⁵ On evidence for the familiarity of the synagogue building in the first and early second centuries, and its treatment as in some sense a holy place, see W. Horbury, 'Early Christians on Synagogue Prayer and Imprecation', in G. N. Stanton and G. G. Stroumsa (eds.), *Tolerance and Intolerance in Early Judaism and Christianity* (Cambridge, 1998), 296–317 (298–301), reprinted in Horbury, *Jews and Christians in Contact and Controversy*, 226–43 (228–32); on holiness in particular, S. Fine, *This Holy Place: On the Sanctity of the Synagogue during the Greco-Roman Period* (Notre Dame,

Nerva and Trajan

Nerva's alleviation of abuses of the Jewish tax was presented through coinage as a sign of favour to Jews. Cassius Dio, on Nerva as forbidding accusations to be levelled on the grounds of impiety or a Jewish manner of life, can be read in conjunction with Nerva's coin showing a palm tree (the symbol of Judaea) with the legend FISCI IVDAICI CALVMNIA SVBLATA, 'the calumny of the Jewish tax removed'; no longer, as under Domitian, could this tax be an opportunity for denunciation ('calumny').¹¹⁶ Domitian's successors dissociated themselves from his use of informers; as Trajan put it with regard to anonymous denunciations of Christians, they do not belong to 'our age'.¹¹⁷ Comparably, as noted in [Chapter 2](#), historians of recent and contemporary events felt free. With some probability, the earlier years of Trajan, after 100, can be regarded as the time when Josephus reissued his autobiography and issued his apology for Judaism, *contra Apionem*.¹¹⁸ It was perhaps during the years from Nerva's principate to this early Trajanic period that Jews had the impression that the rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple was being allowed (see [Chapter 4](#), below). In Alexandrian Greek

1997). An outstanding example was the great basilica-synagogue of Alexandria, destroyed in the war under Trajan (see [Chapter 4](#), below).

¹¹⁶ Cassius Dio, *Hist.* lxxviii 1, 2; Hart, 'Judaea and Rome: The Official Commentary', 190, n. 3 and Plate IV, 8. The suggestion that the *calumnia* or malicious accusation was the very existence of the Jewish 'basket' or treasury and its tax (which would have been abolished by Nerva) is made by Goodman, 'The *Fiscus Judaicus* and Attitudes to Judaism', 176; Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem*, 469; but this interpretation seems to stretch the sense of *calumnia* rather awkwardly. See further M. Heemstra, *The 'Fiscus Judaicus' and the Parting of the Ways* (WUNT 2.277, Tübingen, 2010), 73–4.

¹¹⁷ Pliny, *Ep.* x 97 *nec nostri saeculi est*.

¹¹⁸ See [Chapter 2](#), n. 105, above. Justus of Tiberias wrote the history of the Jewish kings down to Agrippa II, who died in the third year of Trajan (100), according to the report on Justus's work in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, no. 33. Justus did not publicize the accusations which Josephus answered in his autobiography until Agrippa was no longer in circulation, according to Josephus, *V.* 359–60. Photius might have been misled on the date by confusion with Clement of Rome (treated immediately after Justus in Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, and said there and in Photius to have died in the third year of Trajan), as is underlined by F. Millar in Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 482; but it seems likely that Jerome's biographies reached Photius in an alphabetically reordered Greek form in which Hippolytus rather than Clement would have followed Justus, and death about the year 100 is consonant with coins of Agrippa II and an inscribed weight from Tiberias. See D. R. Schwartz, 'Texts, Coins, Fashions and Dates: Josephus' *Vita* and Agrippa II's Death', in Schwartz, *Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity*, 243–82 (with an illuminating review of the history of study since Scaliger); N. Kokkinos, *The Herodian Dynasty* (JSP Supplement Series 30, Sheffield, 1998), 396–9, and – against suggestions of an earlier date by C. P. Jones, 'Towards a Chronology of Josephus', *SCI* xxi (2002), 113–21 and A. Kushnir-Stein, 'The Coinage of Agrippa II', *SCI* xxi (2002), 123–31 – N. Kokkinos, 'Justus, Josephus, Agrippa II and His Coins', *SCI* xxii (2003), 163–80 (following, on Photius's source, G. Wentzel, *Die griechische Übersetzung der Viri Illustres des Hieronymus* (TU xiii.3, Leipzig, 1895), 57–63).

eyes Trajan could indeed appear as inclined to favour the Jews.¹¹⁹ They would have noted with regret that he did not share the Flavian devotion to Serapis and Isis.

A detachment from alien cults corresponds, however, to his self-presentation in Rome as a soldierly incarnation of old Roman virtues, chosen by Jupiter and protected by Hercules. By the same token he seems to have had a military reluctance to do anything that might harm frontier security. In the end he did not permit the rebuilding of the temple. The context of this austerity was perhaps the tightening of Roman rule on the frontier to the east of Judaea by the foundation of the province of Arabia in 106, discussed in the following chapters. At any rate, Jewish resentment at Roman obduracy over the temple, in a context of imperial self-assertion in the eastern provinces through Parthian war, will have contributed to the outbreak in 115, as is suggested by Jewish and Christian sources considered below.

Imperial ideals

This probable conflict between expectation and response recalls and is partly rooted in the internal conflict, within Roman conceptions of empire, between repression and emancipation. Both aspects were emphasized in encomia of Rome throughout and beyond the epoch of Jewish revolt.¹²⁰ They are likewise brought together when Philo teaches that future Jewish empire, like any rule that is secure (Rome is probably in view), will inspire at once affection, fear, and respect (*Praem.* 97). Thus conquests as well as clemency stand out in Virgil, on Rome as called 'to spare the submissive and subdue the proud', *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*, and arms as well as nurture four centuries later in Claudian, on Rome as fostering and unifying the human race 'like a mother rather than a sovereign', *matris non dominae ritu*; not long after Bar Kokhba, in the mid second century, both sides are stressed in the Roman oration of Aelius Aristides.¹²¹ To turn from ideals to practice, mercy in the form of protection for Jews, their

¹¹⁹ Beaujeu, *La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'empire*, i, 162; the Acts of Hermas (P. Oxy. 1242 = Acta Alexandrinorum viii = CPJ ii, no. 157), discussed further in [Chapter 4](#) and nn. 176–7, below.

¹²⁰ A somewhat comparable tension between dominion and education in nineteenth-century British views of the empire of India is brought out by H. K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London, 1994), 183–90.

¹²¹ Virgil, *Aen.* vi 851–3, discussed with parallels in the encomium of Rome from Livy to Aelius Aristides in the second century and Claudian in the fourth by E. Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro, Aeneis Buch VI* (2nd edn, Berlin, 1916), 335–7; Claudian, *Stil.* iii 136, 152, on whose debt to commonplaces found in Aelius Aristides see A. Cameron, *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius* (Oxford, 1970), 352–5; J. H. Oliver, *The Ruling Power: a Study of the Roman Empire in the Second Century*

sacrifices and prayer-houses was visible especially in the Roman usages and decrees noted by Josephus after 70, and it formed part of the background of measures for Jewish emancipation in early nineteenth-century Europe. Yet this impressive Roman protection now contrasts with continued failure to redress the destruction of the temple in 70, a failure ultimately to be sealed in Hadrian's foundation of Aelia Capitolina on the site of Jerusalem. Hence at the end of the second century Tertullian, when protection was accorded to Jewish public assembly but not to the meetings of his own community, was none the less able to claim Vespasian as a 'subduer of the Jews', *debellator Iudaeorum* (*Apol.* v 7).¹²²

Trajan and public opinion on the Jews

The background of Trajan's actions was, if surviving literature may be taken as an indication, public opinion on the Jews which does not vary greatly from that documented in the late republic and early principate. In the early years of Trajan, Tacitus in his *Histories* expresses a bitter contempt for the cult of the Jerusalem temple, like Cicero before him but at greater length, now expressed in the context of a degrading account of Jewish origins; both Roman authors have a background in the continuum of Greek anti-Jewish polemic, and Tacitus is stirred perhaps not so much by the rebellion of the Jews as (like Persius and Juvenal) by the danger to Roman ways of the attractiveness of Judaism.¹²³ Against this background it is perhaps significant that his historical description of the Hasmonaean state fails to

after Christ through the Roman Oration of Aelius Aristides (Philadelphia, 1953) [= *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* N.S. xliii (1953), 871–1003], 919, 930, 944–5 on Aelius Aristides, *Or.* xxvi 34, 66 (limitless power for firm control of a vast empire, not without kindness), 96 (liberation or guidance of Hellenes, education of barbarians).

¹²² Tertullian is arguing that, although Jews have indeed been subdued by a *princeps* of good repute, Vespasian, that is not the case with the Christians, attacked only by Nero and (for a while) Domitian; no respected Roman emperor down to the present can be described as *debellator Christianorum* (*Apol.* v 5; Nero and Domitian had similarly been excepted in a comparable argument, but without reference to the Jews, in the earlier apology of Melito, as quoted by Eusebius, *H.E.* iv 26, 8–11). For the sense of righteousness attaching to *debellator* in these passages compare the Old Latin version (perhaps not long before Tertullian's time) of *Wisd.* 18:12, where the heavenly Word leaps down like *durus debellator* (rendering Greek *apotomos polemistes*, 'severe warrior'), to punish the Egyptians who rebel against the divine command.

¹²³ Tacitus, *Hist.* v 1–13; Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, ii, 1–6 (p. 5 on Tacitus's motives) and 17–63, no. 281. E. S. Gruen, *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity* (Princeton and Oxford, 2011), 179–96, showing the nuanced and sometimes inconsistent character of the account, finds irony rather than polemic to be uppermost for the author; but Tacitus's *readers* in antiquity could perceive polemic here, to judge by Tertullian's care to rebut it (*Apol.* xvi 1–4). Thus Gruen notes, as Tertullian had done, that the tale of a statue of an ass in the holy place repeated by Tacitus does not fit the historian's later report that Pompey found nothing there; for Gruen this was deliberate inconsistency and a subtle hit by Tacitus at the fatuousness of the tales of Jewish origins. Gruen

mention the Roman-Jewish alliance, which Tertullian later was glad to emphasize.¹²⁴ Moreover, Tacitus's view also fits the more general imperial prejudice against conquered peoples which he displays.¹²⁵ A little earlier in the *Histories*, however, despite this prejudice, Tacitus showed a certain respect in his digression on Serapis, cited above; in some degree this recalls the Flavian attitude, but it also highlights the author's relatively negative treatment of the Jerusalem cult.¹²⁶ Then the satire of Juvenal, under Trajan and Hadrian, mocks Jews and their gentile adherents harshly, but attests, like Tacitus, the attraction of Judaism in Rome; in both respects Juvenal's approach also recalls Persius, who wrote in the early years of Nero.¹²⁷

Roman actions in this period from Vespasian to Trajan, judged by ancient standards, brought severe but not immoderate treatment of a people regarded as rebellious. Unsurprisingly they recall the Virgilian counsel 'to spare the subject, but to war down the proud'.¹²⁸ The merciless crushing of the 'proud', especially in the areas where rebellion had taken place, was accompanied by restraint towards the larger number of Jews who had remained 'subject'. Yet imperial practice clearly provides ground for Jewish resentment, especially perhaps in the later years of Trajan in connection with the temple.

At this point the interpretation of Roman-Jewish relations after 70 as a new era of unprecedented Roman 'war on Judaism' can appropriately be recalled. This interpretation has been central, as noted above, in Martin Goodman's reconstruction of developments from Vespasian to Hadrian.¹²⁹

brings out aspects of Tacitus too easily obscured when this passage is treated simply as a libel, but perhaps in turn underplays the significance for the author's intention of the repetition of the tales of origins. However this may be, Tertullian as a reader still judged it needful to rebut the tales by noting this inconsistency, and to discredit Tacitus on this subject.

¹²⁴ Tacitus, *Hist.* v 8, 3, contrasted with Tertullian, *Apol.* xxvi 3 by T. D. Barnes, 'Tertullian the Antiquarian', reprinted from *SP* xiv (TU 117, Berlin, 1976), 3–20 in Barnes, *Early Christianity and the Roman Empire*, 11.

¹²⁵ So Syme, *Tacitus*, ii, 530, comparing Tacitus's opinion of Greece.

¹²⁶ Syme, *Tacitus*, ii, 465 asks in this connection if Tacitus felt a certain attraction towards Egypt and the east.

¹²⁷ The individuality of Tacitus and Juvenal, and the context of their Jewish references, emerge from the extracts with commentary in Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, ii, nos. 273–301; for annotated translation of important examples see M. H. Williams, *The Jews among the Greeks and Romans: A Diasporan Sourcebook* (London, 1998), 217 (concordance of sources). On Persius see 'Herod's Temple and Herod's Days', in Horbury, *Messianism among Jews and Christians*, 83–122 (101–20, on Persius v 179–84).

¹²⁸ Aen. vi 853 *parcere subiectis, et debellare superbos*; for *parcere* as implying taxation, *debellare* as sometimes involving extirpation see P. A. Brunt, 'Laus Imperii', reprinted from P. D. A. Garnsey and C. R. Whittaker, *Imperialism in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, 1978), 159–91 in P. A. Brunt, *Roman Imperial Themes*, 288–323 (315).

¹²⁹ For documentation see n. 2, above; [Chapter 2](#), n. 303, above.

In this period he finds unprecedented and lasting Roman anti-Jewish hostility, and an almost uninterrupted anti-Jewish Roman policy. A feature of his work, however, is recognition of the importance of random happenings as well as policy, and he has seen Flavian policy after 70 as capitalizing on an accident (discussed above) which had happened contrary to plans, the burning of the temple.¹³⁰

In his book on the revolt of 66–70 he had discerned an unprecedented new hostility of the Roman state towards Judaism as a cult after 70, arising from Jewish behaviour during the war. This hostility could be seen, he further suggested, in the religious implications of Flavian triumphalism; the new temple of Pax symbolized the capture of the Jewish deity, and the suppression of disturbance caused to the legitimate deities of Rome by the Jewish superstition. The payment of the Jewish tax to Jupiter Capitolinus reinforced this message. Then Domitian revived the associations of the Flavian triumph. The Flavians therefore shared the new hostility to Jewish religion seen in Roman upper-class opinion after 70, notably in Tacitus.¹³¹

Trajan continued the Flavian hostility.¹³² Nerva had brought a short time of favour to the Jews, but then Trajan followed in the footsteps of his father M. Ulpius Traianus, who had been legate under Vespasian in Judaea, a supporter of his bid for the principate, and then governor of Syria in the mid 70s, when his son served under him (Pliny, *Paneg.* 14; 89).¹³³ Hadrian, in turn, founded Aelia as part of a long-term plan to subdue Judaea, a plan which began from the extirpations after the Trajanic wars and led, in the repression of Bar Kokhba's uprising, to a 'final solution' in Judaea (Goodman uses the phrase advisedly) on the same lines.¹³⁴ Thus every emperor from 70 to 135, apart from Nerva, had some personal or family link with Jewish war; and the officially encouraged Roman attitude to

¹³⁰ Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judaea*, 231–51; Goodman, 'Diaspora Reactions to the Destruction of the Temple'; Goodman, *Mission and Conversion*, 42–9, 120–8; Goodman, 'Judaea' (2); Goodman, 'Trajan and the Origins of the Bar Kokhba War', 23–9; Goodman, 'Trajan and the Origins of Roman Hostility to the Jews'.

¹³¹ Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judaea*, 235–9; the novelty of post-70 hostility is similarly emphasized in Goodman, 'Trajan and the Origins of Roman Hostility to the Jews', 14–16.

¹³² Goodman, 'Trajan and the Origins of the Bar Kokhba War'.

¹³³ These points were emphasized to bring out Trajan's military knowledge of Syria and Judaea by Syme, *Tacitus*, i, 30–1, followed by Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 262–4, with caution on any conclusion on Trajan's attitude to the Jews. On M. Ulpius Traianus in Judaea see further B. Isaac and I. Roll, 'A Milestone of AD 69 from Judaea: the Elder Trajan and Vespasian', reprinted from *JRS* lvi (1976), 9–14 in B. Isaac, *The Near East under Roman Rule*, 36–45; Bennett, *Trajan, Optimus Princeps*, 14–18.

¹³⁴ Goodman, 'Trajan and the Origins of the Bar Kokhba War', 28; Goodman, 'Trajan and the Origins of Roman Hostility to the Jews', 27–8.

Judaism, apart from a brief remission under Nerva, was that of hostility to a superstition.¹³⁵

Considerations advanced here already suggest a more complex state of Roman opinion, and some distinction between the hostile elements in that opinion and the measures affecting the Jews. Thus Flavian dynastic claims emphasized victory over Jews, but were also endorsed by eminent Jews, and were aimed at promotion of the Flavians rather than denigration of the Jews; indeed, it was essential for these claims that the Jews should be presented as worthy adversaries (as in Josephus and in the hyperbole of the lost arch of Titus). Although their defeat was rubbed in, this aspect of the presentation was not necessarily harmful to Jewish prestige. Moreover, although the Jewish tax in conjunction with the desolation of the temple was a bitter blow, its punitive character was not wholly unrelated to considerations of security, and the measures involved in Vespasian's settlement could be presented by Josephus without too much difficulty as moderate.

Then, hostility to Jews was certainly present in Roman opinion after 70, and no doubt it was strengthened by war after 66; but it was already traditional, and need not be understood as a sudden negative reaction. The measures affecting the Jews taken even in Domitian's time chiefly suggest (apart from his personal political aims) the traditional Roman opposition to the appeal of foreign cults. Trajan continued a firm assertion of Roman supremacy in Judaea and beyond its eastern frontier, but his non-continuation of the Flavian adherence to Serapis and Isis fits, as noted already, with his reputation as a favourer of Jews among Alexandrian Greeks (whose bust of Serapis ominously sweats in Trajan's presence, in the Acts of the Alexandrians).¹³⁶

Within Goodman's reconstruction an important element is the discernment of unprecedented Roman hostility after 70, matched by a cowed and dispirited attitude in the Jewish community. Particular interpretations which are used to support this view were questioned above in connection with the Jewish tax under Domitian and Nerva. Thus Goodman understands Suetonius to speak of the impact of the tax on Jews by birth only, not on gentile Judaizers as well as Jews; similarly, he takes the 'calumny' of the tax removed by Nerva to be not the denunciation of Judaizers as well as Jews by birth, but the slur of disloyalty which the very existence of

¹³⁵ The conclusions are integrated into a larger history in Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem*, 422–511.

¹³⁶ N. 119, above; the Acts of Hermaiscus (P. Oxy. 1242 = Acta Alexandrinorum VII I = CPJ 157, col. iii), discussed further in [Chapter 3](#), below; their significance for assessment of the treatment of Jews under Trajan was stressed by R. Paribeni, *Optimus Princeps* (2 vols., Messina, 1926, 1927), ii, 194–5.

the Jewish tax cast on the Jewish people. Part of the reason for this choice of what have seemed in discussion above to be difficult interpretations of Suetonius and the coin legend is Goodman's judgment that Judaism was under a cloud in post-70 Rome – such a cloud that one cannot envisage non-Jews being drawn to Jewish observance.¹³⁷ Thus 'it was hardly likely that Flavius Clemens would be attracted by the customs of a people so reviled or the cultivation of a god so transparently powerless'.¹³⁸

Yet this judgment has to contend with attestations from Rome in this period of the attraction of Judaism to non-Jews: Josephus notes it with pride, Tacitus and Juvenal deplore it, but all recognize it. Their contemporary Epictetus, in Rome until he was banished by Domitian, comparably sketches as familiar characters the man who is debating whether to become a Jew, and the man who has made up his mind to it.¹³⁹ However strange it may seem that Judaism continued to attract, it clearly did so. The impressive public assembly for hearing the law, in a synagogue which sometimes was an impressive building, will probably have contributed to this result.

This power of the Jewish way of life to attract did not however abolish, but rather accentuated, the hostile Roman reactions to Judaism. The appeal of Judaism was a focus of Roman fear, as noted already, and this had long been the case. The very idea that Romans after 70 could be afraid of Jews has indeed been scouted by E. S. Gruen.¹⁴⁰ Suggesting amused contempt rather than fear as the typical attitude, he justly emphasizes the amusement as well as the hostility, 'mockery rather than malignancy', evident in much Roman comment from this period, and he well brings out the continuity of post-70 attitudes with those known before; but perhaps he underrates both the precision of some of the observation, and, most importantly for the present question, the visceral reaction of fear and anger which a large body of people considered to be strangers can evoke – even and especially when they can also be viewed more distantly as absurd and difficult foreign subjects. Yet fear is not the most obvious Roman reaction, and Gruen also highlights an important aspect in his insistence on Roman indifference and detachment.

Thus Roman opinion after 70 could include impassioned scorn, fearful hostility, and in a few cases admiring attachment; but detachment is also

¹³⁷ Goodman, 'The *Fiscus Iudaicus* and Gentile Attitudes to Judaism in Flavian Rome'; Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem*, 452–3, 462–8, 474–5.

¹³⁸ Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem*, 468.

¹³⁹ Epictetus in Arrian, *Diss.* ii 19–21.

¹⁴⁰ E. S. Gruen, *Diaspora: Jews amidst Greeks and Romans* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 2002), 42–53 (quotation from 53); Gruen, 'Roman Perspectives on the Jews in the Age of the Great Revolt', in Berlin and Overman (eds.), *The First Jewish Revolt*, 27–42.

important, and the measures taken mainly evince a concern for the state. Propaganda underlines Jewish defeat, but promotes the Flavians rather than the destruction of Judaism; the Jewish tax and the desolation of Jerusalem serve the ends of imperial wealth and security, and of punishment rather than annihilation. The Jews are remembered as formidable foes as well as rebels, their love of liberty is likely to have found some recognition, and their numbers and their capacity for attracting non-Jews are brought to the fore. Adoption of Judaism as of other foreign cults is disapproved and can be penalized, but Jews continue to be protected in their public assemblies for the reading of the law and in their other ancestral observances. The reactions of the Jews themselves remain to be explored further.

II THE JEWISH SITUATION

Active and intellectual Jewish resistance after Pompey

The insurgence which recurred in Judaea from the time of Pompey to the outbreak of revolt under Nero suggests, as noted already, a continuous history of disaffection there. Josephus, in much-discussed passages, links it with Judas the Galilaean and his followers, and indicates ‘liberty’ (Greek *eleutheria*) as its focus in thought and publicity. Disaffection can only occasionally be identified with particular individuals or groups, but it was influentially represented among some members of the priestly aristocracy, as is shown by Josephus’s account of the outbreak of revolt in 66, and is suggested too by the independent Jewish coinage then issued.¹⁴¹ Among Pharisees it could be found in Judas’s colleague Saddok, according to Josephus, and in Josephus himself.

What can be called with due caution intellectual resistance (for in texts from the period it can appear not as a simply political attitude, but rather as one aspect of the theocentric future hopes of contemporary Judaism and Christianity) was widely diffused. The prominence of the term *eleutheria* in the writings of Saint Paul, roughly between the forties and the sixties of the first century, coheres with its later importance in Josephus himself.¹⁴² This in turn suggests Jewish contact with Greek political language, and with the Roman discourse on *libertas* which reached high points especially in connection with Octavian, Nero and Domitian and the publicity

¹⁴¹ J. S. McLaren, ‘The Coinage of the First Year as a Point of Reference for the Jewish Revolt’, *SCJ* xxii (2003), 135–52.

¹⁴² W. Horbury, ‘Liberty in the Coin-Legends of the Jewish Revolts’, in B. A. Mastin, K. J. Dell and J. K. Aitken (eds.), *On Stone and Scroll* [Festschrift for G. I. Davies] (Berlin, 2011), .

surrounding claimants to power.¹⁴³ This powerful political notion gained particular force and diffusion among contemporary Jews, however, through its association with prayer and biblical interpretation.

Liberty and redemption in prayer

The brute facts of Roman repression in 70 and later were at once interpreted by the sufferers through the law and the prophets. The process was continued in reflection on Hadrian's repression of Bar Kokhba. The new calamities were incorporated into the biblically rooted series of national tribulations. As it is put in a Mishnaic passage quoted already, 'on 9 Ab it was decreed against our fathers that they should not enter the promised land [see Num. 14:20–45], and the temple was destroyed the first and the second time, and Bethar was captured, and the city was ploughed' (Mishnah, Taanith iv 6).

Here events in 70 and 135 join the ancient tribulations and are commemorated on the same doleful summer day. Thereby they are also incorporated into the national hope, which received a representative expression in prayer in the Eighteen Benedictions.¹⁴⁴ The thrice-daily recitation of this prayer is treated in the Mishnah as an established custom, and some of its antecedents can be traced in the prayers of Ecclesiasticus 36:1–17 and II Maccabees 1:24–9, in the second century BC.¹⁴⁵ Its themes can also be traced in the fragmented Qumran texts of daily prayers (4Q503–4), composed perhaps about the beginning of the first century BC.¹⁴⁶ Its framework and traditional subject matter will have become relatively fixed by the time of the Mishnah, but the wording and combination of the benedictions continued to vary widely. Talmudic tradition associates their arrangement with the otherwise unknown Simeon ha-Paqli, in the time of Gamaliel II, in Judaea towards the end of the Flavian period; whatever the value of this tradition in detail, its note of time coheres with the treatment of

¹⁴³ A. Momigliano, review of Ch. Wirszubski, *Libertas as a Political Idea at Rome during the Late Republic and Early Principate* (Cambridge, 1950), in *JRS* xli (1951), 146–53 (148–9, 152). For Roman coins with the legend LIBERTAS PUBLICA see Sutherland *RIC* i² 241 nos. 157–9 (Galba, years 68–9), 271 no. 69 (year 69, Vitellius); Mattingly and Sydenham *RIC* ii 68 nos. 428–30 (year 71, Vespasian), 223 no. 7 (year 96, Nerva), 411 no. 568 (years 119–21, Hadrian).

¹⁴⁴ On this prayer see Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, ii, 455–63 (translations and introduction); I. Elbogen, supplemented by J. Heinemann, *Jewish Liturgy: A Comprehensive History* tr. R. P. Scheindlin (New York, 1993), 24–54 (fuller introduction).

¹⁴⁵ The parallels with II Macc. 1:24–9 are tabulated by D. K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 27, Leiden, Boston and Cologne, 1998), 200–1.

¹⁴⁶ Falk, *Daily, Sabbath and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 75–8.

the prayer in the Mishnah, where Gamaliel II and Joshua ben Hananiah differ on whether one must recite the full Eighteen, or a short form, and a mediating position is ascribed to R. Akiba (Mishnah, Ber. iv 3).¹⁴⁷ The contact of the prayer with the age of the revolts is evident also, however, in its overlap with the themes of the revolt coinage, and the overall drive of its central series of petitions as a prayer for the messianic redemption of Israel and Jerusalem.¹⁴⁸

The coin legends show that the interconnected slogans 'redemption' and 'liberation' remained significant throughout the period from 70 to 135. Coins of the First Revolt present Hebrew phrases including 'Of the redemption of Zion' and 'Liberation of Zion', and Bar-Kokhba coins similarly attest formulae such as 'Year one of the redemption of Israel' and 'Of the liberation of Jerusalem'.¹⁴⁹ 'Redemption' and 'liberation' roughly translate the Hebrew nouns *ge'ullah* and *herut* respectively. The two nouns both recur interconnectedly in a famous Passover thanksgiving preserved in the Mishnah and the Passover Haggadah: 'He brought us forth from bondage to liberation . . . and from servitude to redemption' (Mishnah, Pesahim x 5).¹⁵⁰ In the Eighteen Benedictions the theme of redemption is central in the Seventh, where the verb *ga'al*, 'redeem', is used: 'Look upon our affliction, and plead our cause, and redeem us for thy Name's sake.' This wording echoes Ps. 119:153–4, but will also have recalled Exod. 3:17 'I have surely looked upon the affliction of my people who are in Egypt'. Liberation is the theme of the Tenth Benediction: 'Blow the great horn

¹⁴⁷ 'Simeon ha-Paqli arranged the Eighteen Benedictions in order before Rabban Gamaliel in Jamnia', Babylonian Talmud, Ber. 28b, foot, among teachings assembled in connection with Mishnah, Ber. iv 3; also at Babylonian Talmud, Meg. 17b.

¹⁴⁸ The association especially of Benedictions X–XIV with the hopes expressed in the apocalypses of the Hasmonaean and Herodian periods was underlined by Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy*, 28–30; similarly, J. Heinemann, *Prayer in the Talmud* (English translation, Jerusalem, 1977), 34–5. A non-eschatological interpretation is preferred by D. Flusser, 'The Jewish Religion in the Second Temple Period', in M. Avi-Yonah and Z. Baras (eds.), *Society and Religion in the Second Temple Period* (The World History of the Jewish People, First Series 8; Jerusalem, 1977), 3–40 (20–3, 27). Like many liturgical texts, the Eighteen Benedictions can be interiorized and referred to recurrent needs or individual concerns; but the importance of corporate hope in the biblically based series of benedictions considered here seems clear. It stands out too in the understanding of the series reflected in both preserved versions of a short form of the Eighteen, the prayer Habinenu (Jerusalem Talmud, Ber. iv 3, 8a 'forgive us, our Redeemer'; Babylonian Talmud, Ber. 29a 'forgive us that we may be redeemed'); each also mentions the judgment of the wicked and the restoration of city and temple.

¹⁴⁹ The legends are tabulated by Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 605–6; for a fuller tabulation of the Bar Kokhba coins see Miltenberg, *The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War*, 365–8.

¹⁵⁰ The link with the coins and the interconnection of the terms was underlined by Hengel, *The Zealots*, 117–20.

for our liberation, and raise the banner to gather our exiles.' Then in the Fourteenth Benediction mercy is asked for Jerusalem or for the series Israel, Jerusalem, and Zion, with a prayer for the coming of Davidic kingship.¹⁵¹ This sequence of petitions for redemption strikingly recalls the slogans of the revolt coinage on the redemption and liberation of Zion, Jerusalem, and Israel.

The background of these phrases lies especially in the exodus narratives of the Torah. Liberation and redemption form the subject of the divine promise 'I will recover you from their bondage, and I will redeem you' (Exod. 6:6). The exodus was the model of *ge'ullah*, 'redemption', especially in the sense of the 'recovery' of captive slaves (Exod. 6:6, 15:13; Lev. 25:54–5, all with the Hebrew verb *ga'al*).¹⁵² This exodus background was particularly obvious in the Passover thanksgiving quoted above, but it is also discernible, as already noted, in the Seventh Benediction. The Tenth Benediction uses the word *herut*, 'liberation', found also on the coins, in a prayer for the ingathering. This Hebrew word does not occur in the Hebrew biblical books, but in the Targums the cognate Aramaic *heruta* renders Hebrew *d'rur* where that is used for the 'liberation' proclaimed with a blast of the horn in the year of jubilee, at Lev. 25:10 on 'liberty throughout the land' and Isa. 61:1 on 'liberty to the captives'.¹⁵³

Probably the ingathering of the benediction is viewed as the slave-liberation ordered as part of the general 'redemption' (Lev. 25:24, 29) of property at the jubilee (see Lev. 25:39–42, 47–54, on Israelite as opposed to foreign slaves); this interpretation is already suggested by the dependence of Isa. 27:13 and 61:1 on the Lev. 25 jubilee law.¹⁵⁴ Diaspora is servitude, and ingathering liberation, on the pattern of Egypt and the exodus, in biblical

¹⁵¹ This series of three appears in the text giving a version of the Fourteenth Benediction used in Byzantine Palestine, translated in Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, ii, 461, and in the closely similar benediction forming part of the Birkath ha-Mazon, 'Have mercy upon Israel thy people, upon Jerusalem thy city, upon Zion the abiding place of thy glory...' (text and translation in S. Singer, *The Authorized Daily Prayer Book* (2nd rev. edn, London, 1962), 379).

¹⁵² On 'redemption' in biblical usage in the setting of ancient history see G. M. Styler, 'Redeemer, Redemption', in J. Hastings, F. C. Grant and H. H. Rowley (eds.), *Dictionary of the Bible* (Edinburgh, 1963), 636–7; on its legal overtones, D. Daube, *The Exodus Pattern in the Bible* (London, 1963), 27–9 (holding that these continue in the seventh of the Eighteen Benedictions).

¹⁵³ Horbury, 'Liberty in the Coin-Legends of the Jewish Revolts'.

¹⁵⁴ See Targums Onkelos, Neofiti and Ps. Jonathan on Lev. 25:10; Targum Jonathan on Isa. 61:1. For the liberation to come as that prescribed for the jubilee see also two texts reflecting interpretation current in Judaea in the first century BC: Ps. Sol. 11:1, quoted below, and the Qumran text 11Q13 (11Q Melchizedek), in which the returning Melchizedek proclaims liberty to the captives (Isa. 61:1) in the tenth jubilee, the end of days (11Q13, col. ii, lines 4–6, discussed by Horbury, *Messianism among Jews and Christians*, 136).

passages which were influential at the time of the revolts.¹⁵⁵ The treatment of this theme of ingathering in the Tenth Benediction has antecedents also in prayer, in Ps. 106:47=I Chron. 16:35 'Gather us from among the heathen', and later in II Macc. 1:27 'Gather our dispersion, set at liberty those in bondage among the heathen' and in Pompey's time in the Psalms of Solomon (11:1), here exemplifying the thought of liberation as jubilee, 'Sound the trumpet of jubilee in Zion for the saints'.

The association of the words with 'Zion' and 'Jerusalem' as well as 'Israel' in the coinage also recalls another aspect of the exodus, Israel's entry into the holy place, envisaged prophetically or prayerfully in the Song of Moses at the Red Sea: 'Thou shalt plant them [or, Mayest thou plant them] in the mountain of thine inheritance . . .' (Exod. 15:17, cited above to illustrate the concept of assembly in the temple). These words of Moses, expressly quoted at the end of the prayer of II Macc. 1:24-9, were remembered with the prophecies of the 'redemption' of Zion at a second exodus (Isa. 52:1-12, 59:20-62:12). The exodus past and to come thus united Israel and Jerusalem, above all the temple.

The narratives and prophecies of the redemption of Israel and Zion in an exodus from captivity stood together with many comparable prayers for and promises of mercy on Zion, such as Ps. 102:12-22 and Zech. 1:12-21. These scriptural passages are developed in poetic prayers for Jerusalem such as the psalm of Tobit (Tobit 13) and the Apostrophe to Zion from Qumran Cave II.¹⁵⁶ So the prayer in Ecclesiasticus 36 asks for new signs and portents (on the pattern of the signs vouchsafed in the exodus, as is promised in Micah 7:15), and then prays for mercy successively on Israel, Jerusalem, and Zion, in the sequence echoed in later benedictions (Ecclesiasticus 36:6, 12-14). Then in Pompey's time the Psalm of Solomon already quoted asks, as if anticipating the slogans of the revolt coinage, 'may the Lord perform what he has spoken concerning Israel and Jerusalem' (Ps. Sol. 11:5).

The redemption at the exodus was also associated with another ancient daily prayer, the evening and morning Shema, named after the recitation of Deut. 6:4-5 *shema' yisra'el*. . . 'Hear, O Israel. . .'. Josephus (*Ant.* iv 212), giving an interpretation of Deut. 6:4-9, writes that Moses prescribed thanksgiving twice a day, each morning and evening, for the divine

¹⁵⁵ Deut 28:64-8, 30:1-10; Isa. 14:1-3, with Herodian-age interpretation in Philo, *Praem.* 164-5, on messianic deliverance, and Josephus, *Ant.* iv 190 (servitude in diaspora); 313-14 (the Israelites will be sold into slavery, their cities demolished, and their temple burnt; but God will restore to them their cities and their temple too).

¹⁵⁶ For the links of the coin legends with prayer of this kind see W. Horbury, 'Jerusalem in pre-Pauline and Pauline Hope', in Horbury, *Messianism among Jews and Christians*, 189-226 (194).

gifts given through the exodus; and, in connection with the recital of the Shema, the Mishnah correspondingly rules that 'the exodus from Egypt is mentioned at night' – as well as in the morning (Mishnah, Ber. i 5). The third Pentateuchal passage recited as part of the Shema (Num. 15:37–41) ends with a mention of the exodus in the solemn reminder 'I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt', and is followed by the benediction 'True and firm', also entitled *Ge'ullah*, 'redemption' (Mishnah, Ber. ii 2). The Eighteen Benedictions were increasingly linked with the Shema in recitation.¹⁵⁷ Josephus shows that, although other themes could be associated with the Shema in Jewish liturgy, its connection with the exodus redemption was strong in the age of the revolts. The background for 'redemption' and 'liberation' suggested by the Eighteen Benedictions and the Shema is confirmed by a Greek first-century source discussed above, Luke-Acts. Here Moses is a 'redeemer' (Acts 7:35), and Jews await 'the redemption of Jerusalem' (Luke 2:38).¹⁵⁸

The hope associated with widely current forms of daily prayer was also transmitted through festivals. It will have been present in the autumnal Days of Awe, including New Year, with its focus on the divine kingdom, and the pilgrim-feast of Tabernacles, linked with wilderness wandering and entry into the land; but its themes are especially close to the surface in the two remaining pilgrim-feasts of Passover (compare the thanksgiving quoted above) and Weeks (in which the offering of first-fruits recalls the exodus and the gift of the land, as in Deut. 26:5–11). They also stand out in the Maccabean feast of Hanukkah, the dedication festival of the reclaimed temple (I Macc. 4:59, John 10:22). The name Lights given to this feast of dedication symbolized, for Josephus, the wholly unexpected character of the restoration of the Jews' authority to have their traditional temple service – a right, it may be added, which was once again bound up with the exodus ('Let my people go, that they may hold a feast to me', Exod. 5:1, etc.) and had been imperilled in recent history (through the confiscation of the high-priestly vestments mentioned above, and then the desolation of the temple). The exodus theme of redemption and liberation can be detected in the language used of the Maccabees. They were enabled 'to recover the temple . . . and liberate the city' (II Macc. 2:22), and Judas

¹⁵⁷ Babylonian Talmud, Ber. 9b (it is an ancient and laudable custom to unite the *Ge'ullah*, after the Shema, with the Eighteen Benedictions); 31b (the insertion of personal prayers between the *Ge'ullah* and the Eighteen Benedictions is disallowed).

¹⁵⁸ The Greek nouns used, *lytrotēs* and *lytrosis* respectively, are used in the LXX to render nouns derived from *ga'al*, for example at Ps. 19:14 ('redeemer') and Lev. 25:29 ('redemption').

Maccabaeus died ‘having liberated the nation and rescued it from slavery under the Macedonians’ (Josephus, *Ant.* xii 434).¹⁵⁹

The slogans of the revolt coinage, therefore, when interpreted by comparison with Jewish prayers which were current and developing after the fall of Jerusalem, especially the Eighteen Benedictions, and with the themes of the Jewish festivals, especially Passover and Hanukkah, suggest that resistance to Rome was associated with the hope for a redemption modelled on the exodus. This hope could be traced already in prayers from the time of Pompey and before. In the Psalms of Solomon, as in the Eighteen Benedictions, it is a specifically messianic hope, including hope for Davidic kingship.¹⁶⁰ The adjective ‘messianic’ should not obscure the concrete and this-worldly aspect of ‘redemption’ and ‘liberation’. As is suggested by the Greek echoes of these themes in II Maccabees and Josephus, they were not far removed from the associations of ‘liberty’ in the Greek world. Josephus’s contemporary Dio Chrysostom, visiting one of the Roman campaigns against the Dacians, sees a fight for rule and power on one side, and for liberty (*eleutheria*) and homeland on the other.¹⁶¹ The opposition between imperial rule and national liberty formed a theme of Jewish prayer, within the framework of benediction of a divine benefactor; but it was also a theme understood by Greek and Roman contemporaries.

Rome as the fourth kingdom

Prayer and festival themes are likely to be significant for their relatively wide circulation, but on Jewish hope in the age of the revolts they can be supplemented by prophecies. Hope for redemption modelled on the exodus can then be seen as united with the theme of the four kingdoms, based on the book of Daniel. Here dominion over the earth is given successively to a series of four kingdoms or empires, symbolized by the four metals of the image in Nebuchadnezzar’s dream in chapter 2 and the four beasts which come up from the sea in Daniel’s dream in chapter 7, until a stone breaks the image in chapter 2 and dominion is given to the saints of the most High in chapter 7. The kingdom of God, then, is given to gentile rulers in a succession of four empires, but in the end comes back to Israel.

¹⁵⁹ Josephus on Hanukkah and the Maccabees therefore erases political colour from his language less thoroughly than was suggested by O. S. Rankin, *The Origins of the Festival of Hanukkah* (Edinburgh, 1930), 224–5, on *Ant.* xii 324–5.

¹⁶⁰ See Psalms of Solomon 17–18.

¹⁶¹ Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* xii 20, compared with Calgacus’s speech inspiring defence of British freedom in Tacitus, *Agr.* 30 by Russell (ed.), *Dio Chrysostom, Orations VII, XII and XXXVI*, 173.

Vernacular interpretation of the four kingdoms, probably from the Hasmonaean period, is fragmentarily attested in the Qumran texts.¹⁶² Then the fourth kingdom, which will give way to the kingdom of the saints, is identified with Rome in the apocalypses of the Flavian age, including among Christian books the Revelation of St John the Divine, and also tacitly in Josephus; this identification becomes standard in both rabbinic and patristic literature, and enters Jewish hymnody.¹⁶³ Its wide attestation in the Flavian period suggests that it had already been customary for some time.

The apocalypses current in the Flavian era are marked by great plainness of speech. The overthrow of Rome is clearly shown, and the rebukes of Rome rank beside the older invective in the Qumran Habakkuk commentary, quoted above, and recall the barbarian denunciation of the Romans as 'plunderers of the world', *raptores orbis*, imagined by Tacitus.¹⁶⁴ Thus in a dream-vision of the Apocalypse of Baruch preserved in Syriac (II Baruch) the fourth kingdom is seen as a cedar, rebuked by a vine:

'You kept conquering what was not yours, and you never showed compassion to what was yours, and you kept extending your power over those who were far from you, and those who drew near you you held fast in the nets of your wickedness.' (II Baruch 36:8)

This dream is seemingly inspired by the fall of 'Lebanon' and the flourishing of the stem of Jesse in Isa. 10:34–11:1, viewed together with the vine of Gen. 49:10–12 and Ps. 80. The interpretation shows that the Lord's anointed will execute the last leader of the fourth kingdom ('Lebanon shall fall by a mighty one') on Mount Zion for his war crimes, in the reshaping of an old scene described above (II Baruch 40).

Then in the Apocalypse of Ezra, in a passage probably from the time of Domitian, the seer dreams of a lion, who is the messiah, rebuking an eagle, recalling the Roman eagle, who is the fourth beast and the fourth kingdom seen by Daniel (II Esdras 11:39, 12:11). Here the rebuke runs:

¹⁶² 4Q552–3, Aramaic fragments presented with English translation in F. Garcia Martinez and F. C. J. Tigheelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols., Leiden, 1997–8), ii, 1,102–7.

¹⁶³ For a concise survey of ancient and mediaeval Jewish and Christian presentation of this view see H. H. Rowley, *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel. A Historical Study of Contemporary Theories* (Cardiff, 1935), 73–6, 184–5; rabbinic passages on the four kingdoms are selected with introduction, translation and comment by S. Krauss, *Griechen und Römer* (Monumenta Talmudica v.1, Vienna and Leipzig, 1914, repr. Darmstadt, 1972), 14–26; on Rome as the fourth kingdom in the perhaps fifth-century piyyutim of Yose ben Yose see Horbury, *Messianism among Jews and Christians*, 295–7.

¹⁶⁴ Tacitus, *Agr.* 30.5 (the speech of the British leader Calgacus).

'You have afflicted the meek, you have hurt the peaceable, you have hated those who speak truth, you have loved liars, and destroyed the dwellings of those who brought forth fruit, and have thrown down the walls of those who did you no harm.' (II Esdras 11:42)

Then the messiah, who combines the Davidic glory of Isaiah 11 with the heavenly associations of the one like a son of man in Daniel 7, executes kings and saves the inhabitants of the holy land.

Finally, the vision of Revelation 13, current under Domitian even if using older material, presupposes the fourth beast of Daniel 7 and his identification with Rome.¹⁶⁵ The chief anti-Roman invective in Revelation comes, however, not in this context but in the vision of the fall of Babylon-Rome and the coming of the messianic kingdom of the saints in Jerusalem, near the end of the book (Rev. 17:1–20:6).

Rome as the fourth kingdom is likewise presupposed in another Jewish oracular composition of this period, the fifth book of the Sibylline oracles. Here diaspora reactions are probably reflected. The early death of Titus is understood as his punishment for demolishing the temple, and a blessed man is to come from heaven with a God-given sceptre to restore the wealth plundered from the good, to burn the cities of the evildoers, and to rebuild the temple – 'in the last times of the saints', that is, the time when the saints receive the kingdom according to Daniel 7 (see Sib. v 408–34).

The apocalypses include some veiled hints at the reckoning of this time. Thus the obscure II Baruch 28:2 might suggest a period within seven weeks of years counted from the destruction of the temple, up to the year 119. On this basis Renan and others have seen this militant book as reflecting and perhaps influencing the outbreaks under Trajan.¹⁶⁶ The passage is an enigma, but it may serve to signal the interest in times and seasons, and simply in the question 'how long?' (Rev. 6:10), which this literature indicates. The importance of this reckoning of weeks of years for the

¹⁶⁵ Wellhausen linked the origins of this vision with Jewish suffering after 70, discerning Christian use of a Jewish text, in general agreement with Mommsen's assessment of Revelation as a Flavian document of Jewish hatred for Rome (cited in the previous chapter); the second-century Christian attribution of the whole book to Domitian's reign would then be viewed as a mistaken inference from the reputation of Domitian as a persecutor. On Wellhausen's view see Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St John*, i, 339. See Chapter 2, n. 93, above, preferring Wellhausen's connection of Rev. 11:1–3 with the First Revolt to a suggested association with Bar Kokhba.

¹⁶⁶ E. Renan (1877) and F. Rosenthal (1885), discussed by R. H. Charles, *The Apocalypse of Baruch* (London, 1896), xxxiv–xxxvii; B. Violet (1924) (the earthquake of 70:8 is that of Antioch in 115) and L. Gry (1939), cited by Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, iii.2, 753; suggestions since Gry are discussed by M. Henze, *Jewish Apocalypticism in Late First-Century Israel: Reading Second Baruch in Context* (TSAJ 142, Tübingen, 2011), 30–2, with the judgment that the periodization of time here in II Baruch is symbolic rather than mathematically exact.

outbreak of war under Hadrian too, near the start of the seventh decade or tenth week from the destruction of Jerusalem in 70, has justly been underlined.¹⁶⁷

Yet to identify the fourth kingdom with Rome was by no means necessarily to favour rebellion. The apocalypses simply reflect the hope that, since Roman oppression must offend the divine righteousness, there will now be an end to the time of delegated divine sovereignty allotted to Rome. Loyalty to rulers, including foreign overlords, was the Jewish norm.¹⁶⁸ The book of Daniel teaches that the dominion of each successive empire is, for its allotted span, God-given. Daniel himself is the archetypal 'king's man'. Jeremiah's letter advising the Jews in Babylon to pray for the city in which they are exiled (Jer. 29:7) was matched in traditional development of the book of Jeremiah by a letter from the Babylonian diaspora to Jerusalem, asking the high priest and the people to 'pray for the life of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and for the life of Belshazzar his son' (Bar. 1:11).¹⁶⁹ The kings of the earth have their sovereignty from the Most High, and are 'officers of his kingdom' (Wisd. 6:3–4).¹⁷⁰ The Essenes swore 'to keep faith with all, especially those in power, for no ruler attains office apart from God' (Josephus, *B.J.* ii 140). Sacrifices were duly offered for the Roman overlords until the outbreak of revolt in 66. Saint Paul's much-discussed statement that 'the powers that be are ordained of God' (Rom. 13:1) continues this traditional teaching. Josephus himself identified the fourth kingdom with Rome, and held that the kingdom would one day be given to the saints, but he fostered loyalty to Rome and the Flavians as the rulers given by divine providence at the present; their rule was 'committed to them by God' (*B.J.* v 2), and he expected the time of the saints to be not imminent but far off.¹⁷¹ Soon after Bar Kokhba Justin Martyr, somewhat comparably, retails

¹⁶⁷ R. Deines, 'How Long? God's Revealed Schedule for Salvation and the Outbreak of the Bar Kokhba Revolt', in A. Lange, K. F. Diethard Römheld and M. Weigold (eds.), *Judaism and Crisis* (Schriften des Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum 9, Göttingen, 2011), 201–34 (for II Baruch see 219, n. 65).

¹⁶⁸ See especially H. Loewe, *"Render unto Caesar": Religious and Political Loyalty in Palestine* (Cambridge, 1940).

¹⁶⁹ This passage is from the earliest section of the Greek book of Baruch, Bar. 1:1–3:8, translated from Hebrew or Aramaic, and composed in the second century BC or possibly earlier; for discussion of dating see Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, iii.2, 733–8.

¹⁷⁰ Wisdom can with fair probability be dated in the first century BC, although some put it as late as the time of Philo (for discussion see W. Horbury, 'The Wisdom of Solomon', in J. Barton and J. Muddiman (eds.), *The Oxford Bible Commentary* (Oxford, 2001), 652–3).

¹⁷¹ Josephus gives no direct interpretation of Daniel 7, but in his paraphrase of Daniel 2 he says that the third kingdom is brought in by a king from the west; it is therefore the Greek empire of Alexander, who is pictured as a he-goat coming from the west in Dan. 8:5, and the fourth, iron kingdom of chapter 2 is then almost certainly Rome. This view is confirmed when Josephus adds

biblical interpretations dealing with the end of Roman rule, but regards the Romans as instruments of divine providence and rulers to be served gladly.¹⁷² These contrasting emphases are likewise held together in many later Jewish and Christian sources.

Hope for redemption and Jewish unrest

At the heart of revolt ideology, then, to judge by the coins, was the biblically derived hope for a redemption from servitude, modelled on the exodus. At the same time Rome will have been identified as the fourth and last of the heathen empires foreseen by Daniel. The links of redemption with the jubilee laws for the liberation of slaves and the restoration of alienated land show that this hope could speak to the social discontents which emerge through Josephus's account of the First Revolt, and probably played a part in the later uprisings.¹⁷³ The exodus model and the theme of the four kingdoms underline what may be called the national character of the hope. These sources also show, however, that it was theocentric. In his *Jewish War* Josephus brings out this aspect when he sets at the climax of anti-war speeches by himself and Agrippa II an argument against the expectation of heavenly aid – a moral which he thought still needed to be drawn in the

to Daniel 2 the statement that the iron kingdom shall rule 'for ever', and refuses to look into the future to identify the stone (the kingdom that shall not be destroyed) which in Daniel breaks the image (*Ant.* x 209–10). It is further confirmed by his later statement that Daniel wrote about the empire of the Romans, their capture of Jerusalem and their desolation of the temple (*Ant.* x 276); this probably relates primarily to Daniel 11–12, but shows that Josephus accepted an interpretation of the book as a whole which understands its prophecy as including the times of Roman rule. In his rendering of Balaam's prophecy, discussed in the previous chapter, he had noted a forecast of perpetual Jewish population growth and prosperity (*Num.* 23:10–11), but had passed rapidly over the predicted victories of the 'man' and the 'star from Jacob' in chapter 24 rather as he now passes over the interpretation of the stone in Daniel 2; but he notes that, since so many of Balaam's prophecies have been fulfilled, one may well suppose that those remaining will come to pass in the future. This once again suggests that he retained a place for the messianic kingdom of the saints. For this interpretation of his outlook see M. de Jonge, 'Josephus und die Zukunftserwartungen seines Volkes', in O. Betz, K. Haacker and M. Hengel (eds.), *Josephus-Studien* (Göttingen, 1974), 205–19 (211–12).

¹⁷² Justin Martyr, *I Apol.* xii 7, xlv (prophecies implying Rome's downfall); xvii 1–3, xxxii 3 (loyalty to Rome's rule, which was foreordained); see H. Chadwick, 'Justin Martyr's Defence of Christianity', *BJRL* xlvii (1965), 275–97 (286–7); Horbury, *Jews and Christians in Contact and Controversy*, 152–3.

¹⁷³ P. A. Brunt, 'Josephus on Social Conflicts in Roman Judaea', *Klio* lix (1977), 149–53, reprinted and enlarged in Brunt, *Roman Imperial Themes*, 282–7, 513–31; Rajak, *Josephus*, 118–27; Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 217–23; Kippenberg, *Religion und Klassenbildung im antiken Judäa*, 62–77, 163–72 (Leviticus 25 and Bar Kokhba); Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem*, 409 (Jerusalem before and during the First Revolt).

post-war period, even though, or perhaps because, he himself shared the hopes expressed in the Eighteen Benedictions.¹⁷⁴

The impact of this hope is particularly clear in one strand of the disturbances in the years before revolt broke out under Nero, the repeated appearance of prophets like Theudas, and 'the Egyptian who led four thousand Sicarii into the wilderness', promising that the walls of Jerusalem would fall before them (Acts 21:38, cf. Josephus, *B.J.* ii 261–3, *Ant.* xx 170–2). The multitude were deluded by their promises of 'signs of liberation' (Josephus, *B.J.* ii 259), modelled on the genuine 'signs from God for liberation' worked through Moses (Josephus, *Ant.* ii 327). Behind their following of the pattern of Moses and Joshua was the expectation of a renewal of signs expressed in the prayer for redemption in Ecclesiasticus 36:6, discussed above in connection with the Eighteen Benedictions. The continued influence of their outlook after 70 and in the diaspora is shown by Jonathan the weaver in Cyrene, viewed by Josephus as one of the Sicarii; he led some of the poor into the wilderness, promising signs. His 'exodus' (to transliterate Josephus's word, probably not used by inadvertence) was suppressed by the governor Catullus in 73 (Josephus, *B.J.* vii 437–9, 444; *V.* 424). Theudas and the 'sign prophets' like him are sometimes assessed as dreamers rather than rebels.¹⁷⁵ Their connection with the exodus themes of the revolt coinage suggests, however, that Josephus, who indeed distinguishes their prophetic and wonder-working claims from the banditlike violence exemplified by the Sicarii, was still right to view both types of movement as intermingling and together stirring up anti-Roman disturbance.¹⁷⁶ This judgment of Josephus is supported by the diffusion of

¹⁷⁴ Speeches at *B.J.* ii 390–4 (Agrippa), and v 367–8, 376–419 (Josephus); vi 99–100, 110 (Josephus); J. W. Bowker, *The Religious Imagination and the Sense of God* (Oxford, 1978), 115–16 notes that only the theological section of the speech in book v is represented as effective with the audience.

¹⁷⁵ Loewe, "Render unto Caesar", 36–7, on Theudas; Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem*, 407–8, allowing that the Egyptian had an armed following, but stressing the part taken by the people in repressing them; this however will represent compliance with the requirements of the ruling power, as in Alexandria when the Jewish populace helped to give up Sicarii after 70 (Josephus, *B.J.* vii 412–16), rather than a total absence of anti-Roman feeling.

¹⁷⁶ Josephus, *B.J.* ii 254–64, paralleled in *Ant.* xx 167; on 'sign prophets' in Josephus see Hengel, *The Zealots*, 114–15, 229–33; R. Gray, *Prophetic Figures in Late Second Temple Palestine: the Evidence from Josephus* (New York and Oxford, 1993), 112–44; T. Rajak, 'Jewish Millenarian Expectations', in Berlin and Overman, *The First Jewish Revolt*, 164–88 (178), following Josephus's emphasis on their detachment from rebels rather than his indications of their convergence with armed resistance; C. Riedo-Emmenegger, *Prophetisch-messianische Provokateure der Pax Romana: Jesus von Nazaret und andere Störenfriede im Konflikt mit dem Römischen Reich* (Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus 56, Fribourg and Göttingen, 2005), 245–70.

the same hope for redemption modelled on the exodus among the more banditlike groups.¹⁷⁷

The hope of redemption transmitted especially through prayer and festivals could then be understood, though very differently interpreted, by Jews as socially diverse as Josephus and Jonathan the weaver. It could shape and inspire movements of resistance, although, as Josephus shows, it could also be interpreted consonantly with submission. The geographical foci of resistance were indeed also themselves focal points in the biblical history and hope, and immediately susceptible to reinterpretation thereby. Hence new prophecies from after the year 70 reviewed above expect that the recent destruction of the temple will soon be followed by its glorious rebuilding, associated with messianic redemption. Josephus likewise expects rebuilding on the ground of the prophecies of Moses, but (to put together his interpretations of Balaam and Daniel) as part of the long-lasting glories of Israel under the long-lasting aegis of Rome.¹⁷⁸

This reaction was not the only one. Rabbinic legend suggests that disaster could confirm apostasy or impel towards it. So Miriam, daughter of the priestly house of Bilgah in the Greek age, is said to have given up Judaism to marry a gentile; as the Greeks entered the holy place, she leapt on the altar crying 'Wolf, wolf, you destroyed the wealth of Israel, but have not supported them in their time of need' (Tos. Sukkah iv 28).¹⁷⁹ Again, one of a number of possible occasions suggested for the apostasy of Elisha ben Abujah is the time when he saw the tongue of R. Judah the Baker, martyred under Hadrian, in the mouth of a dog (Ruth R. vi 4, on 3:13). Reaction of this general type is justly envisaged as important, for example by Seth Schwartz and Martin Goodman, as considered above; the importance of renewed hope for redemption is also clear from the prayers and apocalypses reviewed above, and from rabbinic legend of a more hopeful kind. Thus in the discussion of the Eighteen Benedictions in the Talmud Yerushalmi, a story is quoted wherein the 9 Ab on which the temple was burnt (as in the Mishnaic tradition cited above) was also the birthday of the messiah – the child was born, but carried away by the wind.¹⁸⁰ The topography of

¹⁷⁷ Hengel, *The Zealots*, 249–55, 310–12, and (written later in response to criticism) 387–8; similarly, with special reference to the shared presuppositions of the 'sign prophets' and other rebels, Riedel-Emmenegger, *Prophetisch-messianische Provokateure der Pax Romana*, 265.

¹⁷⁸ On the temple see Josephus, *Ant.* iv 313–14 (Israel's cities will be destroyed and the temple burnt, not once but often, yet God will restore to her both the cities and the temple), cited above for its interpretation of the prophecies of Moses in Deuteronomy 28 and 30.

¹⁷⁹ The altar was in the portion of Benjamin, called 'a ravining wolf' (Gen. 49:27).

¹⁸⁰ Palestinian Talmud, Ber. ii 4, 5a, paralleled in Lam. R. i 51, on 1:16 'the comforter'; cf. Est. R., Proem, 11; discussed, following H. Gunkel, as reshaping of ancient legend by I. Lévi, 'Le ravissement du Messie à sa naissance', *REJ* lxxiv (1922), 113–26; lxxvii (1923), 1–11.

the narrative has suggested a connection with the war of Bar Kokhba, discussed in [Chapter 5](#), below; the notable point in the present context is the association of this story with a probably well-established sequential reading of Isa. 10:34 'Lebanon' – here the temple – 'shall fall' together with the following verse, Isa. 11:1 'And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse'.¹⁸¹ There is a continuity in these hopes from the Flavian era to the times after Bar Kokhba.

Judaea after 70

After the capture of Jerusalem in 70, contemporary observers would not have expected anything but punitive measures. The ruthlessness of Roman retribution, often involving extirpation, has been emphasized.¹⁸² Josephus envisages Agrippa II in 66 as warning the Jews that, if they rebel after having accepted Roman rule, they will be viewed not as lovers of liberty but as contumacious slaves; for an example to others their holy city will be burnt – and their whole people exterminated (*B.J.* ii 356, 397). Nevertheless, Jewish tradition was itself at one with Roman thought in demanding the harshest treatment of rebels. In biblical tradition Israel, like Rome, is itself by divine appointment an empire, destined to 'rule many nations' (Deut. 15.6, repeated at Deut. 28.12 in the LXX; Ps. 47.3; Dan. 7.27). David, correspondingly, is a king-emperor, the 'head of the nations' who subdues their rebellion 'with a rod of iron' (Pss. 18.43–7; 2.1–9). The punishment of the rebellious giants in Greek and Roman mythology, described with patriotic overtones in Horace's longest 'Roman ode' (*Od.* iii 4, lines 42–80), is comparable with the similar judgment inflicted according to Jewish tradition by the heavenly king on the biblical giants 'who rebelled in their strength' (Ecclus. 16:7, cf. I Enoch 10:4–16).

It was against this background that Josephus could present Vespasian's punitive measures as moderate on the whole, but he did not disguise the lamentable character of the desolation of Jerusalem, and the temple in particular. The Jews were like other peoples of the ancient world in resenting the profanation of a sanctuary most bitterly.¹⁸³ The expressions

¹⁸¹ In an older interpretation of this sequence, inspiring the invective against the cedar in II Baruch 36 noticed above, 'Lebanon' is the last leader of the fourth kingdom; its identification as the temple, attributed to Johanan b. Zaccai, is associated with post-70 exegesis by G. Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism* (Leiden, 1973), 35.

¹⁸² So especially S. P. Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy: Imperial Strategy in the Principate* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1999), 192.

¹⁸³ The profanation of a sanctuary is prominent in ancient historiography among the causes of war, as noted by A. Momigliano, *Studies in Historiography* (London, 1966), 125.

of grief and anger from the diaspora in the Fourth and Fifth books of the Sibylline oracles, both cited above, were matched from Judaea in visionary books such as the Apocalypse of Baruch, also just considered, and in rabbinic tradition. 'Woe is me that the place where the sins of Israel find atonement is laid waste!' is the cry attributed to R. Joshua ben Hananiah (Aboth de-R. Nathan (version i), iv, 11a); and the destroyers of the temple are numbered among those specially grievous sinners whose torment in Gehenna never ends (Tos. Sanh. xiii 5).¹⁸⁴ This reaction will have been intensified by the Roman closure of the temple of Onias in Egypt in 73 (Josephus, *B.J.* vii 320–36, discussed above); its repute is evident from the Mishnah (Men. xiii 10) as well as Josephus.

The comfort for this loss offered at the time in attachment to the law and works of loving-kindness has justly become famous. 'Though we are deprived of wealth and cities and all good things, the law at least abides immortal for us' (Josephus, *Ap.* ii 277); 'we have nothing now but the Mighty One and his law' (II Baruch 85:3); 'Grieve not, my son, said R. Johanan b. Zaccai [to R. Joshua b. Hananiah], we have an atonement equal to the temple, the doing of loving deeds, as it is said, I desire love, and not sacrifice' (Hosea 6:6) (Aboth de-R. Nathan (version i), iv, 11a, quoted above). This comfort was real, and in the long term it helped to mould Jewish life; but the sense of loss was also retained in the long term, embedded in prayer, hymnody, and midrash, and it was especially bitter at the beginning, while the restoration of the temple could be reasonably expected.

The punitive measure associated with the loss of the temple, the new Jewish tax which replaced the Jews' own old half-shekel levy, will inevitably have been felt as a burden and an injury. This view is confirmed by Nerva's presentation of the removal of its 'calumnia' as a favour to Jews, and by the way in which the new tax figures in cutting references to Jews (Martial, the pagan in Minucius Felix, and Tertullian, all cited above).¹⁸⁵ In rabbinic literature, however, its burden is in some sense made bearable as divine judgment, following biblical presentations of foreign rule as providential punishment and discipline, in an interpretation of Israel's oppression attributed to Johanan b. Zaccai: 'You would not pay the beka a head to Heaven, now you pay fifteen shekels under the government of

¹⁸⁴ Laments for Jerusalem and the temple are studied by P. Bogaert (ed.), *L'apocalypse syriaque de Baruch* (Sources chrétiennes 144–5, 2 vols., Paris, 1969), i, 127–57; P. Kuhn, *Gottes Trauer und Klage in der rabbinischen Überlieferung* (Leiden, 1978), 254–69, 351–4.

¹⁸⁵ Martial, vii 55, 8–9 (n. 108, above); Minucius Felix, *Oct.* x 4, xxxiii 5 (n. 86, above); Tertullian, *Apol.* xviii 8 (p. 117, above).

your enemies'.¹⁸⁶ Here the heavy current Roman tax – perhaps a number of taxes are viewed together – is retribution for unwillingness to pay the temple tax – the 'beka a head' (Exod. 38:26) – in pre-war Judaea. This interpretation follows the line of Deut. 28:47–8 'because you did not serve the Lord... you shall serve your enemies'. Here one glimpses the inner-Jewish forces making for acceptance of Roman rule, rather than rebellion, and another aspect of the comfort already noted – the attempt to stir response to the commandments of Torah within this setting; but the burden of the new tax is also highlighted. Yet the lamentations and denunciations cited above deplore the exactions of Rome in general, rather than this tax in particular; and the loss of the temple remains the central focus of grief.

The ruins of Jerusalem were garrisoned by the Tenth Legion, within the city wall on the western hill, in the Herodian towers and buildings south of the present-day Jaffa Gate (Josephus, *B.J.* vii 1–5). Jews still frequented the ruins, and a number probably settled there or nearby, drawn by the garrison's needs and the still-sacred temple site.¹⁸⁷ Regular sacrifice there is unlikely in view of laments implying its cessation (II Baruch 35:4, II Esdras 10:45–8).¹⁸⁸ A Christian legend, preserved by the fourth-century Judaeen church father Epiphanius and perhaps formed originally in Aelia Capitolina, speaks of Hadrian finding the city and temple destroyed apart from 'a few houses, and a little church of God', built on the site of the room used by Christ's disciples for the Last Supper and thereafter (the Cenaculum); in that part of the city, on the extremity of the western hill, near the site long revered as the Cenaculum, south of the legionary camp, and not far from the present-day Sion Gate, there remained parts of buildings and seven synagogues, one of which could still be seen in the reign of Constantine.¹⁸⁹ The gentile church of Aelia was claiming continuity with the earlier Jewish-led church of Jerusalem, and the narrative therefore

¹⁸⁶ Mekhilta of R. Ishmael, Yithro, Bahodesh i, on Exod. 19:1, text with English translation in J. Z. Lauterbach, *Mekhila de-Rabbi Ishmael* (3 vols., Philadelphia, 1933, repr. 1976), ii, 194, and with comments in Krauss, *Griechen und Römer*, 158–9.

¹⁸⁷ This conclusion is reached with emphasis on Josephus's failure to mention any prohibition of Jewish settlement by B. Isaac, 'Jerusalem – an Introduction', in CIIP i, Part 1, 1–37 (15).

¹⁸⁸ Despite 'I have heard a tradition that they may offer sacrifices although there is no temple', Mishnah, Eduy. viii 6, Tos. Eduy. iii 3, in the name of R. Joshua b. Hananiah; some individuals may have followed this view, but regular continuation of sacrifices is unlikely. A case for it was argued by K. W. Clark, 'Worship in the Jerusalem Temple after 70', *NTS* vi (1959–60), 269–80, discussed by Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 347–8.

¹⁸⁹ Epiphanius, *Mens. et Pond.* xiv, paralleled in the later *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*; the building regarded as the sole survivor of seven synagogues is also mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim of 333, in *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, 592–3, translated and discussed by J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels* (London, 1971), 38, 158.

cannot be pressed; but it shows that it was not implausible to envisage remains of the city near the legionary camp as still in use by Jews. The Aelian tradition of Jewish bishops in Jerusalem before 135 reported by Eusebius from written sources (*H.E.* iv 5, 1–4) is likewise claiming continuity, and must be viewed with caution; but it is consistent with the likelihood noted already of Jewish settlement in the ruined city after 70.¹⁹⁰

Near Jerusalem, about a mile and a half from the legionary camp, a legionary tiler, pottery workshop and brick kilns were established after 70 as a development of existing workshops just south of the road to Colonia (Mozah), Emmaus (Nicopolis) and Joppa, at present-day Giv'at Ram (Sheikh Badr), by the site of the conference centre of Binyanei ha-Uma.¹⁹¹ Residents here may now have been mainly connected with the army, but Jewish inhabitants in the vicinity of Jerusalem may eventually have been more numerous than is often thought, for remains of an urban settlement excavated between 2003 and 2007 about three miles north of Jerusalem at present-day Shuafat, by the Roman road from Jerusalem to Flavia Neapolis, are interpreted as showing that the residents were Jewish or included Jews; the settlement is dated to the late first century and the second century, and finds include a gold coin of Trajan.¹⁹²

Titus had allowed forty thousand citizens of Jerusalem to go wherever they wished (Josephus, *B.J.* vi 386). Their places of settlement are unknown, but within Judaea a number of towns and villages received refugees. The great names of the early rabbinic movement are heard of in the coastal regions of Lydda and Jamnia, where Vespasian had added well-affected Jews from other parts of the country to the large existing Jewish population (Josephus, *B.J.* iv 130, 444).¹⁹³ In the south-east, however,

¹⁹⁰ The source of the list is probably the late second-century Hegesippus, as argued by H. J. Lawlor in H. J. Lawlor and J. E. L. Oulton, *Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea: The Ecclesiastical History and the Martyrs of Palestine*, translated with Introduction and Notes (2 vols., London, 1927–8), ii, 167–70.

¹⁹¹ D. Barag, 'Brick Stamp- Impressions of the Legio X Fretensis', *Bonner Jahrbücher* clxvii (1967), 244–67; M. Fischer, B. Isaac, and I. Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea*, ii, *The Jaffa–Jerusalem Roads* (BAR International Series 628, Oxford, 1996), 97, 172–3; B. Arubas and H. Goldfus (eds.), *Excavations on the Site of the Jerusalem International Convention Center (Binyanei ha-Uma)* (JRA Supplement Series 60, Portsmouth, RI, 2005), 11–16; CIIP i 2, no. 754 (2nd–3rd-century clay stamp of X Fretensis for marking tiles, from the Binyanei ha-Uma site) and pp. 216–17 (introduction to fifth-century Christian inscription from the site).

¹⁹² R. Bar-Natan and D. Sklar-Parnes, 'A Jewish Settlement Revealed in the Shu'afat Neighborhood of Jerusalem', *The American Schools of Oriental Research 2007 Annual Meeting Abstract Book* (2007), 13; finds suggesting a Jewish presence are baths identified as ritual baths and stone vessels not susceptible to impurity, and the excavators ask whether the population was partly or totally Jewish.

¹⁹³ Rabbinic references to teachers after 70 in these towns and other places nearby (including Bene-berak near Joppa, and Emmaus and Modin in the hills) are gathered in A. Büchler, *The Economic Conditions of Judaea after the Destruction of the Second Temple* (Jews' College Publication 4, London,

Engaddi's sufferings both from the Sicarii of Masada and the Romans, the flight of its remaining population and its revival, probably for the sake of its balsam plantations, highlight the effects of war in Judaea as well as Jerusalem.¹⁹⁴ Jews throughout the world bitterly mourned, like Eleazar in Masada according to Josephus (*B.J.* vii 375–80), the loss of their holy mother city – ‘metropolis’ and ‘hieropolis’, in Philo’s words (*Flacc.* 46); in the land itself, where Jerusalem had been like the head of the body over all the region round about (Josephus, *B.J.* iii 54), the loss was also a physical and economic disruption of the Jews’ way of life.¹⁹⁵

Disruption after 70 in Judaea was less than might have been feared, however, with regard to the fundamental question of landholding. Here as elsewhere the principal difference between richer and poorer lay in the amount of land held.¹⁹⁶ Vespasian, says Josephus, ordered the general Bassus and the procurator Laberius Maximus ‘to dispose of [*apodosthai*] all Jewish land; for he founded no city of his own there, keeping the country for himself, but he gave a place for habitation, called Emmaus, to eight hundred discharged veterans only’ (*B.J.* vii 216–18). The land in question is best understood not as all Judaea, but as all the confiscated property of Jews who were held to be disaffected.¹⁹⁷ Vespasian could have retained it as imperial domain and leased it, and some judge that this is what happened.¹⁹⁸ *Apodosthai* is better rendered, however, as ‘to dispose of’ – by sale or gift.

1912), 18–22; A. Oppenheimer, ‘Jewish Lydda in the Roman Era’ and ‘Tannaitic Benei Beraq: A Peripheral Centre of Learning’, reprinted from *HUCA* lix (1988), 115–36, and H. Cancik, H. Lichtenberger and P. Schäfer (eds.), *Geschichte – Tradition – Reflexion: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag* (3 vols., Tübingen, 1996), i, 483–99, respectively, in Oppenheimer, *Between Rome and Babylon*, 47–65, 66–82, respectively.

¹⁹⁴ For this reconstruction see H. M. Cotton, ‘Ein Gedi between the Two Revolts’, *SCI* xx (2001), 139–54. The form Engaddi, attested with variations in Greek in Josephus and the Septuagint, and followed here, is probably not far from pronunciation in Judaea at the time of the revolts; in contemporary Semitic-language documents the place name is occasionally written as one word, as in Babatha’s marriage contract (Aramaic; P. Yadin 10, line 4) and in a Hebrew letter from Simeon bar Kosiba (P. Yadin 49, line 1). See also the Aramaic deed XHev/Se 13, of 134 or 135, line 5, one word, possibly Engadda (a form reflected in Latin in Pliny the Elder). See A. Yardeni in Cotton and Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites*, 66, n. 7.

¹⁹⁵ On the economy of Jerusalem and its dependence on the temple see M. D. Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judaea*, 51–75; Goodman, ‘The Pilgrimage Economy of Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period’, in L. I. Levine (ed.), *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (New York, 1999), 69–76.

¹⁹⁶ On land in the Judean economy see A. Chester, ‘The Jews of Judaea and Galilee’, in J. Barclay and J. Sweet (eds.), *Early Christian Thought in its Jewish Context* (Cambridge, 1996), 9–26 (12–14).

¹⁹⁷ So B. Isaac, ‘Judaea after AD 70’, *JJS* xxxv (1984), 44–50; the contrary view is exemplified in Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 520.

¹⁹⁸ So Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 512; Applebaum, *Prolegomena to the Study of the Second Jewish Revolt*, 10–12 (finding here an important contributory cause of the Bar Kokhba war).

This interpretation of Josephus's meaning accords with Greek usage and with the emphasis of this passage on the emperor's moderation. Moreover Josephus, when understood in this sense, is consistent with other evidence that Jews could own property in Judaea after 70.¹⁹⁹ This applies not only to wealthier landlords (like himself) but to the many who subsisted through the ownership and cultivation of a small piece of land.²⁰⁰

Vespasian, then, avoided the provocation of founding a new city on expropriated land either on the site or in the region of Jerusalem.²⁰¹ His city foundation of Flavia Neapolis, now Nablus, was in Samaria at Mabatha, strategically sited near Shechem and the holy mount Gerizim (the focus of Samaritan tendencies to rebel in 67), in the pass shared by east–west and north–south routes.²⁰² He also gave the title 'Flavia' to Joppa, which nevertheless continued to have Jewish inhabitants. Caesarea, always a Roman administrative centre, deprived of its Jewish inhabitants in the series of urban massacres at the beginning of the war, and a base for the army during the war, received the title 'Colonia Prima Flavia Caesarea', a corresponding new city constitution, and possibly the settlement of veterans.²⁰³ In the neighbourhood of Jerusalem and the Judaeian hill country, the final centres of resistance, there was, however, no large-scale city-building for the sake of security. Colonies of veterans on confiscated land were inevitably detested, but Vespasian's settlement named Emmaus near Jerusalem was small – probably at modern Qaluniya (Colonia), near biblical Mozah (Josh. 18:26), mentioned already, on the road to Emmaus/Nicopolis and Joppa.²⁰⁴ Contrast in Britain the 'strong band of veterans' who about twenty years

¹⁹⁹ On rabbinic passages, including Mishnah B. M. v 8, on Gamaliel II's tenants, and Tos. M. Sheni v 16, on Eliezer b. Hyrcanus's vineyard, see Büchler, *The Economic Conditions of Judaea after the Destruction of the Second Temple*, 30–9; A. Oppenheimer's communication quoted by Isaac, 'Judaea after AD 70', 48, n. 19; on these with other sources including Josephus, *V.* 422 (his own estate in the plain); Eusebius, *H.E.* iii 19–20 (members of the Saviour's family in the reign of Domitian own thirty-nine plethra of land), and iv 6, 1 (under Hadrian, Tineius Rufus enslaved Jewish property – hitherto then it was owned by Jews), see Isaac, 'Judaea after AD 70', 48.

²⁰⁰ On small owner-occupiers see Goodman, *State and Society in Roman Galilee*, 12, 31–5.

²⁰¹ For what follows see especially the summary by Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 347–9.

²⁰² Josephus, *B.J.* iii 307–15, iv 449; Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 520–1; G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (4th edn, London, 1910), 332–3 (the site of Shechem).

²⁰³ C. M. Lehmann and K. G. Holum, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima* (The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima Excavation Reports, 5; Boston, 2000), 6 (with reference to relevant inscriptions); H. M. Cotton and W. Eck, 'A New Inscription from Caesarea Maritima and the Local Élite of Caesarea Maritima', in L. V. Rutgers (ed.), *What Athens Has To Do with Jerusalem: Essays in Honor of Gideon Foerster* (Leuven, 2002), 375–91 (suggesting that the extent of the use of Latin attested by post-70 Caesarean inscriptions implies an influx of native Latin-speakers, probably veterans settled on former Jewish property); B. Isaac, 'Caesarea: Introduction', *CIIP* ii, 17–35 (22–9).

²⁰⁴ M. Fischer, B. Isaac and I. Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea*, ii, *The Jaffa–Jerusalem Roads*, 223–4.

before had taken land for their colony of Camulodunum, hated by the Icenii as the seat of their enslavement (Tacitus, *Ann.* xii 32, xiv 31; *Agr.* xvi 1). Lastly, the emperor permitted continuing Jewish property-ownership in Judaea.

Judaea and Galilee under Flavian rule nevertheless harboured much anti-Roman sentiment, now focused especially on the loss of the temple, as is suggested by the apocalypses already surveyed. Under Domitian, as noted above, the evidence for a strong military presence comes together with Christian narratives of Roman security and Jewish anti-Roman prophecy to suggest at least an atmosphere of unrest. On the other hand, Jewish response to the disaster of 70 included encouragement of acceptance of the situation as divinely over-ruled, and of renewed attachment to the commandments in the framework of obedience to Rome. In the background of this tendency is the considerable degree of loyalty to Rome manifest among Jews during the revolt, strikingly exemplified in Galilee by the adherence of Sepphoris to the Roman side throughout.²⁰⁵

Jewish–gentile relations

After 70, mutual Jewish–gentile hostility will have been sharpened, but it was still both balanced and exacerbated by a degree of mutual sympathy.²⁰⁶ Some Jews were more ready than others to encourage new adherents, but the corporate welcome to proselytes, based on the biblical welcome to resident aliens, was as warm as the corresponding dislike of apostates. Philo's welcome for non-Jewish incomers, and condemnation of Jews who fall away, are matched in the Twelfth and Thirteenth of the Eighteen Benedictions.²⁰⁷

Attraction to Judaism in the period after 70 was underlined with approval or disapproval by Josephus, Tacitus, Juvenal and others, as noted already. Gentile approach to the Jewish assemblies and customs could be described as 'God-fearing' or 'Judaizing'; both terms appear in Greek throughout the age of the revolts, and Juvenal seems to echo 'God-fearer' in Latin.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁵ E. M. Meyers, 'Sepphoris: City of Peace', in Berlin and Overman, *The First Jewish Revolt*, 110–20.

²⁰⁶ Rabbinic material is surveyed in R. Loewe, 'Gentiles as Seen by Jews after 70', in *CHJ* iii (1999), 250–66.

²⁰⁷ Philo, *Praem.* 152, on the exalted felicity of the incomer and the hellish gloom and doom of the apostate, exemplifies these attitudes; Benedictions XII and XIII begin with a curse on apostates and a prayer on behalf of proselytes, respectively, in the Palestinian text of the Eighteen Benedictions translated in Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, ii, 461.

²⁰⁸ 'Godfearers' (*sebomenoi* and similar expressions) in Acts (13:43, etc.), Josephus (*Ant.* xiv 110, xx 41), and inscriptions, including a third-century list of names from Aphrodisias in which some are

They come to indicate attachment not (yet) so fully committed as that of the 'proselyte';²⁰⁹ however, the interrelationship of the various terms need not be considered here, for the point is simply the constant attestation of non-Jewish attraction to Judaism. Gentiles, for their part, whatever their attitude to Jews who had given up Jewish observance, did not cease after 70 to notice – and often to resent – the lure of Jewish ways for gentile Judaizers.²¹⁰ This reaction is most famous in its Roman form, in which it becomes an aspect of the broader Roman hostility to the adoption of foreign cults noted above. To quote a passage of Juvenal cited already

Our Roman customs they contemn and jeer
But learn and keep their country-rites with fear;
That worship only they in reverence have
Which in dark volumes their great Moses gave.
(Juvenal, *Sat.* xiv 100–3, in Dryden's translation)

This most Roman complaint satirizes life in Rome itself, but gentile adherence to the Jewish body was far more widely encountered, especially in the eastern provinces of the empire.

Among the adherents one should also envisage some people of mixed Jewish–gentile descent, corresponding to the 'mixed multitude' of earlier Jewish history and tradition (Neh. 13:3, Exod. 12:38, Lev. 24:11–16); so Ephraim and Manasseh were offspring of the aristocratic mixed marriage of Joseph and Asenath (Gen. 41:45, 50–2). The importance of this intermediate group between Jews and gentiles is suggested by papyri and ostraca for Egypt, by Josephus for the Syrian cities, by the Acts of the Apostles for Asia Minor, and by the Mishnah for second-century Judaea.²¹¹

designated *theosebēs* (W. Ameling, *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis*, ii, *Kleinasien* (TSAJ 99, Tübingen, 2004), no. 14); see I. Levinskaya, *The Book of Acts in Its Diaspora Setting* (The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting, 5; Grand Rapids and Carlisle, 1996) 70–80 (Aphrodisias), 118–19 (Juvenal) and Williams, 'The Contribution of Jewish Inscriptions to the Study of Judaism', 82. Writers using *ioudaizein* include Paul (Gal. 2:14), Plutarch (*Cicero* vii 5, 864C), Josephus (*B.J.* ii 454, 463), Ignatius (*Mag.* x 3), and later Christian authors.

²⁰⁹ Thus in Juvenal the sons of a father who 'fears' the sabbath will soon be circumcised (*Sat.* xiv 96–9), and to avoid execution the centurion Metilius in Josephus promises to 'Judaize even to the extent of circumcision' (*B.J.* ii 454). On literary and epigraphic uses of 'God-fearer' see Levinskaya, as cited in n. 208, and on 'Judaize' S. J. D. Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1999), 175–97.

²¹⁰ Philo's nephew Tiberius Julius Alexander, prefect of Egypt, is described as Egyptian, not Jewish, in Tacitus, *Hist.*, i 11 and Juvenal, *Sat.* i 130; in the midrash, an apostate Jew serves in the Roman army (Ber. R. lxxxii 8, set in the Hadrianic period); a centurion paid the Jewish tax at Apollonopolis Magna (Edfu) in 116 (ostrakon in CPJ ii, no. 229).

²¹¹ J. Schwartz, 'La communauté d'Edfou (Haute-Égypte) jusqu'à la fin du règne de Trajan', in R. Kuntzmann and J. Schlosser (ed.), *Études sur le judaïsme hellénistique* (Paris, 1984), 61–70; Josephus, *B.J.* ii 463, on Syria in 66 ('Judaizers' exemplified by the person of mixed descent

Josephus's account of recent history leads him to notice Jewish relations with specific sets of gentile neighbours, especially in Syria and the Decapolis, within Judaea in Ptolemais-Acco, Caesarea, Jamnia, and other cities of the coast, in Samaria, Idumaea and Arabia, in Alexandria and Egypt, Cyrene, Asia Minor, Italy and Rome. Local as well as shared Greek and Roman characteristics are important, and relationships with local Jews in the wartime and post-war period could veer from some measure of co-operation to total enmity; a series of massacres of Jews took place in 66 in Syrian and Palestinian cities with a considerable Jewish population. In Antioch, where the inhabitants took advantage of the situation after the capture of Jerusalem to request the expulsion of the Jews, as mentioned already, many Greeks had been attracted to the Jewish worship – a point which doubtless, as in Rome, was counted against the Jews.²¹² The Antiochene request was not conceded by Titus, but it was symptomatic of a more widespread tendency in gentile cities with Jewish populations to trade on the public disapproval expressed by the desolation of Jerusalem and the new Jewish tax, in order to reduce or eliminate local Jewish influence – a political aim which was not new, but could now be advantageously pursued.

Josephus's writings in the eighties and nineties constitute a defence against attacks of this kind. Apologetic is one aspect of the account of Jewish history in the *Antiquities*, discussed above in connection with Domitian; it is particularly obvious in the later book against Apion, perhaps from the early years of Trajan, where Josephus gives a full rebuttal of Alexandrian polemic, including the allegation that Jews are not on a level with their Greek neighbours (*Ap.* ii 2–78).²¹³ Josephus also intended to allay hostility towards the gentiles on the part of the Jews. He cites those Roman decrees on behalf of the Jews which have been central in modern debate 'in order' (he says) 'to remove the causes of hatred which have been implanted in thoughtless people, among us as well as them' (Josephus, *Ant.* xvi 175).²¹⁴

(*memignenos*)); Acts 16:1 (Timothy, with a Jewish mother but a non-Jewish father, circumcised to avert prejudice); Mishnah, Yeb. ii 8 (marriage with a gentile woman who afterwards became a proselyte), discussed with other texts by Goodman, *State and Society in Roman Galilee*, 44–5.

²¹² N. 78, above; Josephus, *B.J.* vii 41–62, 100–11.

²¹³ On apologetic interests in the *Antiquities* and links with the later work see Barclay, *Against Apion*, xxiii; on the only partial relevance of *Ap.* to contemporary Roman concerns as shown in Juvenal and Tacitus, Barclay, *ibid.*, xxxvi–xl (contrast Goodman, 'Josephus' Treatise *Against Apion*', 55–7, on the need to counter anti-Jewish propaganda produced by and for the Flavians). Josephus was perhaps closer to Greek-speakers and to polemic current in Alexandria and the eastern provinces; see T. Rajak, 'Josephus in the Diaspora', in Edmondson, Mason and Rives (eds.), *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome*, 79–97.

²¹⁴ On this passage in the context of long-standing Jewish-Greek frictions, see Rajak, 'A Roman Charter for the Jews?', 121–3 (with her view that Jewish observances formed a particular object of

Rabbinic literature indicates the importance of a similarly irenic strain in Judaeon teaching (side by side with hostility to gentiles and to Rome) during the period from 66 to 135.²¹⁵ The need for conciliation is unlikely to have disappeared quickly. The atmosphere in which Jewish–gentile conflict broke out towards the end of Trajan’s principate begins already to be indicated in the later works of Josephus.

Divisions in the Jewish community

These differing Jewish attitudes highlight one last aspect of the post-war situation to be noticed, the divided state of the Jewish community. First, the division between wealth and poverty was wide, and the position of the poor could be precarious.²¹⁶ Even so, poverty was not necessarily greater than was usual in this period, but in Judaea it will have been exacerbated by the war, which had itself brought out some elements of social conflict. Continuance of such friction in the second century is suggested, for instance, by the plebeian traits in the portrait of R. Akiba in rabbinic tradition; leadership in the emergent rabbinic movement went more naturally with wealth and power, as in the case of Gamaliel II.²¹⁷ In Jewish Cyrene after 70, comparably, many of the indigent followed Jonathan the weaver (Josephus, *B.J.* vii 438–9, discussed above). The difference between wealth and poverty was counted by Aristotle among the regular occasions of sedition (*Politics*, 1303b), as a Marxist historian has emphasized.²¹⁸ It can hardly be identified as *the* cause of Jewish rebellion against Trajan and Hadrian, but it will have been an important contributory factor.

A second type of division arose from differences in the practice of Judaism. Particularly important was the difference between the zealous and those whom they considered lax. In the Maccabean traditions, national

dislike, compare Eph. 2:14–18, where the commandments are treated as a focus of Jewish–gentile enmity); Rajak, ‘Josephus in the Diaspora’, 92 (on Jewish political extremists as a target).

²¹⁵ De Lange, ‘Jewish Attitudes to the Roman Empire’, 264–9, including the consideration that the development of the traditions concerning Johanan ben Zaccai’s advocacy of conciliation with Rome in this period will not be utterly unrepresentative of views held during the war.

²¹⁶ Chester, ‘The Jews of Judaea and Galilee’, 14–16, notes the absence of a ‘middle class’ (see n. 196); the same point is made with regard to diaspora conditions, with discussion of contrary views, by J. J. Meggitt, *Paul, Poverty and Survival* (Edinburgh, 1998). Deteriorations in the already hard conditions of the Egyptian countryside in late Ptolemaic Egypt are judged to have played an important part in the outbreak of revolts by Vèisse, *Les ‘revoltes égyptiennes’*, 149.

²¹⁷ Thus Akiba is imagined as having said ‘not because he’ (the proverbially rich and aristocratic Eleazar ben Azariah) ‘is more a son of the Torah than I, but because he is more a son of great men than I’ – he takes precedence (Jerusalem Talmud, Ber. iv 1, 7d).

²¹⁸ G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (London, 1981), 71–80 (collecting Aristotle’s social observations, with comment).

deliverance had begun when Mattathias in his zeal slew an apostate fellow Jew, just as Aaron's grandson Phinehas had slain the apostate Zimri (Num. 25:7–8, recalled in I Macc. 2:26). A comparable division among Jews in Alexandria is imagined in III Maccabees; some Jews lapse under Ptolemaic persecution, but when better times return their more steadfast fellow Jews obtain permission to slay them (III Macc. 2:33, 7:12–15). In Philo and the Mishnah the zealous are similarly envisaged as killing those whom they believe to have lapsed or infringed the law gravely.²¹⁹ These traditions on lapse and its punishment will have helped to separate from the community those who neglected or avoided observance, a tendency rebuked both before and after 70.²²⁰ The division between zeal and what was thought laxity could overlap with that between youth and age, which Josephus highlights in describing inner-Jewish conflict between peace and war parties.²²¹ Another division over Jewish loyalty would have arisen with regard to Christians in or close to Jewish communities; this problem was prominent enough for Bar Kokhba to notice.²²²

A third type of division will have arisen from the disappearance of foci of authority. In his narrative of events after the capture of Jerusalem, Josephus makes no further mention of high priest or council; the only pre-war Jewish authority seen to continue is king Agrippa II. Gamaliel II and his circle gave rulings on matters of widespread concern, the calendar and Jewish prayer, and he was in touch with the governor of Syria (Mishnah, Eduy. vii 7); he might have gained in importance with the Romans after Agrippa II's death, but he is not depicted with the quasi-kingly state ascribed by Origen to the Jewish 'ethnarch' or in later sources to the 'patriarch', as noted in [Chapter 2](#). The Romans after 70 continued to rule Judaea through a Roman governor rather than a client king, but as before 66 they would probably still have valued links with eminent Jews who could encourage conformity.²²³

²¹⁹ Philo, *Spec. Leg.* i 315 (lovers of piety will take vengeance on those who tempt to alien worship), ii 253 (perjurers will not escape the thousands of watchful zealots for the laws, merciless guardians of the ancestral institutions); Mishnah, Sanh. ix 5 (zealots fall on offenders, including those who have sexual intercourse with pagans); for discussion see D. von Dobschütz, *Paulus und die jüdische Thorapolizei* (Erlangen, 1968); T. Seland, *Establishment Violence in Philo and Luke: a Study of Non-conformity to the Torah and Jewish Vigilante Reactions* (Leiden and New York, 1995).

²²⁰ Philo, *Migr.* 89–93 (neglect of sabbath, festivals and circumcision); Mishnah, Aboth iii 12 (neglect of festivals and circumcision, among other things; in the name of Bar Kokhba's associate Eleazar of Modin).

²²¹ Josephus, *B.J.* iv 128–34; for righteous youth against lawless age compare Ps. 119:100, Jub. 33:16, Wisd. 4:16.

²²² Justin Martyr, *I Apol.* xxxi 6 ([Chapter 1](#), n. 9, above; [Chapter 5](#), below, under 'Piety and Zeal', iii, Justin Martyr).

²²³ This is doubted by Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem*, 458–60, who envisages entirely unmediated Roman rule in post-70 Judaea; he takes Vespasian's gift of a new estate to Josephus to replace his

Nevertheless, the prestige of Gamaliel II or any other eminent teacher would have been limited among Jews by the expectation that the high priest and the council would soon resume their old authority with the rebuilding of the temple.

One of the two main purposes of Josephus's *Antiquities* was to explain the Jewish constitution, and he takes pains, for example at *Ant.* iv 223–4, to show that the Jews are governed by a high priest and council, with whom a king may be associated. The same constitution is upheld in *Contra Apionem*, in which Josephus presents this sacerdotal polity as a true 'theocracy'.²²⁴ It might be thought that he is archaizing, but the Mishnah like Josephus envisages the authority of a high priest and a king, with the temple and the temple services, and the Eighteen Benedictions end with the priestly blessing.²²⁵ The actuality of Josephus's presentation is also probably supported by the legend 'Eleazar the priest' on some Bar Kokhba coins, once more suggesting government by priest and lay ruler. The influence of this biblically rooted dyarchical conception was noted in [Chapter 2](#), and is more fully discussed in connection with Bar Kokhba in [Chapter 5](#). The post-war absence of high priest and council would then have been widely viewed as a temporary interregnum, a state of affairs in which divisions readily appear. Yet, as was noted in [Chapter 2](#), the lack of a patriarch in the third- and fourth-century sense and of a high priest in the old-established sense should not be taken to imply that there was no grouping of teachers with authority.

old landholding near Jerusalem as a sign that Jewish landowners were no longer needed to form a ruling class there; he stresses that Agrippa II, unlike his father, was not made king of Judaea, and he urges that Romans would not have given secular authority to religious leaders. Yet Josephus's own explanation of his new estate (*V.* 422, army use of his original holding) need not be generalized into a policy on the Jewish ruling class; Judaea had been ruled directly rather than through a client king for over twenty years before 66, Agrippa I's reign from 41–44 was itself preceded by over thirty years of direct Roman rule for Judaea, and Agrippa II remained on close terms with the Flavian court; moreover, the eminence and influence of Jewish contacts, rather than their 'secular' or 'religious' classification, can be expected to be the first consideration for Romans concerned with government.

²²⁴ 'Theocracy' (*Ap.* ii 165) can be understood as a new term for the sacerdotal polity commended in *Ant.* iv 223–4 (where reverence for the laws and the rule of God is secured by the king's deference to the high priest and the council); within *Ap.* it can then be linked with the later descriptions of high-priestly rule under God (*Ap.* ii 184–8, 193–4), culminating in the statement (194) that disobedience to the high priest is penalized like impiety towards God himself. This interpretation seems to allow Josephus greater consistency and coherence than the view that 'theocracy' here relates to the law and the rule of God, but not the priesthood, as argued in a full discussion by Barclay, *Against Apion*, 262–3.

²²⁵ Thus the high priest and the king are considered together and in that order in Mishnah, Sanh. ii 1–5; Hor. iii 1–3; the temple and its services are the subjects of Mishnah Yoma, Tamid, and Middoth, with many references elsewhere.

Some further light on the circumstances of the revolts is shed by local conditions considered in chapters 4 and 5. Now, however, some contrasting facets of their Roman and Jewish setting have been considered. To summarize, the negative side of Roman reaction to the Jews will have been intensified by the revolt effectively ended in 70, but it was not new. It included indignation towards rebellious subjects ('contumacious slaves', as king Agrippa puts it in Josephus), as well as dislike and disdain for Jewish rites.²²⁶ It was matched, indeed, by the continuing attraction of the ancestral Jewish law and custom for non-Jews. On the other hand it could include, partly because of this attraction, something of the fear induced by a multitudinous people regarded as alien. This did not, however, prevent the continuance of Roman satirical mockery of the Jews, and also of Roman protection for synagogues and Jewish observances.

Flavian publicity, conjoined with the Jewish tax and the desolation of Jerusalem, emphasized Jewish defeat but at the same time suggested Jewish strength, implicitly recalled the Jewish love of liberty, and depended on Jewish as well as non-Jewish support; its object was the glory of the Flavians rather than the degradation of the Jews and Judaism. Roman government evinces some detachment from the most negative aspects of public opinion; the desolation of Jerusalem and the temple were bitterly resented by Jews, but Roman measures taken as a whole were protective as well as punitive.

On the Jewish side, liberty had long been a great theme of Jewish 'philosophy', as Josephus put it, and widespread hopes for liberation and redemption were embedded in biblical interpretation and in Jewish prayers and festivals. Revolt coinage underlines the importance of these hopes. Yet they could be interpreted consistently with submission to Rome. Jewish-gentile relations were often a point of friction, and could plunge into the fiercest hostility; and inner-Jewish divisions, both economic and religious, probably gained in significance from a sense of interregnum, in the absence of high priest, council, or king. These conditions could favour the outbreak of faction and dissidence. Yet, as rabbinic sources suggest, Josephus was by no means alone in inculcating forbearance with Rome and the gentile world in the post-war period.

This view of antecedents of the upheavals under Trajan and Hadrian can be concluded by three more general comments. First, did the destruction of the temple bring a dramatic and almost total change in Roman attitudes and Jewish attitudes? The Roman anti-Jewish polemic which emerges after

²²⁶ Josephus, *B.J.* ii 356.

70 in Tacitus and Juvenal, including the charge of *superstitio*, is substantially anticipated in earlier writers; and the Roman ideology of empire is likewise continuous. On the Jewish side, similarly, from both before and after 70 there is evidence for a two-sided Jewish attitude towards Rome, both positive and negative.

There is no doubt that the loss of the sanctuary in 70 was grievous in the extreme, but Jewish attitudes to rebellion will still have varied, as Josephus shows. The later revolts then can be provisionally set in a context of mixed feelings, both Roman and Jewish. Jewish hostility and co-operation, Roman denigration and positive interest were all of long standing. Variation in Jewish opinion correspondingly needs further emphasis. The differences which historians like Baron and Schäfer bring to the fore are attested by rabbinic texts, Josephus, and Christian writings, and probably affected the diaspora as well as Judaea. The figure of Trypho in Justin is a standing reminder of the possibility that Jews with pride in their ancestral achievements and observances could still be unwilling to rebel.

Second, revolt and repression will have been accompanied and followed by forces making for revival, including the comfort for the loss of the temple service illustrated above. From the Flavian to the Antonine period, continuing attachment to ancestral law and custom is attested in Josephus and Justin Martyr. Institutionally this will have been fostered by the networks of teachers of the law on the one hand, and prayer-houses or synagogues on the other. Attachment to the law of Moses could coalesce with the messianic hopes which were part of the background and development of the outbreaks, but it could also encourage obedience to Roman authority. The approval of such co-operation in the rabbinic literature should not simply be ascribed to retrojection of later attitudes, for it coheres with the New Testament, Justin and Josephus. As these sources show, the conviction that Rome's authority comes by temporary divine permission – even though Roman rule provokes a hostility which some of the same sources can express – can be accompanied by the attitude that for the present one should co-operate.

Third, although rabbinic texts relating to developments in the years 70–135 can hardly support the theory of a patriarchate established at that time, and although rabbinic teachers were not necessarily central in Jewish society, they were probably not simply marginal. They cannot be identified as a body with the Pharisees of Josephus and the New Testament, but there is continuity between them and some pre-70 Pharisees, and Pharisaic views on scripture and tradition and on the after-life were upheld among

them.²²⁷ This estimate is suggested, again, by the contacts between rabbinic literature and Josephus (on the Pharisees, including Sameas and Simeon son of Gamaliel, and on the excesses of the Zealots), the New Testament (on Gamaliel, the Pharisees, and their authority), and Justin Martyr (on the authority of Jewish teachers). This then would have been a movement with widely revered teachers, who could include advocates of liberty from the gentile yoke (the Pharisee Saddok who co-operated with Judas the Galilaean would have been a forerunner of Akiba and Simeon ben Yohai) but who were often in favour of loyalty to Rome.

Teachers of this outlook would have helped to foster a peaceful *modus vivendi* and to confirm adherence to Judaism during and after the wars under Vespasian, Trajan, and Hadrian; and their influence, as Justin Martyr on Jewish teachers can suggest, would have extended into the diaspora. The prayer-houses or synagogues, as already noted, formed continuing foci of Jewish loyalty to the Mosaic law. The revolts then arose side by side with peaceful Jewish responses to the changed situation after 70.²²⁸

²²⁷ This judgment of S. J. D. Cohen, 'The Significance of Yavneh: Pharisees, Rabbis, and the End of Sectarianism', *HUCA* lv (1984), 27–53, is followed with differing emphases by R. Deines, *Die Pharisäer: Ihr Verständnis im Spiegel der christlichen und jüdischen Forschung seit Wellhausen und Graetz* (WUNT 101, Tübingen, 1997), 538 (the rabbinic movement was substantially a continuation of Pharisaism) and Hezser, *The Social Structure of the Rabbinic Movement in Roman Palestine*, 69 (some but not all rabbis were Pharisaic). Most of the other possible originating groups considered by Hezser on the basis of rabbinic texts – notably priests, zealots, Christians, *haverim* – were, however, probably already represented within first-century Pharisaism.

²²⁸ One may perhaps with due caution compare this side of Jewish reaction with contemporary Greek efforts to rediscover the political life of the city within the framework of acceptance of Roman domination, as discerned by P. Desideri, 'City and Country in Dio', 105–7.

Trajan and Hadrian

Trajan set out on a great military expedition to the east in what were to be his last years, probably in 113.¹ Its occasion was the news that the Armenian king had obtained his crown from Parthia rather than Rome. The expedition will have served Trajan's desire for fame, as Cassius Dio says (this personal element should not be ruled out), for it responded to Roman dreams of imperial expansion and victory over Parthia.² It may also have commended itself as an attempt to solve the problems of the eastern frontier, by asserting Roman power beyond the Euphrates.³ In this connection the campaign was in line with the reduction of the kingdom of Arabia to the form of a province in recent years (106–11) – a measure which may itself have been designed as part of a plan for conquest of the Parthians.⁴ In the event the campaign started to recall the Roman nightmares about an eastern threat to Rome.⁵ It was to be fatal to Trajan

¹ For outline and discussion see F. Millar, *The Roman Near East, 31 BC–AD 337* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1996), 99–105; Fündling, *Kommentar zur Vita Hadriani der Historia Augusta*, i, 358–60 (K 102, on iv 1). Both give 113 as the year of departure.

² Cassius Dio, *Hist.* lxxviii 17, 1 (the real reason for the Armenian and Parthian campaigns was desire for renown); 29–30 (Trajan's emulation of Alexander). This view may represent Hadrian's official verdict, as argued by F. A. Lepper, *Trajan's Parthian War* (London, 1948), 201–4, or simply the kind of popular verdict often evoked by costly wars, as suggested by J. F. Gilliam, review of Lepper, *American Journal of Archaeology* liv (1950), 154–5, repr. in Gilliam, *Roman Army Papers* (Amsterdam, 1986), 61–3 (62), noting the same explanation for Severus's Parthian war in *HA Severus* xv 1; but for its coherence with the claim that Rome was destined for world rule see Brunt, *Roman Imperial Themes*, 441–2, 472; and for its consistency also with the judgment that Trajan was now an old ruler in a hurry to surpass youthful exploits, see Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 376, followed with further arguments (Hadrian's appointment as commander in the east from 112; military themes on coins of 111–13; Trajan's father called *divus* in coin legends of 112–14) by Bennett, *Trajan*, 183–4, 189–90.

³ This was suggested as the main consideration by Lepper, *Trajan's Parthian War*, 120–2, 188–90, 205–6.

⁴ As was suggested by G. W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1983), 79–85; but Millar, *The Roman Near East*, 93 judged that the motives behind the acquisition of Arabia cannot be understood.

⁵ Horbury, 'Antichrist among Jews and Gentiles', 131; cf. Sib. iv 119–24, 137–9 (Nero's return with Parthian hordes), cited in [Chapter 3](#).

himself. If Dio criticized his emulation of Alexander, Renan likened his expedition to Napoleon's Russian campaign of 1812.⁶

Trajan proceeded through Greece and Asia Minor to Syria, basing himself at Antioch. The beginning of the campaign is probably saluted in a dedicatory inscription to him of 114 at Petra.⁷ He subdued Armenia and northern Mesopotamia, having had what was viewed as a miraculous escape from death in an earthquake while he was wintering in Antioch, probably in December 115.⁸ In 116 he entered the Parthian capital Ctesiphon, sacrificed at the site of Babylon to the spirit of Alexander the Great, and sailed down the Tigris to the Persian Gulf. Now, however, the resilient Parthians began to attack his forces successfully, and the conquered territories he had left behind him rose up against him.⁹ The Mesopotamian Jews also arose, Jewish risings had broken out in Cyrene, Egypt and Cyprus, and the stability of Judaea was imperilled. The fears which Philo in the past had attributed to Petronius, governor of Syria under Caligula, seemed likely now to be realized: a union of the Jews from all over the world, including 'the forces beyond the Euphrates', would be unbeatable (Philo, *Leg.* 214–17).

Trajan sent commanders to repress insurgence. His lieutenant Lusius Quietus quelled the Jews beyond the Euphrates, as Eusebius notes, and was then made governor of Judaea.¹⁰ Here the 'war of Quietus' was remembered with sorrow in the Mishnah, as noted in [Chapter 2](#), above. Trajan's health began to fail after his own vain attempt to put down rebellion in Hatra, in southern Mesopotamia. He planned another Mesopotamian expedition, but became so ill that he had to leave for Rome, giving Aelius Hadrianus (Hadrian) command of the army in Syria. Trajan died on the way back in August 117, at Selinus in Cilicia, and Hadrian succeeded him on 11 August; in Egypt a circular letter announcing the succession was already sent by Hadrian's new prefect, Rammius Martialis, on 25 August 117.¹¹

⁶ 'Trajan fit une faute qu'on ne peut comparer qu'à celle de Napoléon Ier en 1812': Renan, *Les évangiles*, 338.

⁷ S. Tracy, 'The Dedicatory Inscription to Trajan at the "Metropolis" of Petra', in J. H. Humphrey (ed.), *The Roman and Byzantine Near East*, ii (JRA Supplement Series 31, Portsmouth, RI, 1999), 81–8.

⁸ For the earthquake see Cassius Dio, *Hist.* lxxviii 24–5; the date in December 115, given by the Antiochene John Malalas, *Chron.* xi, was accepted by Lepper, *Trajan's Parthian War*, 24–5, 53–83, followed by Barnes, 'Trajan and the Jews', *JJS* xl (1989), 145–62 (152–5); Millar, *The Roman Near East*, 101. January 115 was preferred, with a query, by Fündling, *Kommentar zur Vita Hadriani der Historia Augusta*, i, 359 (K 102, on iv 1), citing H. Sonnabend, *Naturkatastrophen in der Antike* (Stuttgart, 1999), 50–2.

⁹ For these events and the sequel see Cassius Dio, *Hist.* lxxviii 29–30, 31–3.

¹⁰ Eusebius, *H.E.* iv 2, 5, and *Chronicle*, Trajan xviii, both discussed below.

¹¹ P. Oxy. 3781, in J. R. Rea (ed.), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, lv (London, 1988), 14–18 (noting that the short interval of a fortnight shows that Hadrian had not waited to receive senatorial approval).

Hadrian's first tasks included the final repression of Jewish revolt, especially in Judaea, Egypt and Cyrene.¹² To move now from Trajan's Parthian war to the Jewish risings which accompanied it, an overall view of their date, duration and character is offered first, and then events in the various theatres of war are outlined individually. Finally, the ethos and circumstances of the risings are reconsidered.

Date and duration of revolt

In Alexandria, Egypt and Cyrene the unrest began, says Eusebius, when Trajan was moving into his eighteenth year. This year would correspond in the main to 115, whether the regnal year is counted from Trajan's accession (27 January) or from the Tribunician New Year (10 December).¹³ At first the turbulence was factional strife (*stasis*) between Jews and their Greek neighbours; in the next year *stasis* escalated into war (*polemos*) (Eusebius, *H.E.* iv 2, 1–2).

This is the clearest dating and description of the outbreak of the rising in the sources, and discussion of it is considered below. Eusebius's concept of *stasis* mounting into war is probably derived from a source nearer to Trajan's time, but irrespective of this question it corresponds strikingly to the impression which earlier Jewish-Greek conflict in Alexandria had left on the imperial government under Claudius. In both cases, *stasis* leads to war. Here in Eusebius on events under Trajan, responsibility for the escalation is imputed to the Jews, but *stasis* similarly mounts towards war in a charge against the Greeks, in Claudius's letter to Alexandria from the year 41; there, in a passage quoted above in [Chapter 1](#), the Greeks are rebuked for disturbance (*tarache*) and factional strife (*stasis*), or rather war (*polemos*), against the Jews.¹⁴

The earliest sources attest the gravity and scope of the revolt, and its repression by Trajan, rather than its precise date. Year dates are lacking in papyri which unambiguously refer to the Egyptian rising, notably letters

¹² *HA* Hadrian v 2, on unrest in Egypt, Libya and Palestine at the beginning of Hadrian's reign, and Eusebius, *Chron.*, Hadrian i, on Hadrian's mastering of the Jews when they rebelled a second time (both considered further below).

¹³ See Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, n. 73. Eusebius's *Chronicle* date (Trajan xvii) appears to be a year earlier than that in the *History*, but the discrepancy is explained by the consideration that regnal years in the *Chronicle* are reckoned from the September after the monarch's accession, and in the case of Trajan would begin eight months later than a year reckoned from the January accession day; see C. H. Turner, 'The Early Episcopal Lists: i The Chronicle of Eusebius', *JTS* i (1900), 181–200 (187–92).

¹⁴ P. Lond. 1912, ed. H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt* (London, 1924), 1–37, republished by V. Tcherikover as *CPJ* ii, no. 153, at lines 73–4 ([Chapter 1](#), n. 9, above).

from the archive of Apollonius, *strategos* of the nome or administrative district of Apollonopolis of the Heptacomia, north of Thebes; he left home to take part in suppressing revolt.¹⁵ Thus a letter to Apollonius from his wife Aline, after his sudden departure for a situation in which he was in danger (CPJ no. 436), is dated only by an internal reference to a recent New Year; the year date 115 has been inferred from Eusebius on the initial *stasis*, but 116 would perhaps better suit Eusebius's attribution of war throughout Egypt to the following year.¹⁶

On the other hand, the relevance of one potentially important papyrus which does have a year date has been questioned. An early second-century Milan papyrus from Tebtunis in the Fayyum reproduces part of a decree dated 16 Phaophi (14 October) in the nineteenth year of an emperor who is probably Trajan, in connection with judicial procedures in a 'city', no doubt Alexandria, after 'the battle of the Romans against the Jews'.¹⁷ Now a 'judge sent by Caesar' is dealing with charges, and it seems that order for the moment has been restored. Those (Greeks) who bring groundless accusations are reproved. The fragmentary decree appears to be an edict of M. Rutilius Lupus, prefect of Egypt.¹⁸ Despite its reference to the nineteenth rather than the eighteenth year of Trajan, its Egyptian date suggests that it belongs to 115, for the Egyptian year in use under Roman rule begins on 1 Thoth (29 August).¹⁹

¹⁵ On the naming and situation of nomes under Ptolemaic and Roman rule see A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1971, here rev. J. D. Thomas), 295–301, 312–14.

¹⁶ For the dating of the letter in 115 see A. Fuks in CPJ ii, 233–4, followed by J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt* (Edinburgh, 1995), 200; 116 is preferred by Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 400, n. 40, because ostraca discussed below indicate that the Thebaid was unaffected until May 116, and (in line with her overall dating of the uprising) by Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 20–1 (here also allowing for 117 as a possibility), 168–9.

¹⁷ P. Milan Vogliano ii 47, republished as Acta Alexandrinorum IXc by H. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs* (Oxford, 1958), 59–60, 194–5, and as CPJ 435 by A. Fuks. The emperor's name cannot be read clearly; C. Gallazzi's re-reading of the original gives *Traeanou* 'of Trajan', A. Harker from a photograph suggests *Kaisaros* 'of Caesar', but Trajan is in any case suggested because a battle of Romans against Jews in Alexandria fits known events of the nineteenth year of Trajan, but not of the nineteenth year of Hadrian (135), and the Antonin[us] named in the fragmentary col. i, line 23 may be the Antoninus of the Acts of Paulus and Antoninus (CPJ 158), including reference to events under Trajan, discussed below. See Fuks in CPJ ii, p. 228; Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 137, n. 61; A. Harker, *Loyalty and Dissidence in Roman Egypt: the Case of the Acta Alexandrinorum* (Cambridge, 2008), 58–9 (but is his statement that CPJ 435 has 'internal references to several Alexandrian ambassadors from CPJ ii 157' a mistaken allusion to the occurrence of the one name Antoninus in CPJ 435 and CPJ 158?)

¹⁸ This suggestion of T. C. Skeat (who envisaged a Latin original) is followed by Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*, 195; Fuks, CPJ ii, p. 228 (comparing the Greek with that of known prefectorial edicts); and Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 137, 175.

¹⁹ For the year 115 and 14 October see Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 137, n. 61; on the Egyptian year in this connection, Méléze-Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt*, 199, 201, 237–8.

The situation of reproof to Greeks after repression of Jews which is reflected in this text suits the period of factional strife, *stasis*, which Eusebius ascribes to the first year of the revolt. Roman troops would have fought in a 'battle' to quell Jewish insurgence in the city in 115, somewhat as when two legions, and additional troops just arrived from Libya, fought and ultimately slaughtered Jews after an insurrection in the Delta quarter of Alexandria in 66; order was then gradually restored, but not without difficulty in calling off the Greek population who had followed up the Roman carnage and plunder (Josephus, *B.J.* ii 494–8). Now too in 115, Greeks would have attacked Jews in the wake of the 'battle' – the Roman repression of Jewish unrest.²⁰ This Greek attack recalled in the decree of 14 October 115 was probably not the Greek slaughter of Alexandrian Jews which followed the 'first engagement', according to Eusebius's *History*, for from the sequence of his narrative (*H.E.* iv 2, 2–3) that appears to be the first engagement of the 'war' which began, he says, in the following year of Trajan, that is after 10 December 115 (the Tribunician New Year) or 27 January 116 (Trajan's accession day).²¹

This connection of the papyrus with the initial *stasis* mentioned by Eusebius is doubted, however, on the grounds that the text reproves the Greek population of Alexandria rather than the Jews, that the sending of a judge by Caesar is not a reaction appropriate to revolt, and that the atmosphere of order rather than war is presupposed; this particular disturbance in autumn 115 belongs, it is suggested, to Alexandrian street rioting which need have nothing to do with the revolt.²² Yet the date itself suggests that rioting at that point may have been part of the *stasis* which could later be seen as leading up to the revolt, even though at the time it was treated officially as passing disorder; and the action of Roman troops and the need to restrain elements of the Greek population afterwards fully

²⁰ This view is exemplified in V. Tcherikover, *The Jews in Egypt in the Hellenistic-Roman Age in the Light of the Papyri* (2nd rev. edn. Jerusalem, 1963), xxi–xxii, 169; Fuks, *CPJ* ii, p. 229; Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 396. Greek attacks on Jews and their property against the background of Jewish depredations in the *chora* are envisaged, without definite identification of the 'battle' as a recent event, by Méléze-Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt*, 201.

²¹ The Greek attack implied by the edict was nevertheless identified with the Greek attack which followed the 'first engagement', according to Eusebius, by scholars including Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 395–6, and Harker, *Loyalty and Dissidence in Roman Egypt*, 59. Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity: Topography and Social Conflict*, 101, takes essentially the same view, but bases it on the garbled paraphrase of Eusebius in Orosius, *Hist.* vii 12, 7, discussed in n. 40, below.

²² So Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 265–7; Barnes, 'Trajan and the Jews', 153–4; Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 137–9.

agree, as already noted, with what took place in Alexandria at the time of the outbreak of revolt in Judaea in 66.²³

The situation of rebuke to Greeks rather than Jews has been interpreted as a sign that a Greek attack rather than a Jewish one is envisaged in the text, which need not then relate to Jewish revolt.²⁴ The connection of the reproach to the Greeks with the battle of the Romans against the Jews strongly suggests, however, a situation of Greek attack on the Jews following Roman repression of them, like that which is described by Josephus among the events of 66 in Alexandria. The association of the papyrus with the Jewish part in the initial period of *stasis* mentioned by Eusebius then seems the more probable assessment.²⁵

Another source discussed in connection with the dating of Jewish revolt under Trajan is formed by a series of ostraca recording payments of the Jewish tax in Apollonopolis Magna (Edfu), south of Thebes. The series breaks off with a receipt dated Year 19 of Trajan, Pachon 23 (18 May 116) (*CPJ* no. 229). This suggests, without certainty, that the revolt spread to the Thebaid about this time, but in any case does not date its outbreak.²⁶ The gap in payments of Jewish tax continues until the year 151, but is paralleled in series of non-Jewish ostraca receipts.²⁷

Then tantalizingly brief eyewitness references to the revolt as a 'war' (*polemos*) in the time of Trajan are preserved from Appian of Alexandria: on the demolition of Pompey's monument in the Nemeseion near Alexandria by the Jews 'for the needs of the war', 'when Trajan was exterminating the Jewish race in Egypt', and on Appian's own narrow escape by ship from Jewish forces near Pelusium, 'during the war which was going on in Egypt'.²⁸ Artemidorus of Daldis relates the dream of a Roman camp prefect

²³ Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity: Topography and Social Conflict*, 102, going back slightly further in time, rightly compares the similar earlier Greek reaction after Roman repression of Alexandrian Jews in 38, discussed below.

²⁴ So Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 138, 166.

²⁵ This is the view taken by Goodman, 'Judaea' (2), 670.

²⁶ Barnes, 'Trajan', 157–8, infers from the normality attested in May 116 by the Edfu ostraca and by a dedication to Trajan made at that time in the northern Thebaid (OGIS 677, discussed by Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 401–2) that the Jews of Alexandria and lower Egypt cannot have rebelled in 115, but in view of the distance between lower and upper Egypt this seems questionable; note the mention of Thebes and of the Thebaid separately from 'Egypt' in Josephus, *B.J.* vii 416 and Eusebius, *Chronicle*, Trajan xvii, respectively, and the weak hold of Alexandrian government over Thebes under the later Ptolemies (D. J. Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies* (Princeton, 1988), 153–4).

²⁷ Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity*, 412, n. 46, stressing that circumstances other than revolt may have affected payment.

²⁸ Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, ii, nos. 348–9, reproduced in Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 77–9.

which signified ‘death to the Jews of Cyrene’ in ‘the Jewish war in Cyrene’, without any further indication of date.²⁹ The Suda lexicon, perhaps from the eleventh century, quotes a sentence from Arrian beginning ‘Trajan resolved above all, if possible, to eliminate the nation entirely . . .’, which is almost certainly a contemporary reference to Lusius Quietus’s punitive slaughter of Mesopotamian Jews.³⁰ Finally, the Mishnah and Seder Olam probably allude to and date similar repression in Judaea under the name ‘the war of Quietus’ (M. Sotah ix 14, Seder Olam Rabbah 30).³¹

Two narratives in the Jerusalem Talmud (Sukkah v 1, 55a–b) and parallel texts, in the names of the second-century teachers Judah b. Ilai and Simeon b. Yohai respectively, deal with repression by Trajan in Egypt, with a hint at the Parthian war and the Cypriot revolt. They ascribe to Trajan the destruction of the Alexandrian basilica-synagogue of which Judah b. Ilai said, ‘He who has not seen the double colonnade of Alexandria has never seen the glory of Israel,’ and (in the second narrative, ascribed to Simeon b. Yohai) the slaughter by the legions of Jewish women as well as men in Egypt, until their mingled blood streamed out to Cyprus; Trajan’s wife is imagined as having told her husband, ‘Instead of putting down the barbarians, come and put down the Jews, who have rebelled against you’ – a remark well suited to the setting of the revolt in the Parthian war.³²

The process of repression by colonization in Cyrene already under Trajan is epigraphically attested.³³ In Cyprus, similarly, the dedication of a statue to Trajan at Soli in his twentieth year (reckoned there from September 116) suggests that repression was then already in progress.³⁴

Continuation of the revolt in Cyrene and elsewhere at the beginning of Hadrian’s reign is suggested, however, by the life of Hadrian in the

²⁹ Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, ii, no. 396, reproduced in Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 80–1; see p. 4, above.

³⁰ Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, ii, no. 47, reproduced in Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 77.

³¹ See [Chapter 1](#), above, n. 10.

³² For discussion of these narratives in the context of the revolt, see R. Loewe, ‘A Jewish Counterpart to the Acts of the Alexandrians’, *JJS* xii (1961), 105–22; Stemberger, *Die römische Herrschaft im Urteil der Juden*, 75–6; J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, ‘Trajan et les juifs: propagande alexandrine et contre-propagande rabbinique’, in J. Marx (ed.), *Propagande et contre-propagande religieuses* (Problèmes d’histoire du christianisme 17, Brussels, 1987), 7–31.

³³ The career of a camp prefect, L. Gavius Fronto, as recorded in a Greek honorific inscription from Attaleia in Pamphylia, includes his having been commissioned by Trajan to lead three thousand veteran legionaries to settle Cyrene; the inscription is reprinted in P. M. Fraser (with a note by S. Applebaum), ‘Hadrian and Cyrene’, *JRS* xl (1950), 77–90 (84, n. 37), and as SEG 17, 584, and discussed in Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 270, 287; Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 411, n. 86.

³⁴ Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 414, n. 103.

Historia Augusta, cited above, on the unrest in many places at the time of his accession in August 117; the Jews are not named, but the three regions named last and together are those otherwise known to have been affected by the Jewish uprising: 'Egypt was oppressed by factional fighting, and finally Libya and Palestine displayed a rebellious spirit'.³⁵ In the same Life, it was Hadrian who sent Marcius Turbo to Mauretania from Egypt, 'the Jews having been crushed', *Iudaeis compressis* (*HA* Hadrian v 8). The *Chronicle* of Eusebius correspondingly places in the first year of Hadrian the annal 'Hadrian masters the Jews who are rebelling against the Romans a second time'.³⁶

The revolt is therefore set in the last years of Trajan and the beginning of Hadrian's reign. Through Eusebius its beginning in Egypt can be set in 115. This is confirmed by the papyrus fragments of the edict of Lupus of 14 October 115, insofar as this text shows the quelling of Jewish turbulence by means of a Roman-Jewish battle, followed by Greek anti-Jewish disturbance, just at the time when according to Eusebius *stasis* was building up into war. In Egypt revolt would have reached the Thebaid about May 116.

As has appeared already, however, this view of Lupus's edict is contested, despite its date, and there are two main interpretations of the beginning and extent of the revolt. One, based on Eusebius and followed here, sees it as lasting from 115 to early in Hadrian's principate (August 117 onwards); the other, based mainly on Dio, dates it simply from 116 to 117 (and may be combined with the view that it began in the east).³⁷

A next step, therefore, is to compare the more extended narratives by Cassius Dio in the early third century (as epitomized by Xiphilinus in the eleventh), and by Eusebius, both in the *Chronicle* and in the *Ecclesiastical History*, at the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century.

³⁵ This interpretation is given by W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus* (Leipzig, 1907), 50–3, followed by (among others) Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 232–4 (noting the coherence of this passage with other sources); on the historical value of this Life see Chapter 2, n. 28, above. 'Displayed a rebellious spirit' (*rebelles animos efferebant*) may mean something less than full revolt, as noted by T. Liebmann-Frankfort, 'Les juifs dans l'Histoire Auguste', *Latomus* xxxiii (1974), 597–607 (581–2); but it still means something other than 'all quiet' (*quies*).

³⁶ On this annal see n. 45, below.

³⁷ For the first view see for example U. Wilcken, *Die Bremer Papyri* (Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1936, No. 2; Berlin, 1937), p. 15; A. Fuks in CPJ ii, p. 225; Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 399–404; Horbury, 'The Beginnings of the Jewish Revolt under Trajan'; for the second view see Barnes, 'Trajan and the Jews'; Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*; Pucci Ben Zeev, 'The Uprisings in the Jewish Diaspora, 116–117', in Katz (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, iv, 93–104; R. Kerkelager, 'The Jews in Egypt and Cyrenaica, 66 – c.235 CE', in Katz (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, iv, 53–68 (59–60).

A general sketch of both authors as sources for the revolts was given in [Chapter 2](#), above.

The almost journalistic account by Orosius, in the early fifth century, has often been cited as if it were a third independent witness.³⁸ As noted in [Chapter 2](#), however, it is derivative from other known sources; it seems to be wholly drawn from Eusebius, whose *Chronicle* and *History* were known to Orosius in the Latin versions by Jerome and Rufinus.³⁹ The narrative presented by Orosius (*Hist.* vii 12, 6–8) follows Eusebius's *Chronicle*, with one rearrangement (the incorporation of a relevant annal of Hadrian), two likely allusions to the *History*, and stronger and more colourful vocabulary.⁴⁰ It is characteristic that whereas, in the relatively toneless record of the *Chronicle*, the Jews 'strive in great sedition', *magna seditione contendunt*, in Orosius they 'troubled' the various regions 'with bloody seditions', *cruentis seditionibus turbaverunt* (Orosius, *Hist.* vii 12, 7). He vigorously enlivens his material, but should not be taken for an independent source. His lack of immediacy was evoked in H. H. Milman's comment, 'Orosius describes the Jewish insurrection in his vague way'.⁴¹

To return then first to Eusebius's two accounts, he says in his *History* (i 1, 6) that he is giving a full account of history already summarized in his *Chronici Canones* or *Chronological Canons*, the second and major part of

³⁸ Orosius is treated in this way by authors including V. Tcherikover, *CPJ* i, p.87; A. Fuks, 'Aspects of the Jewish Revolt in AD 115–117' *JRS* li (1961), 98–104 (98–9, 102–3); and the revisers of Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 530–2, nn. 74, 75, 79, 81, 83 (quotations taken over without reproduction of Schürer's own warning that Orosius is derivative, cited in the following footnote).

³⁹ See [Chapter 2](#), above, with nn. 110–13, under 'Orosius and later ecclesiastical writers'. The individual debts are registered by C. Zangemeister (ed.), *Pauli Orosii Historiarum adversus Paganos Libri vii* (CSEL v, Vienna, 1882), 467; the general debt to Eusebius's *Chronicle* was noted by Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* (3rd–4th edn, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1901–9), i, 661 (omitted from the revised English translation), and to both Eusebius's works by L. Motta, 'La tradizione sulla rivolta ebraica al tempo di Traiano', *Aegyptus* xxxii (1951), 474–90 (474, n. 1).

⁴⁰ For the incorporation of an annal of Hadrian, see Orosius, *Hist.* vii 12, 6, on Libya as so depopulated that Hadrian had to colonize it (Eusebius, *Chron.*, Hadrian v); for allusions to the *History* in a narrative mainly following the *Chronicle* see Orosius, *Hist.* vii 12, 6 on Jews 'as if driven wild with rage', *quasi rabie efferati*, improving Rufinus, *H.E.* iv 2, 2 'as if shaken by some fierce and seditious spirit', *tamquam atroci quodam seditiosoque spiritu exagitati*; and Orosius, *Hist.* vii 12, 7 'but in Alexandria, when battle had been joined, they were defeated and destroyed', *in Alexandria autem commisso proelio victi et adtritii sunt*, combining *Chronicle*, Trajan xvii 'but the gentile party prevails in Alexandria', *verum gentilium pars superat in Alexandria* with Rufinus, *H.E.* iv 2, 3 *ac sane primo proelio Iudaeos secuta victoria est. sed gentiles, qui ex acie fugerant, inrumpentes Alexandriam Iudaeos, si quos forte inibi reppererant, captos interemere*, 'and indeed the Jews had the victory in the first battle; but the gentiles who had fled from the engagement burst into Alexandria, and captured and killed any Jews whom they chanced to find there' (conflation of Eusebius's *Chronicle* and Rufinus here thus seems more likely than the view that an independent report of another conflict was used, noted but not definitely favoured by Pucci, *Rivolta*, 55–7).

⁴¹ Milman, *The History of the Jews*, ii, 130, n. 3 (from book xviii).

his *Chronicle*. The *Canons* are mentioned as already written in his *Prophetic Eclogues*, dated in the years 303–12.⁴² Books i–vii of the *History*, taking the narrative down to about the year 280, are mainly based on the same material as the *Chronicle*. Whenever the first edition of the *History* is dated, the passages on the revolt in both *Chronicle* and *History* are likely to reflect the material gathered in Eusebius's initial period of work, towards the end of the third century.⁴³ As mentioned in Chapter 3, he will have used the early third-century chronographic work of the Christian historian Julius Africanus, but for the Trajanic revolt he also used Greek historians (see *Ecclesiastical History* iv 2, 5, discussed below).

The relevant annals in Eusebius's *Chronicle* (223rd Olympiad, Trajan xvii–xix; 224th Olympiad, Hadrian i) may be rendered as follows, on the basis of Jerome's Latin version.⁴⁴

Trajan xvii. The Jews, who were in Libya, fight against their gentile fellow inhabitants. Similarly in Egypt and in Alexandria, about Cyrene also and the Thebaid, they strive in great sedition; but the gentile party prevails in Alexandria.

xviii. The Jews of Mesopotamia being in revolt, the emperor Trajan orders Lysias [*sic*] Quietus to extirpate them from the province. Quietus, drawing up a force against them, kills countless thousands of them; for this he is designated procurator of Judaea by the emperor.

xix. The Jews overthrow Salamis, a city of Cyprus, slaying the gentiles therein...

⁴² A. Harnack, *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius*, ii (Leipzig, 1904), 111–12 (dating the *Prophetic Eclogues* soon after 303).

⁴³ The first editions of the *Chronicle* and the *History* are dated before 293 and c.295, respectively, by T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1981), 113 and n. 68, 128–9 and nn. 9–10, and Barnes, 'Some Inconsistencies in Eusebius', *JTS* N.S. xxxv (1984), 470–5. By contrast, the first edition of the *History* is placed in 313–14 (the time of the second edition, according to Barnes) by A. Louth, 'The Date of Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*', *JTS* N.S. xli (1990), 111–23; he leaves open the date of the first edition of the *Chronicle*. R. W. Burgess, 'The Dates and Editions of Eusebius' *Chronici Canones* and *Historia Ecclesiastica*', *JTS* N.S. xlviii (1997), 471–504, places the first edition of the *Canons* in 311 and of the *History* in 313. With these datings of the *History* compare Harnack, *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius*, ii, 112–15 (composition lasting c.303–c.312/13). T. D. Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography and Roman History* (Tübingen, 2010), 43, n. 1, notes the strength of Burgess's arguments but adds that to place the conception and the whole of the composition of the *History* so late fails to explain why the narrative of books i–vii concludes c. 280.

⁴⁴ R. Helm (ed.), *Eusebius Werke*, 7: *Die Chronik des Hieronymus* (GCS xlvii, 2nd edn, 2 parts, Leipzig, 1956), 196–7; on Jerome's mainly reliable witness to the text, see A. A. Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition* (Lewisburg and London, 1979), 65–7. The Trajanic year dates accord with those in the *History* despite appearances (n. 13, above).

Hadrian i. . . . Hadrian restored Alexandria, which had been overthrown by the Romans, at the public expense. . . . Hadrian masters the Jews who are rebelling against the Romans a second time.⁴⁵

The more detailed narrative in Eusebius's *History* makes no specific mention of events after Trajan's death. It may be summarized as follows.

- (i) 'When the emperor was already moving into his eighteenth year' factional strife broke out 'in Alexandria, the rest of Egypt, and also about Cyrene'; it developed next year into war, 'Lupus being governor of all Egypt at the time' (*Ecclesiastical History* iv 2, 2).
- (ii) 'In the first engagement' of this war the Jews overcame the Greeks, who fled to Alexandria, and captured and killed the Jews in the city. The Jews from Cyrene, deprived of an alliance with the Alexandrian Jews, turned to devastating the Egyptian *chora*, 'under the leadership of Lucuas' (iv 2, 3).
- (iii) The emperor sent Marcius Turbo with foot soldiers, naval forces and cavalry; he waged a war with many battles, lasting no little time, against the Cyrenaican Jews in Egypt and against the Egyptian Jews who had joined 'Lucuas, their king' (iv 2, 3–4).
- (iv) The emperor, suspecting the Mesopotamian Jews of rebellion, ordered Lusius Quietus to purge the province of them; he slew an immense multitude, and for his success was made governor of Judaea (iv 2, 5).
- (v) Greek writers on the events of those times recounted them in the same words (iv 2, 5).

Cassius Dio and Eusebius differ widely in emphasis, but rest on complementary and consistent information. Dio (lxxviii 29, 4–30, 2), in his account of the Parthian war as mediated mainly by Xiphilinus, relates the

⁴⁵ 'A second time' (*secundo*) probably counts this as the second Jewish revolt against Roman rule. The later Greek annalistic tradition as represented in Syncellus has: 'Hadrian punished the Jews, who were engaged in factional fighting against the Alexandrians'; see Helm, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, ii, 588. This is likely to be an attempt to interpret the somewhat abrupt annals of Eusebius's *Chronicle*, Hadrian i, on the restoration of Alexandria (Syncellus perhaps knew the text attributing its overthrow to the Jews) and the repression of the Jews; Jerome's version of the annal on repression, very close here to the Armenian, will reflect the original. Against the preference for Syncellus in Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v, 543, n. 1, see Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, i, 665, n. 47 end (not included in the revised English translation in Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 530, n. 74) (the agreement of the Latin and Armenian versions of Eusebius's *Chronicle* shows that the original annal was on their lines); von Premerstein, 'Alexandrinische und jüdische Gesandte vor Kaiser Hadrian', 312, n. 1 (adding that Syncellus probably combines the annals on the Jews' destruction of Alexandria and Hadrian's repression of the Jews). This Eusebian annal probably refers to Hadrian's completion of repression in Egypt in general, and perhaps also Cyprus and Judaea, rather than Alexandria; it reflects information which also lies behind *HA* Hadrian v 8, where Marcius Turbo, 'the Jews having been crushed', *Iudaeis compressis*, is appointed to quell disturbance in Mauretania.

revolt of the captured eastern districts and its initial repression, without mentioning the Jews; a little later (lxviii 32, 1–3) he gives a brief account of the western Jewish revolts after his notice of the siege of Hatra, introducing them as events that were occurring ‘meanwhile’ (an excerpt on Lusius Quietus’s career and his governorship of Palestine (lxviii 32, 4–5) may also belong here); he then (lxviii 33, 1–3) recounts Trajan’s illness and death (117). His narratives of the eastern and western revolts can be summarized as follows.

- (i) While Trajan was sailing to the Persian Gulf and returning, all the captured regions rioted and rebelled, expelling or killing their Roman garrisons (lxviii 29, 4).
- (ii) When Trajan learned this, he sent Lusius and Maximus against the rebels. Maximus was killed, but Lusius, among other successes, recovered Nisibis and burned Edessa. Seleucia on the Tigris was burnt by Erucius Clarus and Julius Alexander. Trajan crowned Parthamaspates king of the Parthians at Ctesiphon, on the opposite bank of the river (lxviii 30, 1–3).
- (iii) Trajan besieged Hatra unsuccessfully, left, and not long afterwards began to suffer ill health (lxviii 31, 1 – 32, 1).
- (iv) Meanwhile the Jews in the region about Cyrene had put one Andrew (Andreas) at their head, and destroyed both Romans and Greeks. They ate the flesh of some, wore their entrails for belts, anointed themselves with their blood, and wore their skins for clothing; many they sawed in two from the head downwards; they gave some to the wild beasts, and made some fight as gladiators. Some 220,000 perished in all (lxviii 32, 1).
- (v) In Egypt they did many similar things, and in Cyprus too, with a certain Artemion as their leader; 240,000 perished there (lxviii 32, 2). For this reason no Jews are permitted to land on the island; even if cast up there by a storm, they are put to death (lxviii 32, 3).
- (vi) Among those who repressed the Jews was Lusius, sent by Trajan (lxviii 32, 3).
- (vii) By valour and good fortune in the Parthian war, Lusius obtained preferment including the governorship of Palestine (lxviii 32, 4–5).

The placing of the account of the western revolts in Dio at a late stage in the Parthian war, after the siege of Hatra, has been taken to imply that they must have broken out in 116.⁴⁶ It can none the less be argued that in

⁴⁶ So Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire from Caesar to Diocletian*, ii, 221–3; he held that the ‘eighteenth year’ mentioned in Eusebius’s *History* should be understood, in accord with the reckoning of Trajan’s years in the *Chronicle* although against its allotment of events to years, as the

chronology also the two historians are consistent. Eusebius includes in the revolt an initial phase of factional strife in 115, which in the next year (116) became war (*History* iv 2, 2); Dio notices the western revolts when they had already reached this second stage, of war.

This calls into question the simple rejection of Eusebius in favour of Dio, but comparison of Eusebius and Dio suggests a second point of importance for chronology. The overall outline of the revolt emerging from the relatively full report in Eusebius implies a duration for the revolt which suits 115 better than 116 as the year of outbreak.

The significance of this point can best be appreciated when the general congruence of Eusebius and Dio is remembered. The frequently complementary character of their testimony was noticed in [Chapter 1](#), above. On the revolts under Trajan they present an overlapping stock of information from different points of view. Eusebius made no use of Dio, as also appears from his narrative of the Bar Kokhba revolt. Both historians, however, are indebted to Arrian on repression of rebellion in the newly conquered regions of Mesopotamia by Lusius Quietus; the Jewish element in this eastern uprising is not specified by Dio, but after his account of the western revolts he mentions, without naming a place, that Lusius took part in repressing rebel Jews. Perhaps this is an echo of the report of Lusius's appointment to Judaea.

Dio and Eusebius both, however, mention Cyrenaica, Egypt and Cyprus as centres of specifically Jewish revolt. They both name a leader of the Cyrenian Jews, Andreas in Cyrene (Dio) and Lucuas in Egypt (Eusebius). These are often taken to be different names for the same leader,⁴⁷ but as Cyrene was still disturbed at Hadrian's accession it is natural to envisage one leader there, as Dio says, and another at the head of the Cyrenian Jews in Egypt, as Eusebius says. Dio gives the figure of 220,000 gentile deaths in Cyrenaica.

Eusebius adds special references to Alexandria and the Thebaid in the *Chronicle*, but in the *History* (by contrast with the *Chronicle*) he omits Cyprus. The *Chronicle* notice on Cyprus records massacre and destruction

penultimate year of Trajan's reign – 116; without this attempt at a partial reconciliation of the two sources, but opposing Dio to Eusebius, Barnes, 'Trajan and the Jews', 155–6.

⁴⁷ For example by Tcherikover in *CPJ* i, 86, 88–90; Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on the Jews and Judaism*, ii, no. 437, pp. 386, 388; Méléze-Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt*, 199; Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 159; and L. Gasperini, 'La revuelta judaica en Cirene bajo Trajano. Testimonios epigráficos y arqueológicos', in J. Alvar and José M. Blázquez (eds.), *Traiano* (Madrid, 2003), 155–71 (158, n. 1, suggesting a copying error in view of the closely similar or identical first and last letters in these two names of the same length); but the possibility that two different men are in question is left open by Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 259 and Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 397, n. 23.

by Jews at Salamis, complementing Dio, who notes the name of a Jewish leader in outrages in Cyprus (Artemion), the figure of 240,000 gentile deaths, and the subsequent slaughter and expulsion of Jews. Here, as in the case of the Cyrenian Jews, the two sources offer differing but consistent information.

Within this common framework, however, Dio and Eusebius differ in topographical focus. Both give fair detail on Cyprus, but otherwise their emphasis is not the same. Dio concentrates on the region about Cyrene, and the atrocities of the revolt there, led by Andreas (here his narrative recalls his account of Boudicca's atrocities, lxii 7, and his remark on the terrible things done in the bitterness of Jewish wrath in war against Sosius, xlix 22, 4).⁴⁸ In accord with the imperial interest which also marks his account of the Bar Kokhba revolt, he specifies that Romans as well as Greeks were attacked. Then 'the revolt in Egypt is dismissed in half a dozen words' (E. M. Smallwood), and Dio adds the fuller notice of Cyprus summarized above.⁴⁹ His emphasis on Cyrene recalls the independent importance of 'the Jewish war in Cyrene' in Artemidorus of Daldis, cited above.

In Eusebius's two narratives, by contrast with Dio, Alexandria and Egypt are central, and Greeks in general, without any special mention of Romans, are the object of Jewish attack. The Egyptian emphasis appears further in the special mention of the Thebaid in the *Chronicle*, and in the general perspective of the *History*; here the Cyrenaican Jews are prominent mainly because of their presence in Egypt, Cyrene itself is mentioned only generally in a passing phrase common to both the *History* and the *Chronicle* (*H.E.* iv 2, 2 'and also about Cyrene', *kai proseti kata Kyrenen*; *Chron.*, Trajan xvi, *apud Kyrenen quoque*), and the date is confirmed by Lupus's Egyptian prefecture (iv 2, 2). The *History* includes notices of factional strife and of military engagements in Alexandria and the *chora*, and of the protracted war waged on land and water by Marcius Turbo against Lucias of Cyrene and his followers (iv 2, 3–4). In the end, therefore, Eusebius in his two accounts gives a fuller and more detailed picture of the Jewish revolt, with special reference to Egypt but including its other theatres, than can be gained from Dio.

⁴⁸ See the comments on Dio in [Chapter 2](#), above, n. 36; the passage on Boudicca is compared by Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, ii, no. 437, p. 387. There seems no need to ascribe the Cyrenaic atrocity narrative to Xiphilinus rather than Dio, a view going back at least to M. Joel ([Chapter 2](#), n. 226, above) and sponsored by Méléze-Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt*, 202–3, but rejected by Juster, *Les juifs dans l'empire romain*, ii, 186, n. 9. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, ii, no. 437, p. 387, and Pucci ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 159–60.

⁴⁹ Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 393–4 (holding that what survives in Xiphilinus is only a short excerpt from a fuller account of the revolt by Dio).

Eusebius probably used the same collections of material for the *Chronicle* and the *History*, as noted already, but drew on them in different ways. He says that he is following the ‘very words’ of earlier Greek historians in this passage of the *History* (iv 2, 5). Arrian is almost certainly one of these, but the strongly Alexandrian and Egyptian interest evident in Eusebius’s material commends the suggestion that another is Appian of Alexandria, cited above (n. 21).⁵⁰ Appian’s lost book xxii may well have said more about the Jews.⁵¹ Eusebius would then preserve further important excerpts from an eyewitness source.

Eusebius’s concern with the Jews here in the *History*, his record of their successes, his knowledge of the name Lucuas, and the possible links between his narrative and the Acts of the Alexandrians indeed gave rise to U. Wilcken’s proposal, noted in [Chapter 1](#), above, that Eusebius used an Alexandrian Jewish source; hence (Wilcken suggested) he stresses his exact agreement with *Greek* authors, and hence he relates none of the atrocity stories found in Cassius Dio, who by contrast clearly draws on a source which was hostile to the Jews.⁵² Wilcken’s suggestion justly underlines the informative character of Eusebius’s report of Jewish disturbance in Alexandria and Egypt; however, the close knowledge of Jewish insurgence in Alexandria and the Nile Delta exhibited in the extant portions of Appian shows that an Alexandrian Greek account, and not least one by Appian himself, can well be envisaged as providing Eusebius’s ‘very words’. Similarly, the restraint of Eusebius as regards atrocity stories can be compared with Appian’s willingness to ascribe the Jewish destruction of the Neme-seion to ‘the needs of the war’ rather than mere hatred (Appian, *B.C.* ii 90, 180).⁵³ Eusebius’s stress on his agreement with Greek historians seems adequately accounted for simply by his self-awareness as a Christian rather than a ‘Greek’ (pagan) author.

The account in the *History* drops some material used in the *Chronicle* (the naming of Libya and the Thebaid, and the short account of revolt

⁵⁰ Appian is named as a possible source by H. J. Lawlor and J. E. L. Oulton, *Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea: the Ecclesiastical History and the Martyrs of Palestine* (2 vols., London, 1928), ii, 119 and Méléze-Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt*, 199, and confirmed as possible in fuller discussion by Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 164–6.

⁵¹ Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, ii, p. 178.

⁵² U. Wilcken, ‘Ein Actenstück zum jüdischen Kriege Trajans’, 479–80; Wilcken, ‘Zum alexandrinischen Antisemitismus’, 796; Wilcken, *Die Bremer Papyri*, 14 n. 4; his proposal was accepted by A. von Premerstein, ‘Alexandrinische und jüdische Gesandte vor Kaiser Hadrian’, *Hermes* lvii (1922), 266–316 (307).

⁵³ Wilcken’s suggestion was likewise rejected by Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, iii, pp. 27–8, on no. 562 (nothing in Eusebius’s account displays much sympathy for Jews or a manifestly Jewish point of view).

in Cyprus) but adds a note of Trajan's suspicion that Mesopotamian Jews might rebel. A further source available to Eusebius has been envisaged on the basis of these phenomena.⁵⁴ It seems better, however, to suppose that the *History* attests shortening by Eusebius coupled with one explanatory expansion (on Quietus).

The general congruence of Eusebius and Dio, and Eusebius's debt to earlier Greek sources, suggest that he should be taken seriously in his view (*History* iv 2, 1–2) that a Jewish tumult (*kinesis*), constituted by faction (*stasis*) against Greeks in Alexandria, the rest of Egypt, and Cyrenaica, escalated in the following year into war (*polemos*). His perception of an early stage of factional strife in the upheaval probably represents the view of an earlier Greek author, doubtless prejudiced on the Greek side but aware of a genuinely notable period of *stasis*. Jews and Greeks would each have interpreted their own part in the mounting disturbance as self-defence or reprisal for injuries received. The importance of the Jewish part in this disturbance is confirmed, however, by the mention of a Roman battle against the Jews in the edict of Lupus. Consequently, the beginning of the revolt can be set in the year 115. That its repression was not finished until after Hadrian's accession (11 August 117) is suggested, as noted already, by the *Historia Augusta*, together with Eusebius's Chronicle for the first year of Hadrian.⁵⁵

The rising as rebellion and war

The vocabulary used by Eusebius to describe the uprising suggests its gravity. It was rebellion which amounted to war and required war in answer. In the passage from the *History* already cited for discussion of date, this was a movement or upheaval (*kinesis*) which began with escalating sedition (*stasis*) against Greek neighbours, and became a considerable war (*polemos*) (Eusebius, *H.E.* iv, 1–2). Greek *kinesis* could be used for unrest in the same way as Latin *tumultus*, the word chosen by Rufinus to render it in his translation of Eusebius here.⁵⁶ Like the English 'upheaval' or 'disturbance' *tumultus* covered a wide range, from rioting to war, and Eusebius correspondingly defines *kinesis* further by means of *stasis* and

⁵⁴ Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 158 (laying weight not only on the place names but also on the omission of Cyprus in the *History*, and the mention there of Trajan's suspicion that the Mesopotamian Jews would rebel – two differences which might, however, simply arise from differing treatments of one common source).

⁵⁵ See nn. 35 (*Historia Augusta*) and 45 (*Chronicle* of Eusebius, Hadrian i), above.

⁵⁶ E. Schwartz, *Die Kirchengeschichte* and T. Mommsen, *Die lateinische Uebersetzung des Rufinus* (GCS ix, Eusebius Werke 2; 2 vols., Leipzig, 1903), i, 300–1 (iv 2, 1).

polemos. ‘Upheaval’ in the company of ‘war’ recalls Josephus on the first ‘war of the Jews against the Romans’ in Judaea (*B.J.* i 1, *polemos*), which was also an ‘upheaval’ (*B.J.* i 4, *kinema*); that was indeed in Eusebius’s mind (Jewish upheaval arose ‘again’, *H.E.* iv 1), but his vocabulary need not simply reflect Josephus, for ‘war’ as well as ‘upheaval’ also came naturally to those who were closer in time to the Trajanic uprisings.

Thus the eyewitness Appian spoke of a ‘war’ between Trajan and the Jews in Egypt, and Artemidorus, later in the second century, of the ‘Jewish war’ in Cyrene (see [Chapter 1](#), n. 9, above); at the end of the century, again in Egypt, the people of Oxyrhynchus were recorded as having allied themselves with the Romans in ‘the war against the Jews’.⁵⁷ The corresponding Hebrew phrase ‘war of Quietus’, quoted already, circulated among Jews, probably with reference to events in Judaea.⁵⁸

Both in Egypt and Cyrene, however, the revolt could also be described as an ‘upheaval’. The Cyrenaic revolt figures in Latin inscriptions as *tumultus iudaicus*.⁵⁹ *Tumultus* was probably not an indisputably graver term than ‘war’ (Latin *bellum*, Greek *polemos*) – although Cicero had argued forensically for this view – for in Claudius’s letter to Alexandria, quoted above, *taraché*, which might well be rendered *tumultus* in Latin, is less strong than *polemos*.⁶⁰ In the late first or early second century a distinction seems comparably to be drawn between disturbance and (more serious) war in Dio Chrysostom’s speech to the Alexandrians, where they create ‘disturbance’ (*taraché*), but its repression by Roman soldiers gives them an unwanted taste of ‘war’ (*polemos*) (Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* xxxii 71–2).⁶¹ The

⁵⁷ P. Oxy. 705, of the year 199/200, republished by A. Fuks as CPJ ii, no. 450, at line 33.

⁵⁸ See [Chapter 1](#), n. 10, above.

⁵⁹ Particularly well-preserved inscriptions with the phrase *tumultus iudaicus* are reproduced in Lüderitz, *Corpus jüdischer Zeugnisse aus der Cyrenaika*, nos. 23 (rebuilt baths in Cyrene) and 24 (milestone on the rebuilt Cyrene–Apollonia road); for others from Cyrene see nos. 17 (the Caesareum *tumul[us] iudaic[o] dirutum*), 18–20a (more fragmentary, from the Caesareum), 21 (the temple of Hecate which *d[ir]utum et d[ir]utum erat*), 22 (the temple of Zeus, overthrown in the Jewish upheaval), 25 (milestone recording that Hadrian restored *viam quae tum[ul]u iudaico eversa et d[ir]upta erat*).

⁶⁰ Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 309 argues from Cicero, *Phil.* viii 1, 2–4 (there can be no *tumultus* without *bellum*) that the former was the graver term; but the orator is attacking a preference for the term *tumultus* which has been evinced by his opponents precisely because of the grave associations of *bellum*.

⁶¹ The disturbance has been identified as Greek-Jewish *stasis* between 105 and 112, the period to which H. von Arnim assigned this speech; Jews are not mentioned in the speech, however, and its date is uncertain, as noted by H. A. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs: Acta Alexandrinorum* (Oxford, 1954), 165–7. A date under Vespasian for the disturbance was suggested, following M. Rostovtzeff, by C. P. Jones, ‘The Date of Dio of Prusa’s Alexandrian Oration’, *Historia* xxii (1973), 303–9, identifying the Conon of the oration (paragraph 72) with Colon, prefect from 70 to 73. This would once again leave open the possibility that Jews were involved in the events (as in the disturbances of 73 described by Josephus, *B.J.* vii 409–19, *Ant.* xix 278–9), but would remove the

corresponding masculine noun *tarachos* occurs later, in a papyrus of the year 151 from the Fayyum, in what sounds like an official description of the Egyptian rising as the *Ioudaikos tarachos* – a Greek phrase corresponding to the Latin *tumultus iudaicus* attested epigraphically in Cyrenaica.⁶² *Tumultus* could certainly, however, refer if necessary to upheaval on the largest scale, as when Horace applied it to the invasion of Italy by the previously conquered Carthaginians in the Second Punic War (see Chapter 1, n. 47, above); in Greek compare Josephus's use of *kinema* for the large-scale Jewish war which broke out in 66. Moreover, *tumultus* also conveyed a sense of urgency, being used of a rising which needs immediate repression.

The nature of the repression in this case also makes the gravity of the rising clear. Eusebius's claim that it 'destroyed a vast multitude' of the Jews fits his own theme of Jewish downfall, but it also agrees with contemporary statements. Trajan was 'utterly destroying the Jewish race in Egypt' (Appian), and in Mesopotamia likewise he intended if possible 'utterly to abolish the nation' (Arrian).⁶³ Corresponding determination by an individual in the Roman army in Cyrene emerges from Artemidorus's story of a Roman camp prefect. Before distinguishing himself in the war, this officer dreamed of letters on his sword which turned out to stand for 'Death to the Cyrenian Jews!'⁶⁴ Ancient perceptions of the Roman aim as extirpation of the rebel communities fit Roman practice as already noted, but confirm the seriousness with which the outbreaks were taken, partly but not only because of their impact on the Parthian war.

speech from a Trajanic setting. The Vespasianic date for this oration is preferred, with bibliography of sponsors of this view and of the Trajanic date, by E. Amato in E. Amato and S. Fornaro, 'Einführung in Dions Reden 54, 55, 70, 71 und 72', in H.-G. Nesselrath (ed.), *Dion von Prusa: der Philosoph und sein Bild* (SAPER 13, Tübingen, 2009), 42–3, n. 118.

⁶² BGU 889, line 23, part of an excerpt republished by A. Fuks as CPJ ii, no. 449. *Tarachos* has been conjecturally restored as the Greek equivalent of Latin *tumultus* in three fragmentary Cyrenaic inscriptions (Lüderitz, *Corpus jüdischer Zeugnisse aus der Cyrenaika*, nos. 17 and 21 (both bilingual), 22), in accord with the surviving dative masculine or neuter ending of the adjective *Ioudaikos* in no. 21.

⁶³ Appian, *B.C.* ii 90, 180, in Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on the Jews and Judaism*, ii, no. 350; Arrian quoted in the Suda, in Stern, *ibid.*, ii, no. 332a.

⁶⁴ Artemidorus of Daldis, *Oneirocritica* iv 24, in Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on the Jews and Judaism*, ii, no. 396; the Greek letters were Iota, Kappa and Theta, standing for *Ioudaiois Kyrenaiois thanatos*. As the officer is said to have distinguished himself, and the passage concerns the fulfilment of his dream, this interpretation seems more likely than the suggestion that it heralded his own death and Roman defeat, advanced by Juster, *Les juifs dans l'empire romain*, ii, 186 and n. 10, followed by Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 311–13, and Pucci Ben Zeev, 'The Uprisings in the Jewish Diaspora, 116–117', 97. That the death of the Jews is implied by the officer's success was rightly noted by Alon, *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age (70–640 CE)*, 389–90, but he needlessly understood *Kyrenaiois* as a noun ('the Cyrenians') rather than an adjective qualifying 'Jews', and preferred textual witness which omits the Kappa and *Kyrenaiois*.

The rising as civil strife

The risings were thus clearly perceived as rebellion against the ruling power, in the west as well as the east. Yet in the west they were also a kind of civil war. Their roots were traced to anti-gentile *stasis* as well as anti-Roman feeling. Eusebius's words on the Jews in Egypt and Cyrene rushing into strife with their Greek neighbours 'as if caught up by some terrible (*deinos*) spirit of sedition' convey a *frisson*. Yet again this fits his own theme of Jewish doom, and also non-Christian Roman opinion on the Jews' capacity for 'terrible things' (*deina*), as represented in Cassius Dio on Judaea in the time of Sosius (xlix 72, 4, discussed in [Chapter 1](#), above). It is also, however, near to opinion from 'Greek neighbours' contemporary with the revolts. Apollonius's mother prays that the Jews may not overcome him.⁶⁵ Appian, fleeing through the night from the Jews in Egypt, despairs of himself if he is captured.⁶⁶ The atmosphere on both sides will have been electric. The escalating *stasis* of 115 can perhaps, with all differences, be illuminated by the 'great fear' of 1789 which, evoked by rumours of vagrant bandits and armed repression, stirred revolt at the beginning of the French Revolution.⁶⁷ In Trajanic Egypt and Alexandria fear arising from rumours of conspiracy and atrocity on the other side will have played an important part in the development of conflict.

Stasis in Eusebius's context thus has not just the general sense of insurrection, as when Josephus says that the anti-Roman *stasis* in Jerusalem in 66 grew too strong for the leading citizens to quell (*B.J.* ii 418), but also the particular sense of factional conflict between inhabitants of the same city or region. Such conflict between Jews and their gentile neighbours was familiar in the eastern Roman provinces, and was probably known at first hand in Rome itself.⁶⁸ It is particularly associated with cities, but in areas

⁶⁵ See P. Giss. 24, republished by A. Fuks as CPJ no. 437, a fragmentary letter of Eudaimonis to her son, at line 4. The first two letters are unclear. The paraphrase above follows the fresh reading of the first character as Epsilon (where Eta would be expected) by M. Pucci Ben Zeev, 'P. Giss. 24: A New Reading', *ZPE* clii (2005), 219–20, complementing her *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 171–3. The first word of the line is then a variant spelling of part of the verb *hettáo* in the sense of 'overcome'. This reading (with initial Eta) had been suggested by W. Clarysse because of grave doubts over the reading of the first two letters as *op-* (giving the sense 'roast', and interpreted as a sign of atrocity stories like those in Dio) followed by Fuks; but Clarysse's reading was in turn criticized as incompatible with the traces of the first letter.

⁶⁶ Appian, *Arabica*, frag. 19, in Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on the Jews and Judaism*, ii, no. 348 and Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, no. 49.

⁶⁷ G. Lefebvre, *La grande peur de 1789* (Paris, 1932), translated as *The Great Fear of 1789*, with Introduction by G. Rudé (London, 1973).

⁶⁸ See Horace, *Sat.* i 4, 143–4, where the Jews are a byword for mob pressure (*veluti te | iudaei cogemus in hanc concedere turbam*, 'like Jews we shall force you to give in to this crowd'); Suetonius, *Claud.*

with rural Jewish settlement could also affect the countryside, as appears under Trajan in Egypt and probably also in Cyrenaica and Cyprus. In Alexandria Josephus says that there had always been *stasis* between the local inhabitants and the Jewish residents, ever since, having helped Alexander the Great against the Egyptians, Jews received his permission to live in the city (*B.J.* ii 487). Jewish residence in Alexandria may have begun a little later than this, but friction between Jews and Greeks here was indeed probably of long standing.⁶⁹

The horrors of *stasis* within a community formed a literary topic classically presented by Thucydides; the spread of faction is characterized, he says, by ever-increasing ingenuity in aggression and atrocity in reprisals (iii 82, 3).⁷⁰ His description helped to mould Josephus's equally influential account of Jewish internal *stasis*, especially in Jerusalem under siege, as the ruin of the Jewish cause.⁷¹ However well-worn the Thucydidean condemnation became, its observations remained true to life.

On the other hand, within both Greek and Jewish traditions there were glorifications of patriotic partisanship in *stasis*. The Acts of the Alexandrians, on the Greek side, are matched within Jewish tradition by Esther and III Maccabees, both on gentile conspiracy against diaspora Jews and its reversal. Thus the book of Esther culminates in royal permission for the Jews to kill their hostile gentile neighbours throughout the Persian realms, and the institution of the commemorative festival of Purim (*Est.* 8:9–9:19); it was read in Greek, and the name borne by its hero Mardocheus is attested in a Ptolemaic Alexandrian epitaph.⁷² III Maccabees, an originally

xxv 4, discussed by Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, ii, no. 307, pp. 113–17 (the Roman Jews under Claudius were *assidue tumultuantes*, 'constantly in uproar', words which remain relevant even if, as seems likely, Christian activity is implied by the preceding phrase *impulsore Chresto*, 'at the instigation of Chrestus').

⁶⁹ On the other side, Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, i, 88 stresses that the first surviving signs of their mutual hostility are from the early first century BC; Méléze-Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt*, 157 contrasts Ptolemaic Greek-Jewish relations (peaceful, with a few clouds of hostility on the horizon) with the situation in Roman Egypt; and W. Ameling, "Market-place" und Gewalt. Die Juden in Alexandria, 38 n. Chr., *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft* N.F. xxvi (2003), 71–123, warns against the assumption that a long history of Jewish-Greek conflict preceded the events of 38–41. Yet the earlier signs of antipathy to Jews among Greeks in Egypt, from Hecataeus and Manetho onwards (see Schäfer, *Judeophobia*, 163–9; Greeks drew on Egyptian allegations about Jewish origins) make it likely that, as Josephus held, there was equally long-standing tension in Alexandria too.

⁷⁰ C. W. Macleod, 'Thucydides on Faction (3.82–3)', reprinted from *PCPS* N.S. xxv (1979), 52–68, in C. Macleod, *Collected Essays* (Oxford, 1983), 123–39.

⁷¹ Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judaea*, 19–20, 199, 211, on passages including *B.J.* iv 132–3, 388; A. Galimberti, 'Flavio Giuseppe e Tuciddide', in Troiani and Zecchini (eds.), *La cultura storica nei due primi secoli dell'impero romano*, 173–88 (180–6).

⁷² W. Horbury, 'The Name Mardocheus in a Ptolemaic Inscription', *VT* xli (1991), 220–6; Horbury and Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt*, pp. 15–16, no. 10.

Greek composition purporting to describe events under Ptolemy Philopator in Alexandria, has a different emphasis; the king, encouraged by his flatterers, seeks to enslave the Egyptian Jews, unless they will accept initiation into the rites of Bacchus, and decides ultimately to massacre those who demur; but the Greeks of Alexandria (not always amenable to their kings) in this case sympathize with the Jews (III Macc. 2:25–3:10). The Jews, miraculously delivered, gain royal permission to retain their own way of life and to kill those *Jews* who have accepted initiation, again with a commemorative festival (III Macc. 7:1–22). If Esther vindicates the massacre of gentile neighbours who are hostile, III Maccabees allows that some gentile neighbours may be supportive yet vindicates the massacre of enemies within the Jewish community. The first, Esther-like type of *stasis* comes to the fore under Trajan, and it is likely that Jews who dissented from it were in danger of the internal vengeance which marks the second.

Under Roman rule, notable outbreaks of Jewish–gentile *stasis* had occurred in Alexandria from the time of Caligula onwards, and in Caesarea and the cities of Syria at the time of the First Revolt. The Greek city of Alexandria was intimately connected with the Egyptian hinterland, and Jewish intermingling and also friction with the Egyptians was a significant element in Jewish–gentile strife in Egypt.⁷³ This will have applied within Alexandria as well as beyond.⁷⁴ The Jews were proud to think that Alexander, the Ptolemies and Julius Caesar had employed them as garrison or in the field ‘against the Egyptians’ (Josephus, *B.J.* ii 487; *Ap.* ii 42–5, 61) – one typical employment for Ptolemaic troops in general.⁷⁵ Jews had ‘faithfully held the fortresses’ of Ptolemaic Egypt (III Macc. 6:25). Before that, the Persian rulers of Egypt had used Jewish soldiers similarly. Jews made a point of polemic against the Egyptian cities and their idolatry, as

⁷³ J. Yoyotte, ‘L’Égypte ancienne et les origines de l’antijudaïsme’, *RHR* clxiii (1963), 133–43; D. Frankfurter, ‘Lest Egypt’s City be Deserted: Religion and Ideology in the Egyptian Response to the Jewish Revolt (116–117 CE)’, *JJS* xliii (1992), 203–20; on intermarriage, Schwartz, ‘La communauté d’Edfou (Haute-Égypte) jusqu’à la fin du règne de Trajan’.

⁷⁴ Philo, *Flacc.* 17 (Egyptians kindle great seditions), 29 (Alexandrians resent a Jewish king because jealousy is an innately Egyptian quality); Philo, *Leg.* 166–70 (the Egyptian slave Helicon expresses to Caligula the anti-Jewish views in which he was educated in Alexandria); Josephus, *Ap.* ii 69 (Egyptian influx into Alexandria intensified anti-Jewish activity), discussed with other passages by Gruen, *Diaspora*, 63–5. For the numerical predominance and general importance of the Egyptians in Alexandria, and their intermingling with Greeks, see P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (3 vols., Oxford, 1972), i, 54.

⁷⁵ Under the Ptolemies the use of Jewish soldiers would have corresponded to Ptolemaic military employment of Idumaeans and probably also Samaritans, discussed by Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, iii.1, 42, 45 (here rev. F. Millar); for the Ptolemaic army serving against the Egyptians see Caesar, *B.C.* iii 110, 6 (the Lagid troops ‘had made war against the Egyptians’, *bella cum Aegyptiis gesserant*), discussed by Vèisse, *Les ‘révoltes égyptiennes’*, 73–4.

the Septuagint and the Sibyl show.⁷⁶ Correspondingly, Egyptian antipathy to the Jews is suggested for the Persian period by the sacking of the temple of the Jewish military colony at Elephantine by Egyptian rebels in the late fifth century BC, and then under the Ptolemies by the circulation of the earliest anti-Jewish account of the exodus in Greek under the name of the Egyptian Manetho.⁷⁷ Under Trajan, a papyrus letter records the use of Egyptians in the repression of Jewish rebellion, the only hope (says the writer) being the struggle of 'the massed villagers of our nome against the impious Jews'.⁷⁸

At the centre of Alexandrian *stasis*, however, was the strife between Jew and Greek. In propaganda, each side liked to associate the other with the barbarous Egyptians. Apion of Alexandria perpetuated the charge that the Jews were Egyptian by race, and was himself triumphantly branded by Josephus as 'the Egyptian Apion', 'more Egyptian than them all' (Josephus, *Ap.* ii 28–9). Such propaganda, exemplified on the Greek side in the papyrus Acts of the Alexandrians with their accusations of Roman favour to the Jews, accompanied a series of bitter Jewish-Greek conflicts. The Alexandrian pogrom under Flaccus in 38 was followed by armed Jewish outbreaks in 41, at the time of Caligula's plan to erect his statue in the Jerusalem temple, and in 66 and 73, at the beginning and end of hostilities in Judaea.⁷⁹ Civic tension as well as commercial counsel may lie behind the famous remark of a Greek wholesale dealer in a letter to his agent in Alexandria in 41: 'Beware of the Jews'.⁸⁰ In 41 and 66, as later under Trajan, the Alexandrian Jews confronted both Roman troops and Greek neighbours. The difference between these more and less disciplined classes of enemy is emphasized, not unexpectedly but not unrealistically, by Josephus on the year 66; the legionaries were called off from punitive killing, burning and plundering in the Jewish quarter, 'but the Alexandrian populace bore such excess of hatred against the Jews, that they were reluctant to be recalled' (*B.J.* ii 498).

⁷⁶ See for example Jer. 26:15 (46:15) LXX (Apis); Wisd. 15:18–19 (animal worship); Sib. v 52–92 (woes on Memphis and other Egyptian cities).

⁷⁷ Josephus, *Ap.* i 227–53 (extracts from Manetho, described (251) as 'what the Egyptians relate about the Jews'); Méléze-Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt*, 39–43 (the Elephantine incident), 136–41 (Egyptian nationalism and the Jews); Schäfer, *Judeophobia*, 163–9 (Egyptian roots of anti-Jewish polemic in Hellenistic Egypt); Barclay, *Against Apion*, 334–7 (reviewing interpretation of Manetho), 344–9 (Egyptian motifs in Alexandrian anti-Jewish propaganda in the time of Caligula).

⁷⁸ P. Brem. 40, republished by A. Fuks as CPJ ii, no. 438 and by Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 24–5 (incorporating a revised reading of line 5 by L. Koenen), at lines 1–5.

⁷⁹ Philo, *Flacc.*; Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium*, 114–34; Josephus, *Ant.* xviii 257, xix 278–9; *B.J.* ii 489–98, vii 409–19; Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 235–55, 364–8.

⁸⁰ BGU 1079 = CPJ no. 152; business dealings are in view, but the political situation is reflected, as noted by V. A. Tcherikover in CPJ ii, p. 33.

Comparable co-operation and difference between Romans and Greeks in Alexandria has been envisaged above in the *stasis* under Trajan.

At least two inner-Jewish dimensions of the conflict will have been of importance. The first applies especially to Egypt and Cyrene. Linguistically, as inscriptions and papyri suggest, Jews and their neighbours here shared Greek, and in Egypt perhaps often also Demotic; however, a number of Jews probably used Aramaic by preference, a feature which would highlight their immigrant status and associate them still further with Syria. Thus in Alexandria in 38, gentiles used the Aramaic word *Marin* 'our lord' to mock the Jewish acclamations of king Agrippa I (Philo, *Flacc.* 39).⁸¹

A second inner-Jewish dimension of conflict, applying more generally, is internal *stasis* arising from division between those in authority in the Jewish community and those zealous for attack on gentile foes. This division between notables and activists will sometimes at least have traversed the division between richer and poorer; Roman authorities suspected, probably not without reason, that wealthy Jews might freely or under threat sponsor street-gangs, bandits and revolutionaries, on the pattern highlighted by Josephus in Jerusalem under Albinus in the years 62–4 (Josephus, *B.J.* ii 274–5; compare the suspicions spread by Jonathan the weaver in Libya in 73, discussed below). Within Jewish tradition, correspondingly, the wealthy Pappus and Lulianus the Alexandrian, subsequently put to death by Trajan, are said to have aided immigration into Judaea (Ber. R. lxiv 10, discussed below). Yet, despite such patronage of insurgency, notables typically tried to keep their own people from riot and rebellion.

Thus, to exemplify the regular division between Jews in authority and their militant compatriots, in 73 some more highly placed Alexandrian Jews themselves attempted to calm Jewish unrest. They succeeded, despite the murder of prominent Jews by the refugee Palestinian Sicarii who were fomenting revolt among the wealthy as well as others (Josephus, *B.J.* vii 411). It is likely that eminent Jews were involved in a similar but vain attempt to quell sedition in Alexandria in 66. Tiberius Alexander the governor, Philo's nephew, had then sent 'the notables' – probably the principal Jews – to exhort the Jewish rioters (Josephus, *B.J.* ii 493). The Jews of rank in Cyrene in 73 denounced Jewish rebellion, as already noted in the

⁸¹ For Jewish use of Aramaic in Greek and early Roman Egypt see C. C. Torrey, *Aramaic Graffiti on Coins of Demanhur* (New York, 1937), 4–6; V. Tcherikover in CPJ i (1957), 30–1; W. Horbury, 'Jewish Inscriptions and Jewish Literature in Egypt, with Special Reference to Ecclesiasticus', in J. W. van Henten and P. W. van der Horst (eds.), *Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy* (AGAJU xxi, Leiden, 1994), 9–43 (12–16); W. Clarysse, 'A Jewish Family in Ptolemaic Thebes', *JJP* xxxii (2002), 7–9.

account of Jonathan the weaver; Jonathan responded, when captured, by accusing wealthy Jews in Cyrene, and then also in Alexandria and Rome, including Josephus, of taking part in sedition (Josephus, *B.J.* vii 437–50). These were false accusations, as Josephus naturally notes, but without some verisimilitude they would have been pointless. At Caesarea in 66 the Jews were divided, according to Josephus, into the steady and peaceable on one side, and the ‘factious and heated with youth’ on the other; the latter prevailed, and clashed with gentile Caesarean partisans (Josephus, *B.J.* ii 290). In Jerusalem in the same year king Agrippa II tried to calm the inhabitants (Josephus, *B.J.* ii 342–404). In Judaea between 70 and 135, comparably, a rabbinic source envisages R. Joshua ben Hananiah as calming Jews who intended to rebel (Ber. R. 64.10, discussed further below). The scene in the midrash recalls a literary *topos*, but it also corresponds to a situation which was familiar in life.⁸²

In the absence of a Jewish source describing the beginnings of the outbreaks under Trajan in Cyrene and Alexandria, it may then be surmised that Jews in authority in those communities again tried to restrain sedition, which may at the same time have been supported for one reason or another by some Jews of their own rank; but that peacemaking was outdone by zeal for rebellion, perhaps accompanied by violence, as had happened at Alexandria and Caesarea in 66, and had very nearly happened again in Alexandria in 73.⁸³

Jewish–gentile factional strife had accompanied the beginning of Jewish–Roman war in 66 not only in Alexandria and Caesarea, but also in the cities of Syria, including Damascus and, later, Antioch. A further impression of what was involved in the escalation of *stasis* against gentile neighbours under Trajan can be formed by analogy from Josephus on the Syrian outbreaks. Every city, he says, was divided into two armies, and the Judaizers (discussed above) were universally suspected; the barbarities already perpetrated were overshadowed by the dread of still worse things which were threatened (*B.J.* ii 461–5). Here an early stage of the situation is what in Ptolemaic Egypt is called *amixia*, a withdrawal from association with the other side, including where appropriate representatives of government.⁸⁴

⁸² For literary depiction see Virgil, *Aen.* i 148–53 *ac veluti magno in populo cum saepe coorta est | seditio . . .*, rendered by Dryden ‘As when in tumults rise the ignoble crowd, Mad are their motions, and their tongues are loud . . . If then some grave and pious man appear They hush their noise, and lend a listening ear.’

⁸³ G. Zuntz, reviewing Lüderitz, *Corpus jüdischer Zeugnisse aus der Cyrenaica*, in *JTS* N.S. xxxvi (1985), 432–5 (434), comparably suggested that in Cyrene a factious minority of Jews overrode a pacific majority.

⁸⁴ Instances are gathered and discussed by Veïsse, *Les ‘révoltes égyptiennes’*, 115, 118.

Then mounting aggression and threat is described; gentiles are mainly in view here in Josephus, but where both sides retained some strength these manifestations on one side would be interwoven with corresponding activity and threat on the other. Atrocities would in any case be understood by the perpetrators as reprisals. So in Alexandria in 66, in revenge for the capture and threatened burning of three Jews by the Greek mob, the Jews threaten a worse atrocity: to burn the Greeks assembled in the amphitheatre; 'and they would have done so', Josephus says, but for the governor's intervention (*B.J.* ii 492).

Cassius Dio on rebel atrocities

The list of atrocities attributed to the rebels by Cassius Dio, as reported above, in Cyrene but also in Egypt and Cyprus can best be interpreted against this background of *stasis*. The rebels 'ate the flesh of some [Greeks and Romans], wore their entrails for belts, anointed themselves with their blood, and wore their skins for clothing; many they sawed in two from the head downwards; they gave some to the wild beasts, and made some fight as gladiators' (Cassius Dio, *Hist.* lxxviii 32, 1–2, in Xiphilinus).⁸⁵ The account takes the form appropriate to a gentile complaint which can also serve as the justification for reprisals. The lack of a Jewish narrative noted already has perhaps deprived us of a corresponding Jewish list of gentile crimes. Earlier Jewish catalogues which can be compared up to a point with Dio's – this time, of gentile atrocities committed against the Jews – can be found, however, in Philo on the events of 38 in Alexandria. Here the list of crimes against the Jews committed by the mob includes 'manifold forms of evils', but specifically stoning, clubbing and dragging to death, stabbing and burning alive, and dishonouring of the bodies (Philo, *Flacc.* 65–71, resumed at 174). A list of anti-Jewish outrages attributed to Flaccus himself as governor comprises torture with lash, fire and sword – scourging, hanging up, torment on the wheel, and laceration – as a spectacle in the theatre, leading to the crucifixion of the victims (Philo, *Flacc.*, 85–6). Romans and Greeks are the victims in Dio, but (in the shape of Flaccus and the Alexandrian mob) the villains at this point in Philo.

The lists in both Dio and Philo are close to the form of a complaint from the community which suffered. Given the context of *stasis*, however, items in them may originally also have figured in boasts and threats from the side

⁸⁵ For the probability of the attribution of this account to Dio himself, in view of his treatment of the Jews and of rebellions in general, see p. 18, n. 36, above.

of the perpetrators. Thus cannibalism, the first outrage mentioned by Dio, is bound up in Greek anti-Jewish polemic with a myth of sworn Jewish enmity to Greeks (Jews are said to sacrifice and eat a Greek each year), and in Dio here the charge seems to have similar overtones; however, the repute of cannibalism was also sometimes claimed in order to terrify enemies, as part of a cultivated reputation for frightfulness.⁸⁶ The last item in Dio, wild-beast shows and gladiatorial combat, would form a fitting retribution for the similar fate of Jewish captives in Roman hands, for example at Caesarea Philippi in 70.⁸⁷ The list can in the end offer little more than a confirmation of the merciless character of the conflict, and its atmosphere of fear; however, that little more includes the coherence of a list of the kind which survives in Dio with the derivation of the revolt from *stasis* which is found in Eusebius.

The character of the rising

Jewish faction of the kind from which the war arose had regularly been a confrontation with Rome as well with gentile neighbours, as noted above with reference to Alexandria. In Caesarea it had been a contributory cause of the outbreak of rebellion in 66, and it was aided and encouraged by Judaeans Jews, as part of their war effort, at the beginning and end of this revolt.⁸⁸ In contemporary Jewish thought, correspondingly, gentiles in general are readily associated with the thought of Rome in particular. So in the Apocalypse of Ezra the gentiles, who though 'no better than spittle' and 'no more than a drop from a bucket' yet 'rule over us and devour us', are exemplified especially by Rome, viewed as the fourth Danielic gentile kingdom on the lines sketched in [Chapter 3](#) (see II Esdras 6:56–7, 11:39–46). The eagle symbolizing Rome, as in II Esdras 11, stood for a gentile 'nation' brought 'from far, as the eagle flies', as suggested by Deut. 28:49 'the Lord shall bring against you a nation from far, from the end of the earth, as the eagle flies'. This was the verse which the Egyptian Jews were studying, in

⁸⁶ Josephus, *Ap.* ii 95 (Apion alleges that Jews sacrifice and eat a Greek each year); *Ant.* xiii 345–7 (Ptolemy Lathyrus spreads the rumour that his troops are cannibals; for Egyptians as cannibals compare Juvenal, *Sat.* xv 78–83); for other uses of the rumour as a terror tactic see Barclay, *Against Apion*, 218.

⁸⁷ For this reason it has sometimes been taken as a genuine reflection of events, as by Münter, *Der jüdische Krieg unter den Kaisern Trajan und Hadrian*, 15; Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, iii, 222; Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v, 543.

⁸⁸ Josephus, *B.J.* ii 284–92 (Caesarea); ii 457–61 (Syrian cities); vii 409–19 (Alexandria and Egypt); 437–46 (Cyrene).

a rabbinic legend mentioned already, when Trajan landed with his legions to slay them (Talmud Yerushalmi, Sukkah v 1, 55b).

The character of the Trajanic revolt, then, as outlined here, begins to emerge from the vocabulary used to describe it; it appeared to contemporaries as rebellion on the scale of war, to be repressed by instant and ruthless war. The outbreaks were seen to originate in *stasis*, 'the most pitiless kind of war' (Plato, *Laws*, 629), and they inspired a corresponding fear. Faction divided cities and regions internally, and developed its characteristic escalation of barbarities and threats. In this respect, the revolt was a resurgence of earlier Jewish–gentile conflict in the cities. The initial character of the revolt as *stasis* helps to explain the failure of Jewish authorities to restrain it, and the tales of outrage told about it. Such faction also had an anti-Roman aspect, already evident in Alexandria under Claudius, and emphasized in the anti-gentile *stasis* which accompanied the rebellion of 66.

The inward character of the movement is less easy to recover. *Stasis* against neighbours, no less than the war against the ruling power which it became, could be linked by Jews with the traditions of Israel's deliverance. Esther and III Maccabees, the narratives of approved *stasis* discussed above, can be associated with the great original spoiling and defeat of oppressors, and redemption of Israel, in the exodus. Within the Jewish community, partisans who faced internal dissent could have emphasized this point. The Judaeian mottoes of liberty and redemption were probably in circulation.

Hence the *stasis* which developed into war could for Jews take on a messianic character. This topic verges on the question of the origins of the risings in a larger sense, which receives further notice at the end of the chapter. A sketch of Roman–Jewish interaction from the fall of Jerusalem to Trajan's earlier years was given above in [Chapter 3](#), and has now been supplemented by some characterization of the Trajanic risings. With these descriptions in view beside some possible modes of an internal affirmation of conflict with gentile neighbours and rulers, the theatres of war can be considered individually.

Theatres of war

The Levantine regions of Jewish revolt – Cyrene, Cyprus, and Egypt – had all once been under Ptolemaic rule. Association in Judaea and Syria between Jews from these territories is illustrated in the Acts of the Apostles.⁸⁹ The importance of Cyrene and Cyprus in the uprisings raises a question

⁸⁹ Acts 6:9 (Cyrenians and Alexandrians in Jerusalem), 11:20, 13:1 (Cypriots and Cyrenians in Syria).

about possible unrest in Crete. Crete had some links with Cyrene to the south, somewhat as Cyprus had with Egypt, and under Roman rule Crete and Cyrene formed a single province.⁹⁰ Yet Crete's political link with Cyrene was late indeed compared with that of Cyprus with Egypt, and cultural differences between Crete and Cyrene underline the point that trade seems to link Crete with Greece and Asia Minor, but Cyrene with Egypt and Syria.⁹¹ It is therefore perhaps unsurprising that the Jews of Crete seem not to have shared in the Cyrenaic and Cypriot eruptions. In the Herodian age some Jews in Crete had given financial support to the supposed Hasmonaean prince Alexander, and in the early fifth century some would follow a leader who claimed to be Moses returned to deliver them; but the silence of the historical tradition as mediated by Dio and Eusebius suggests, especially given its specificity on Cyrene and Cyprus, that no serious disturbance took place in Crete under Trajan.⁹²

Cyrenaica

The strong Jewish settlement in Cyrenaica in particular dates back at least to the Ptolemaic period and is epigraphically attested, mainly for the first century AD, in places including all five cities of the Cyrenaic Pentapolis: the city of Cyrene and its port Apollonia, and on the coast further to the west and south Ptolemais (governing Barca), Teucheira and Berenice (Benghazi) (see [Map 1](#)).⁹³ Still further west on the coast of the Syrtic Gulf, Jewish populations which might go back to the time before Trajan are attested by

⁹⁰ At least from 27 BC onwards; see Joyce Reynolds and J. A. Lloyd, 'Cyrene', in Bowman, Champlin, and Lintott (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History, Second Edition*, x, *The Augustan Empire, 43 BC–AD 69*, 621, 630–1.

⁹¹ G. Harrison, 'The Joining of Cyrenaica to Crete', in G. Barker, J. Lloyd and J. Reynolds (eds.), *Cyrenaica in Antiquity* (Society for Libyan Studies Occasional Papers, i; BAR International Series 236, Oxford, 1985), 365–73 (370–1).

⁹² Josephus, *B.J.* ii 101–3; Socrates, *H.E.* vii 38, both discussed by P. W. van der Horst, 'The Jews of Ancient Crete', *JJS* xxxix (1988), 183–200; on three Greek Jewish inscriptions from Crete (two given a third–fourth-century, one a fourth–fifth-century date) see also D. Noy, H. Panayotov and H. Bloedhorn (eds.), *Inscriptiones Iudaicae Orientis*, i, *Eastern Europe* (Tübingen, 2004), 249–53.

⁹³ On attestations of Jews in Cyrenaica see Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, iii.1, 60–2; Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 130–200 (including note of one or two pre-Hellenistic finds), with 348, Map 2 (distribution of Jewish settlement); Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora from Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE–117 CE)* (Edinburgh, 1996), 232–42; Barclay, *Against Apion*, 193 (urging that Josephus, *Ap.* ii 44 on Ptolemy I's settlement of Jewish soldiers in Cyrene perhaps rests on Ps.-Hecataeus, but may be invention; note, however, that the similar claims in the Letter of Aristaeas for Ptolemy I's military settlement of Jews in Egypt cohere with archaeological evidence, and were judged acceptable by Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, i, 57); on the Pentapolis, a name first mentioned in Pliny the Elder's phrase *Pentapolitana regio* (*N.H.* v 31) but probably current much earlier, see Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (2nd edn), 357–8 and n. 11 (part of a chapter on Cyrene revised for this edition by J. M. Reynolds).



1 Cyrene, Marmarica and the coast west of Alexandria

Procopius and the Peutinger map, respectively, in the smaller settlements of Boreum (Boreion) and, in eastern Tripolitania, Iscina.⁹⁴ Two Arabic toponyms mentioning Jews, east of Leptis Magna and again east of Iscina, have suggested the possibility of still further Jewish settlements on the western side of the Pentapolis.⁹⁵ To envisage these places from the point of view of a traveller eastwards from Roman Africa, in the Antonine Itinerary the route from Carthage to Berenice, Teucheira, Ptolemais, Cyrene, and thence to Catabathmon, Paraetionium (Marsa Matruh) and Alexandria passes through both Iscina and Boreum on the way between Leptis Magna and Berenice.⁹⁶ A sea journey might be preferred, as was later the case with a westwards traveller, Synesius, afterwards bishop of Ptolemais, who at the beginning of the fifth century describes what turned out to be a perilous voyage from Alexandria towards his motherland Cyrene, in a ship with a Jewish skipper named Amarantus and a partly Jewish crew.⁹⁷

The fertility of the Cyrenaic region and its large number of villages suggest that rural as well as urban Jewish settlement can be envisaged. This would be consistent with the likelihood that the Jewish population partly derived from military settlers, and analogous to the situation in Egypt; some Jews would have been found in the royal lands which later became public land of the Roman people, *ager publicus*.⁹⁸ Under the Ptolemies the Jews were one of the four parts of the population of Cyrene, according to Strabo, for Cyrene imitated Egypt in encouraging Jewish settlement,

⁹⁴ The Jews of Boreum under Justinian claimed that Solomon had been the builder of their temple (synagogue) (Procopius, *De Aedificiis* vi 2, 21–3, discussed by Lüderitz, *Corpus jüdischer Zeugnisse aus der Kyrenaika*, no. 76), and the place name Scina (Iscina) is followed by the phrase *Locus Iudaeorum Augusti* in the Peutinger map, which in general perhaps reflects second-century or even earlier conditions, as argued by Bowersock, *Roman Arabia*, 167–9; see R. G. Goodchild, 'Boreum of Cyrenaica', reprinted from *JRS* xli (1951) in Goodchild, *Libyan Studies*, ed. J. Reynolds (London, 1976), 187–94; Goodchild, 'Medina Sultan (*Charax, Iscina, Sort*)', reprinted from *Libya Antiqua* i (1964) in Goodchild, *Libyan Studies*, 133–42, with a reproduction of the relevant part of the Peutinger map at plate 58; Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 131 (Boreion), 230–1 (suggesting that Vespasian founded Iscina for Jewish captives); D. Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe*, ii, *The City of Rome* (Cambridge, 1995), 360–1, no. 436 (= CIJ 7) (third–fourth-century Jewish Greek epitaph of Aiutor, grammateus of the 'Seceni', whose name perhaps derives from the place name Scina/Iscina).

⁹⁵ P. Monceaux, 'Les colonies juives dans l'Afrique romaine', *REJ* xliv (1902), 1–28 (7).

⁹⁶ G. Parthey and M. Pinder (eds.), *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti et Hierosolymitanum* (Berlin, 1848), 27–33 (57–73 Wesseling).

⁹⁷ Synesius, *Ep.* iv (v), to his brother Euoptyus, in Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, iii, pp. 48–58, no. 569; for a survey of suggested datings see Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity*, 418, n. 61.

⁹⁸ Some Jewish rural population in Cyrenaica from the time of the Hellenistic settlements is envisaged on these lines by Reynolds and Lloyd, 'Cyrene', 629–30, cf. 625.

and in Egypt (Strabo goes on) land was allotted to Jews.⁹⁹ A straw in the wind blowing in the same direction is the image of Jewish rural settlement in the Christian legend of Saint Mark; in this story, as current in early Islamic Egypt, his father was a Jew, with the patriotic Hasmonaean name Aristobulus, who cultivated a landholding near Cyrene.¹⁰⁰

Jewish turbulence in Cyrene had occurred in the first century BC, as mentioned by Strabo in the passage just cited.¹⁰¹ It broke out again under the leadership of Jonathan the weaver after 70. On the other hand, members of the Cyrenaic Jewish communities participated in the general institutional life of the cities; inscriptions record Jewish names among the law-guardians (*nomophylakes*) and ephebes of the city of Cyrene, and the Jewish *politeuma* of Berenice voted honours to a Roman official, M. Tittius.¹⁰² These contrasting aspects of Cyrenaic Jewish life support the possibility of inner-communal division mentioned already.

One clue to the circumstances of the outbreak here in particular is offered by what J. M. Reynolds has called the 'clearly sinister sequence of events' involving Jonathan the weaver and his movement in 'the cities about Cyrene' in the early seventies (Josephus, *B.J.* vii 437).¹⁰³ His capture followed his denunciation by leading Jews; then, however, he in turn, encouraged by the corrupt governor Catullus, denounced such Jews as themselves disloyal, and brought about the execution of a large number of the better-off Jews (Josephus gives the figure of three thousand), and the confiscation of their property. One zealous high priest of pre-war Jerusalem, Ishmael son of Phiabi, was also beheaded in Cyrene, perhaps at the same time.¹⁰⁴ Jonathan implicated prominent Jews in both Alexandria

⁹⁹ Strabo, quoted in Josephus, *Ant.* xiv 115–18 and discussed by Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, i, no. 105; see [Chapter 3](#), n. 18, above.

¹⁰⁰ Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 196, n. 31, following R. G. Goodchild. See [Severus ibn al-Muqaffa,] *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*, i, *Saint Mark to Theonas* (300), ed. and tr. B. [T. A.] Evetts (Patrologia Orientalis i.2, Paris, 1904), 135–6; Severus (bishop of el-Ashmunein/Hermoupolis in the tenth century) wrote in Arabic using Greek and Coptic sources, but none were identified for his life of St Mark in the review of his sources by T. Orlandi, *Studi Copti* (Milan-Varese, 1968), 75, 81. The name Aristobulus could have been derived from the New Testament, but it is also a name which was in fact current among Cyrenaic Jews (Greek epitaph from Teucheira, perhaps of the first century AD, republished in Lüderitz, *Corpus jüdischer Zeugnisse aus der Kyrenaika*, no. 53c).

¹⁰¹ See [Chapter 3](#), n. 18, above.

¹⁰² Lüderitz, *Corpus jüdischer Zeugnisse aus der Kyrenaika*, nos. 6 (ephebe-list from the end of the first century AD); 8 (list of *nomophylakes*, AD 60/61); and 71 (honorific inscription for M. Tittius, AD 24/5).

¹⁰³ J. M. Reynolds, 'Cyrenaica', in Bowman, Garnsey and Rathbone (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History, Second Edition*, xi, *The High Empire, AD 70–192*, 547–58 (552).

¹⁰⁴ 'Ishmael, who was beheaded in Cyrene' (Josephus, *B.J.* vi 114, without mention of the circumstances); he had led an embassy to Nero and Poppaea to defend the wall built on the western

and Rome, accusing Josephus himself of supplying him with arms and money (Josephus, *B.J.* vii 447–8, *V.* 424–5). These accusations (however unjustified) of Jews outside Cyrenaica, viewed together with the execution of Ishmael in Cyrene, show that local Jewish disturbance could be taken to have been encouraged by Jews of position from elsewhere – a point of some significance for interpretation of the later revolts. Within Cyrenaica the failed uprising and the reprisals which followed would have fostered resentment and weakened authority over a considerable period in the Jewish upper class who would normally have secured stability in the Jewish community.¹⁰⁵ This local Cyrenaic phenomenon must be viewed together with more widely influential circumstances, including resentment at Roman failure to rebuild the temple, and events near the time of the explosion of revolt under Trajan.

The first outbreaks under Trajan among the Jewish residents of Cyrene and Egypt are dated to 115 in Eusebius's *History*, discussed and followed above.

This date suggests two possible further factors in the development of the rebellion. First, Trajan was then personally conducting his Parthian war, and no doubt that was recognized as a favourable opportunity for a rising. Second, it was probably in the December of 115 that an earthquake devastated Trajan's headquarters, Antioch, so that he had to live out of doors in the hippodrome.¹⁰⁶ Sections of the gentile and Jewish public would have been ready to take this as a portent, and the earthquake might then have contributed to the escalation of war which Eusebius sets in 116.¹⁰⁷

portico of the temple to shield the sacrifices from view, and was detained as a hostage in Rome (Josephus, *Ant.* xx 189–96).

¹⁰⁵ So Reynolds, 'Cyrenaica', 552; similarly, but suggesting the alienation of the Cyrenaic Jewish communities at all levels, Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora from Alexander to Trajan* (323 BCE–117 CE), 240.

¹⁰⁶ Cassius Dio, *Hist.* lxxviii 24–5; John Malalas, *Chron.* xi 358–9 (the Antiochene year 164, corresponding to 115). Malalas's date, followed here, is not inconsistent with Dio's statement that one of the victims of the earthquake was the consul Pedo; he had held office early in 115, but could still be spoken of as consul (Lepper, *Trajan's Parthian War*, 84–7). Eusebius, *Chron.*, 223rd Olympiad, sets the earthquake in Trajan xvi, that is the year before the outbreak of Jewish revolt in Libya, which forms the next entry, under Trajan xvii (translated above); the one-year discrepancy from the Trajan xviii date for the outbreak of revolt in the *History* derives from the different commencement date used for regnal years in the *Chronicle*, and is apparent rather than real (n. 13, above). Eusebius's date for the earthquake would then be a year early, but his placing of it before the revolt in Libya and Egypt might reflect its occurrence just before the time when *stasis* became war. That the order of events in the *Chronicle* may be right even if its year dates are questionable was brought out by Barnes, 'Trajan and the Jews', 155, although he himself detaches the 'battle of Romans and Jews' mentioned in Lupus's edict from the revolt.

¹⁰⁷ Haggai 2:6 'I will shake the heavens and the earth . . . and I will shake all nations' perhaps influenced the Flavian-period prophecy II Esdras 9:3 'quaking of places (*motio locorum*), disturbance of

The Cyrenaic and Egyptian uprisings perhaps first became clearly warlike in Cyrene. Eusebius in the *Chronicle* gives first place to struggles by ‘the Jews who were in Libya’ (annal for Trajan xvii, translated above); and in his *History* it appears to be Jews from Cyrene who are prime movers of the more warlike stage of the Egyptian outbreak, for the ‘first battle’ was between Greeks and *Cyrenian* Jews; the Greeks fled to Alexandria and captured and killed the Jews there, but the Cyrenian Jews, deprived of the allies they might have had in Alexandria, went on plundering and destroying the *chora* (*H.E.* iv 2, 3, summarized above). The independent importance of conflict in Cyrene itself emerges correspondingly from Artemidorus on ‘the Jewish war in Cyrene’, discussed above, and from its pre-eminence in Dio’s narrative of the western uprisings. The savagery of the Cyrenian war appears not only from Dio but also from the camp prefect’s dream-motto in Artemidorus, ‘Death to the Cyrenian Jews’.

Two leaders’ names are known (n. 47, above), but little more is said about them. The name Andreas appears in Dio (lxviii 32, 2) without any further description, but Lucuas in Eusebius (*H.E.* iv 2, 4) is called ‘king’ of the Cyrenian rebels in Egypt. The word associates him with the non-Jewish leaders of slave risings in Sicily over a century earlier, but also with a series of banditlike Jewish rebels in Judaea: Simon the royal slave and Athrongaeus after the death of Herod the Great, Menahem son of Judas the Galilaean and Simon bar Giora in the First Revolt against Rome. Of the rebel leaders after Herod’s death Josephus remarked, wearily but not without verisimilitude, that ‘as the seditious lighted upon any of their fellows to head them, he became a king’ (Josephus, *Ant.* xvii 285). Probably, like Simon the royal slave, Athrongaeus, and in Cyrene itself Jonathan the weaver, Lucuas and Andreas were of low social status, and urged on by economic hardship and perhaps also by the expectations of divine help discussed below.¹⁰⁸

The annal of the *Chronicle* just cited (Trajan xvii) says first that ‘the Jews who were in Libya [*Iudaei, qui in Libya erant*]’ struggled against their gentile neighbours, and then adds that ‘they fought likewise in great sedition in Egypt, in Alexandria, about Cyrene also and the Thebaid [*apud Cyrenen quoque et Thebaiden*]’. What region then is meant by ‘Libya’ here?

peoples’, and is itself taken as a prophecy of redemption in the Epistle to the Hebrews (12:6, probably from the time of Nero or later) and in an interpretation ascribed in the Babylonian Talmud (*Sanh.* 97b) to R. Akiba, who died in the repression of the Bar Kokhba revolt; see [Chapter 2](#), n. 143, above, on Raymund Martini’s treatment of this Talmudic passage, read with Rashi’s comment.

¹⁰⁸ Similarly, Isaac, ‘Cassius Dio on the Revolt of Bar Kokhba’, 215–16.

The name could be used to refer to the whole region immediately west of the Nile valley from the coast to the far south, so that Ethiopia can be mentioned in connection with it.¹⁰⁹ In the *Chronicle*, however, but for the sequel mentioning Cyrene, 'Libya' might be taken as 'the parts of Libya about Cyrene' (Acts 2:10), Cyrenaica, the region of the five cities which eventually became under Diocletian the separate province of Libya Pentapolis or Libya Superior. Under the Ptolemies there was already a 'Libyarch of the places about Cyrene', under Augustus the Jews of 'Libya which is near Cyrene' were governed by 'the praetor then in Libya', and under Vespasian Catullus was 'governor of the Pentapolis of Libya'.¹¹⁰

Yet, if 'in Libya' in the first part of the annal means much the same as 'aput Cyrenen' in the second part, the *Chronicle* seems repetitious. S. Applebaum accordingly suggested that 'Libya' here refers to the region between the Pentapolis and the Nile, which became 'Libya Inferior' under Diocletian.¹¹¹ He placed the initial Jewish disturbances 'in Libya' in Marmarice, immediately east of the Pentapolis, where there were a number of Jewish settlements and the destruction of a temple of Isis and Ammon has been attributed to the revolt; and he envisaged the twin sequels as the sedition in the Pentapolis itself, 'about Cyrene', and a south-easterly Jewish rebel advance through the desert of Libya Inferior directly to the Thebaid, although he stresses that Roman garrisons guarded oases on this route.¹¹²

This suggestion neatly takes up and explains the *Chronicle's* apparently repetitious mention of Cyrene in connection with the Thebaid. Part at least of what it presupposes can be affirmed. Jewish rural settlement in Marmarice is attested with fair probability still for the later second century AD by a land valuation including a number of probably Jewish names, and can be inferred for an earlier period, again with fair probability, from

¹⁰⁹ Herodotus, iii 115 (Ethiopians live at the extremity of Libya); Ezekiel Tragicus 60–2 (Moses in Libya, where tribes of different races live, black Ethiopians); Diodorus Siculus in Eusebius, *P.E.* ii 1, 9 (Osiris founds Antaeus 'in Ethiopia and Libya') and x 8, 12 (the shrine of Zeus taken across the river into Libya, and later returns as if the god had come from Ethiopia); see C. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors*, ii, *Poets* (Atlanta, Georgia, 1989), 432, on Ezekiel Tragicus 60.

¹¹⁰ 'Libyarch . . .', Polybius xv 25, 12, quoted by Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 497, n. 13; the quotations concerning the times of Augustus and Vespasian are from Josephus, *Ant.* xvi 160; 169 and *B.J.* vii 439, respectively; for Libya used with special reference to Cyrenaica see also Josephus, *Ap.* ii 44 'Cyrene . . . and the other cities in Libya'.

¹¹¹ Applebaum's work for the preservation of Cyrenaic antiquities under British army auspices towards the end of the Second World War is described by Goodchild, *Libyan Studies*, 333–4.

¹¹² Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 315, cf. 229 (n.106), 266, 296; on Jews in Marmarice, 197 (Magdalis; Jewish link with region of Besachites, cf. 150); 199–200 (Lamluda, Ein Mara); 290 (destruction of temple of Isis and Ammon attributed to the Jewish uprising).

the place name Magdalis, if derived from Aramaic *magdala*, 'tower' and attributed to Aramaic-speaking Jewish military settlers.¹¹³

Applebaum had also argued for a strong presence of rural Jews throughout Cyrenaica as a whole. Thus, with relatively little direct evidence, he interpreted Ain Targunya, west of Cyrene, where the representation of a menorah was incised in the rock-cut road, as originally a military settlement of Jewish cultivators; he suggested that Jewish rustics including these, who originally settled on Ptolemaic royal land which later became public land of the Roman people, had been adversely affected by epigraphically attested Roman attempts in the first century AD to expel private occupiers from the *ager publicus*.¹¹⁴ The ingenious speculation which these interpretations illustrate may sometimes injure his argument, but his general indication of a significant Jewish farming population, in some cases settled on old royal land, seems justified, as noted already.

Similarly, his interpretation of 'in Libya' in the *Chronicle* as 'in Marmarice', like his suggestion on the desert route to the Thebaid, highlights possibilities which deserve attention. These *Chronicle* data reappear in the *History*, as noted in this chapter above, with one clear echo ('also about Cyrene', *H.E.* iv 2, 2) but also with condensation (*H.E.* iv 2, 2 'in the rest of Egypt' covers both 'Egypt' and 'the Thebaid' in the *Chronicle*; Cyprus is omitted in the *History*). In the *Chronicle*, perhaps the initial reference to 'Libya' should be taken, on the lines which Applebaum suggests but without his special focus on Marmarice, in the sense of the lands west of the Nile Delta and valley in general; 'apud Cyrenen' would then specify the Pentapolis in particular, but the association of the Thebaid with Cyrenaica would not be wholly unexpected in the wide-ranging north-to-south context evoked by 'Libya'. Sibylline oracles on the Pentapolis and Libya are somewhat comparably associated with woes on upper Egypt in a Jewish collection which was probably largely complete at the time of Trajan.¹¹⁵ The

¹¹³ Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 197, 271; Lüderitz, *Corpus jüdischer Zeugnisse aus der Kyrenaika*, nos. 77 (excerpts from the property survey in P. Vat. Gr. II republished with comment), 78 (the place name Magdalis).

¹¹⁴ Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 170–4, 236–7 (Ain Targunya); on Jews and *ager publicus*, 171, 211–15; for the menorah, Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 13 (photograph). Doubts are expressed in Lüderitz, *Corpus jüdischer Zeugnisse aus der Kyrenaika*, 46 (no. 30 bis), for the cutting of a menorah in the road at Ain Targunya, the sole direct evidence of Jewish presence, need not indicate a Jewish community on the spot, and the private occupiers of *ager publicus* mentioned as excluded in an inscription of AD 55/6 on a boundary stone found nearby (SEG ix 352) need not be Jewish.

¹¹⁵ Sib. v 187–99, mentioning in succession Barca, Thebes, Syene, Teucheira, Pentapolis, Libya, and Cyrene; here Libya itself seems to be associated with the Pentapolis and Cyrene, but Thebes and Syene in upper Egypt are mentioned after Barca/Ptolemais and before the series beginning with Teucheira.

seemingly odd conjunction of Cyrenaica and the Thebaid in the *Chronicle* is then not so surprising against the background of ancient literary usage. Yet it may well also correspond, if not to the rebel advance to the south suggested by Applebaum, at least to lines of communication between Jews in Cyrene and Upper Egypt.

Despite this possibility, Alexandria – ‘What a centre for revolt!’, as Agrippa II is made to exclaim in Josephus – was probably the most obvious and important point for the Cyrenaican rebels to gain.¹¹⁶ The close links of Cyrene with Egypt went back to Ptolemaic times and earlier, and would be attested under Constantine in the ecclesiastical subordination of Libya and the Pentapolis to the bishop of Alexandria in the Sixth Canon of Nicaea, following ‘ancient customs’.¹¹⁷ Eusebius or his source thinks that the Cyrenaican Jews hoped for alliance with those of Alexandria (*H.E.* iv 2, 3 ‘deprived of alliance with them’); if successful, they might have controlled both the Egyptian hinterland and the shipping, both on inland waterways and overseas, including the export of corn to Rome. With the plan which they seem likely to have had in mind, one may perhaps compare the way in which, nearly five hundred years later, the successful revolt of Heraclius against the emperor Phocas was mounted in Cyrene, and immediately involved a march on Alexandria.¹¹⁸ Hence it seems probable that the battle in the *chora* after which the Greeks fled to Alexandria arose when Cyrenaican Jews had advanced directly towards Alexandria. Shipborne rebels can also be envisaged, but the sparse direct literary evidence does not mention them. In any case, the route by land led through a continuous chain of towns and settlements, not the desert tracts of modern times.¹¹⁹

The Cyrenaic uprising overwhelmed any internal Jewish attempts which may have been made to quell it. The dominance of the rebels in the cities and their surroundings is reflected in Cyrene in Hadrianic inscriptions recording the repair of damage inflicted ‘in the Jewish rising’, *tumultu iudaico*.¹²⁰ Well-preserved examples from the public baths in Cyrene, burnt

¹¹⁶ Josephus, *B.J.* ii 385 (*pelikon apostaseôs kentron*), in the review of Roman dominion (Rome confidently holds even such a danger point as Alexandria with only two legions) in Agrippa II’s speech calming the restive Jerusalemites in 66.

¹¹⁷ Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 352, 354–60 (here rev. J. M. Reynolds); W. Bright, *The Canons of the First Four General Councils with Notes* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1892), xi, 20–2.

¹¹⁸ A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last Thirty Years of the Roman Dominion* (1902; 2nd edn, ed. P. M. Fraser, Oxford, 1978), 3–16.

¹¹⁹ This point is emphasized by Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last Thirty Years of the Roman Dominion*, 8–12.

¹²⁰ For what follows see n. 59, above, and the summaries by Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 397–9, 409–10; Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 269–94; Reynolds, ‘Cyrenaica’, 553.

down in the revolt, and from the Cyrene–Apollonia road were cited above. Inscriptions also attest destruction in the Caesareum, the great temple of Zeus, and the temple of Hecate; damage to other public buildings revealed by excavation has been attributed to the same cause. Examples are the temples of Apollo and of Isis in Cyrene, the sanctuary of Asclepius at Balagrae, south-west of Cyrene, and the temple of Isis and Ammon in Marmarice, mentioned above.

Some of this extensive damage, such as the breaking of statues in the temple of Isis and Ammon, may have been inflicted by way of idol-breaking, and on the other hand some, notably the destruction of roads, clearly suits the purposes of war in particular. Ambiguities are illustrated by the fate of Pompey's monument in the Nemeseion outside Alexandria; it might have been destroyed as idolatrous and as commemorating an enemy who had desecrated the holy place in Jerusalem, but Appian, although a hostile witness who might have stressed wanton Jewish destructiveness, states simply that it was demolished 'for the needs of the war' (*B.C.* ii 90, 138).

The law of Moses indeed gives commandments for the destruction of pagan shrines in the promised land, although these commandments were also markedly tempered in one strain of Jewish interpretation.¹²¹ Yet the Jewish revolt was not in fact unusual among wars and revolts in causing destruction to shrines. Persian damage to Greek and Egyptian temples, Carthaginian damage to Italian temples, and damage to Egyptian temples under the Ptolemies by Egyptian bandits and rebels all form non-Jewish parallels.¹²²

Such harm to sacred places of course caused special indignation, as noted already in discussion of the Roman destruction of the Jerusalem temple.

¹²¹ Destruction was commanded at least in the holy land (Exod. 34:31, Deut. 7:5, 12:3), and carried out widely in the Maccabean revolt (I Macc. 1:25, 5:44; 68, 10:84, cf. II Macc. 12:26; 40–5); at Tiberias in the revolt under Nero, Josephus (*V.* 65–7) was ordered likewise to demolish the palace built by Antipas because of its representations of animals, but 'the faction of the sailors and poor' burnt it, and killed the Greeks in Tiberias. On the other side, restraint was inculcated through Exod. 22:27 LXX 'Do not revile the gods', viewed by Philo (*Spec. Leg.* i 53, *Qu. Exod.* ii 5) and Josephus (*Ap.* ii 237) as a command not to blaspheme gods recognized by others, and linked with respect for temples by Josephus (*Ant.* iv 207), and through Lev. 27:15, taken to forbid the cursing of a heathen god by Philo, *V.M.* ii 205. Similarly, the injunction 'Do not destroy their high places' was attributed to Johanan ben Zaccai, and was linked with discouragement of hasty following of the messiah or rebuilding of the Jewish temple (see Aboth de-Rabbi Nathan, version B, xxxi); this association suggests, however, as do I–II Maccabees and Josephus, how iconoclasm could accompany revolt against gentile rule. On the variation both in Jewish and in Christian attitudes see Juster, *Les juifs dans l'empire romain*, ii, 206; T. C. G. Thornton, 'The Destruction of Idols – Sinful or Meritorious?', *JTS N.S.* xxxvii (1986), 121–9.

¹²² For this aspect of Egyptian rebellion see Veïsse, *Les 'révoltes égyptiennes'*, 141–2, noting that attacks on temples and their personnel also formed part of acts of brigandage outside the context of revolt.

The Carthaginians' destructive invasion of Italy in the Second Punic War was an *impius tumultus*, in lines of Horace quoted above (*Od.* iv 4, 46–7; [Chapter 2](#), n. 15). Did the time-honoured charge of Jewish disrespect for temples form, as has been suggested, the reason for the epithet *anosioi*, 'impious', which was applied to rebellious Jews, or at least an element in its overtones? The question is raised for example when the *strategos* Apollonius, writing to the prefect of Egypt probably in 117, speaks of 'impious Jews'.¹²³

This particular overtone may have been heard. Yet *stasis*, with its threat to (divinely granted) order, was of its very nature *anosia*, 'unhallowed' or 'impious', as is suggested when the author of I Clement, in the late Flavian period, uses this epithet for *stasis* within the church ('foul and impious faction', I Clem. 1:1). Comparably, a century earlier, in Virgil the soldier who fights in a civil war and takes over property from the losers is *impius*, and in Horace the rebellious Titans are *impii*.¹²⁴ Again, the Carthaginian invasion elsewhere in Horace, as just cited, is impious not just because temples were destroyed, but because in Roman eyes the Carthaginians were rebelling against their overlords. The attachment of the epithet *anosioi* to Jews involved in the Trajanic uprisings fits not only the commonplace of Jewish impiety, but also and especially the status of the Jews as rebels. Perhaps it should not be taken too readily as an index of iconoclasm.¹²⁵

At any rate, devastation of the countryside matched the epigraphically attested urban damage, as appears from Eusebius's *Chronicle* on Hadrian's subsequent colonization, quoted below. The killing of gentile inhabitants will have been the counterpart to much of this destruction, as when in 66 the burning of the Herodian palace in Tiberias was followed by a massacre of the Greek inhabitants of the city.¹²⁶ The Romans as well as Greeks who were victims in the uprising, according to Dio (lxviii 32, 1,

¹²³ P. Giss. 41, republished by A. Fuks as CPJ no. 443 with comment explaining the epithet *anosios* here and in other sources from damage to shrines like that attested at Cyrene; so also Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 398; S. Cappelletti, 'Il ruolo svolto dai Giudei di Cirenaica nella grande rivolta sotto Traiano', *Africa Romana* xvi (2006), 2,263–72 (2,270). See, however, the discussion below. The earlier tradition of this charge against Jews in Egypt and elsewhere, from Manetho onwards, is illustrated by Juster, *Les juifs dans l'empire romain*, ii, 206, n. 1 and Schäfer, *Judeophobia*, 17–33, 165–7, 205–6.

¹²⁴ Virgil, *Ecl.* i 70 *impius haec tam culta novalia miles habebit* 'shall the impious soldier have these fields, so sedulously tilled?'; for the impiety as civil strife see W. Clausen, *Virgil: Eclogues* (Oxford, 1994), 58, comparing inter alia Horace, *Od.* ii 1, 30 *impia proelia*, the 'impious battles' of the Roman civil wars; see too Horace, *Od.* iii 4, 42–3 *impios Titanas*, the 'impious Titans' removed by Jove's thunderbolt (this passage was cited in [Chapter 3](#), above, on attitudes to rebellion).

¹²⁵ Similarly, not damage to temples, but treasonable war against Rome, constituting impiety directed towards the *princeps* (*impietas in principem*), is judged to be the reason for the epithet by Méléze-Modrzejewski, 'Ioudaioi apheremenoi', 356–7, with nn. 82–3.

¹²⁶ Josephus, *V.* 65–7, cited in n. 89, above.

summarized above) will have included immigrants as well as officials and soldiers. The importance of the body of Roman inhabitants, and potential friction between Romans and Greeks, are evident from edicts of Augustus promulgated in 7–4 BC and inscribed in the Agora of Cyrene.¹²⁷

Revolt persisted in Cyrenaica until the beginning of Hadrian's reign, as indicated by the life of Hadrian in the *Historia Augusta*, discussed above (n. 26). Initially, Jewish control of ports including Apollonia will have helped to keep it in being. Although a body of Cyrenaic rebels marched to Egypt, many others must have stayed in the Pentapolis, led by the Andreas named by Dio (n. 37, above).

Pacification was marked by the sending of colonies, already begun by Trajan, as an inscription attests, with the settlement of three thousand veterans, perhaps at Teucheira – a city which, like Cyrene, is described as a colony on the Peutinger map.¹²⁸ Similarly, according to Eusebius's *Chronicle*, 'Hadrian settles colonies in Libya, which had been laid waste by the Jews'.¹²⁹ The *Chronicle* here is confirmed by the place name Hadrianopolis or Adriane, a name preserved in the modern Driana, on the coast between Teucheira and Berenice.¹³⁰ The site probably indicates an area of importance in the revolt. The two documented stages of repression, first Trajanic and then Hadrianic, might correspond roughly to concentration first on cities, roads and ports, and second on the countryside, where resistance could survive more readily.¹³¹

The destinations of Jewish refugees from Cyrene are unknown, but it may be guessed that some at least travelled to Roman Africa, including Tripolitania and the region of Carthage; dedications to Serapis in Carthage indicate an Alexandrian Greek merchant community there. Tertullian in

¹²⁷ Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 69–71; de Ste Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World*, 535; Reynolds, 'Cyrenaica', 634.

¹²⁸ SEG xvii 584 = Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, no. 313, Greek inscription from Attaleia in Pamphylia in honour of L. Gavius Fronto, entrusted by Trajan with the settlement of three thousand veterans 'to colonize Cyrene', *eis to katoikisai Kyrenen*, as interpreted by Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 287, taking up his 'The Jewish Revolt in Cyrene in 115–117 and the Subsequent Recolonization', *JJS* ii (1950–1), 177–86 (181–2), followed, with citation also of a veteran's epitaph from Teucheira (CIL III, 6), by Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 411; both note that Teucheira has a colonylike street plan and in size resembles Aosta, which was planned for three thousand veterans.

¹²⁹ *Hadrianus in Libyam, quae a Iudaeis vastata fuerat, colonias deducit* (Eusebius, *Chron.*, 225th Olympiad, Hadrian v; ed. Helm, p. 198g).

¹³⁰ Parthey and Pinder (eds.), *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti*, 30 (Wesseling 67); Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 119–120; Goodchild, *Libyan Studies*, 219, 227 n. 15 (noting the discovery of columns and capitals near the shore); Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 270, 287.

¹³¹ G. Firpo, 'La "Guerra di Quieto" e l'ultima fase della rivolta giudaica del 115–117 d.C.', *RSa* xxxv (2005), 99–116 (115–16).

Carthage at the beginning of the third century was correspondingly aware of the Hermetic literature (the 'Egyptian Mercury') and the story of the preservation of the Septuagint in the Serapeum (Tertullian, *Apol.* xviii 8), and Jewish residence in Roman Africa is attested from the second century onwards.¹³²

Alexandria

Alexandria, near the border of Libya, was regarded by Roman writers as one of the two bars or keys guarding entry to Egypt, the key above all to access by sea, just as Pelusium, on the coast at the other (eastern) side of the Nile Delta, was the key to entry by land.¹³³ The city of Alexandria stretched from east to west, along a ridge bordering the sea on the north; Lake Mareotis was at a short distance on the south. This famous situation was recognized in ancient Jewish biblical interpretation when 'No-Amon, that lies among the rivers . . . with waters round about her, and her rampart is the sea' (Nahum 3:8) was identified in the Targum as 'great Alexandria'.¹³⁴ The city's old nucleus from before its foundation by Alexander the Great, according to Strabo, was a Pharaonic military settlement in 'the region called Rhacotis, which is now that part of Alexandria lying above the shipyards, but was then a village'.¹³⁵ In antiquity the hill of Rhacotis in the south-west of the city, crowned by the precinct and temple of Serapis, 'dominated the southern part of the city like an Acropolis'.¹³⁶ On arrival

¹³² J. B. Rives, *Religion and Authority in Roman Carthage from Augustus to Constantine* (Oxford, 1995), 212–14 (Serapis), 214–17 (Jewish origins); Hermetic references by Tertullian, *Val.* xv 1, *An.* ii 3, discussed with other passages from Tertullian by G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes* (Cambridge, 1981), 198; C. Setzer, 'The Jews in Carthage and Western North Africa, 66–235 CE', in Katz (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, iv, 68–75.

¹³³ Ps.-Caesar, *Bellum Alexandrinum*, xxvi 2 *tota Aegyptus maritimo accessu Pharo, pedestri Pelusio velut claustris munita existimatur*, 'all Egypt is held to be defended as by bars against maritime access by the Pharos [of Alexandria], against entry on foot by Pelusium'; the same two places seem to be indicated by Tacitus as *claustra terrae ac maris* (*Ann.* ii 59, 4, on Germanicus in Egypt) and *claustra Aegypti* (*Hist.* ii 82, 4, on Vespasian in 69). At Ezek. 30:14–16, on the places named together as 'No' and 'Sin, the strength of Egypt', Jerome in his commentary prefers the renderings 'Alexandria' and 'Pelusium', and brings out the significance of Pelusium too as a port (Jerome, *Comm. in Ezech.* ix, on 30:1–19).

¹³⁴ Targum Jonathan on Nah. 3:8; this interpretation, rendering 'No-Amon' as 'Alexandria of the multitude' (Hebrew *hamon*), perhaps with a glance at its repute for unrest, was followed by a Jewish teacher of Jerome, and Jerome notes how well it fits the city site which has 'on one side the Nile [linked by canal], on another Lake Mareotis, on another the sea' (Jerome, *Comm. in Naum*, on 3:8).

¹³⁵ Strabo, *Geog.* xvii 1, 6 [792], translated and discussed by Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, i, 5–6.

¹³⁶ Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, i, 27; the term 'acropolis' was used in the title of the fourth-century Greek description of the Serapeum by Aphthonius, quoted by Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, ii, 84 (chapter 1, n. 190).

in Alexandria travellers would go up to make their obeisance (*proskynema*) in the Serapeum.¹³⁷

The city had a double set of harbours. Those on the sea, Eunostos to the west and the Great Harbour to the east, divided by a causeway leading out to the Pharos island, were vital among other things for the Roman corn supply (Josephus, *B.J.* iv 605–6); Egypt's corn production seems to have received yet further official attention in Trajan's reign, with its military demands.¹³⁸ A flourishing trade inland and also, via the Nile and the canal to the Red Sea (recut by Trajan), overseas to the east and south was served by harbours on the lake, which was connected with the Nile by many canals. When the two ports were represented on Alexandrian coins, a Nilotic figure could stand for the lake-port.¹³⁹ Another canal joined the innermost western sea harbour (known as Cibotus, 'the box') with the lake (Strabo, *Geog.* xvii 1, 7; 10).¹⁴⁰ The royal palaces were towards the north-east of the city, at the base of the promontory of Lochias and by the Great Harbour (Strabo, *Geog.* xvii 1, 9).

Alexandria and revolt

When Alexandria is called a potential centre for revolt in Agrippa II's speech in Josephus, quoted above, there is perhaps for Josephus a hidden allusion forward to what he could not himself have called revolt – Vespasian's determination in 69 to control Alexandria, with its corn supply and two legions, for his proclamation as emperor in rivalry with Vitellius (*B.J.* iv 605–18); but there is also a retrospective allusion to the Alexandrian War of 48–47 BC. The Alexandrian populace had then supported Ptolemy XIII against Cleopatra and Caesar, who held only some eastern parts of the city and its sea harbours. Opposition to Caesar involved naval

¹³⁷ Wilcken, *Die Bremer Papyri*, 113–14, 116, on P. Brem. 48 (letter of Herodes from Alexandria of 30 October [118]), lines 29–32 (I will go up tomorrow, having been prevented on arrival today), comparing BGU 451.3 (first or second century) (reaching Alexandria we have made obeisance for you before the lord Serapis). Compare also Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*, v 25, 1 (the first event described in his visit to Alexandria in 70 is his ascent to 'the sanctuary [of Serapis]'). For another letter from the same Herodes see n. 288, below.

¹³⁸ P. J. Sijpesteijn, 'Trajan and Egypt', *Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava* xiv (1965), 106–13. Corn is prominent on Alexandrian coins of Trajan, years 13–16, described by R. S. Poole, *Catalogue of the Coins of Alexandria and the Nomes* (part of *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*; London, 1892), pp. 66–7, nos. 551–8.

¹³⁹ Poole, *Catalogue of the Coins of Alexandria and the Nomes*, lxxxiii–lxxxiv, and pp. 94–5, no. 808; 139, no. 1,173 (examples from the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius).

¹⁴⁰ On the canal joining sea and lake see Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, i, 26; ii, 78–9 (nn. 182–3).

warfare, but was eventually quelled with the help of a land campaign in the Delta by Mithridates. His army included Jewish forces of the Hasmonaean high priest Hyrcanus II, led from Judaea by Antipater; through Hyrcanus Mithridates also gained the co-operation of the Jewish population in the 'land of Onias' on the eastern side of the Delta, and so was able to march round to the west (Josephus, *B.J.* i 187–94; *Ant.* xiv 127–39, 192–3; Ps.-Caesar, *Bellum Alexandrinum* xxvi–xxix, without mention of Mithridates' Jewish support).¹⁴¹ Hyrcanus then obtained from Caesar the decrees in favour of the Jews mentioned in the previous chapter.

The potential of Alexandria as a centre for revolt was no doubt then recognized by Augustus when, on the site of his victory over Cleopatra after he had marched from Pelusium to Alexandria in 30 BC, he founded Nicopolis, the twin of his other foundation of this name near the site of Actium (Strabo, *Geog.* xvii 1, 10). The Egyptian Nicopolis, five miles from Alexandria on the coast to the east, formed a base for forces (commonly, two legions) which could be quickly brought southwards and eastwards by water or westwards into the city on foot – on the side, as it happened, where part of the Jewish population was found. Yet anti-Roman feeling in the Greek populace too is clear from the Acts of the Alexandrians, discussed below.¹⁴² The Jews had in fact shown themselves as loyal to Caesar and then Augustus against Alexandrian support for Ptolemy XIII.

One Roman attitude was to treat Alexandrian and Egyptian unrest with amusement and a tinge of contempt, but precautions against it were not neglected.¹⁴³ The propensities towards violence of Alexandrians or indeed any crowd are no doubt easily exaggerated, as is sometimes underlined by scholars, but the apparent nonchalance of some ancient comments on unrest should also be taken with a pinch of salt.¹⁴⁴ The collection of arms

¹⁴¹ L. Capponi, *Il tempio di Leontopoli in Egitto. Identità politica e religiosa dei Giudei di Onia* (c. 150 A.C.–73 D.C.) (Pisa, 2007), 112–14 (showing the importance of the high priest's role); on the 'land of Onias' in the nome of Heliopolis, settled c.162 BC by the high priest Onias and his followers at the invitation of Ptolemy Philometor, see Josephus, *B.J.* i 33, 190, vii 420–32; *Ant.* xii 388, xiii 62–73, 284–7, discussed by Horbury and Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt*, xvi–xix, 93–4 (on a Greek metrical epitaph, inscription 38 = CIJ 1530, line 4, 'the land which nourished us is called the land of Onias'), and by Capponi, *Il tempio di Leontopoli in Egitto*.

¹⁴² Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 277–9, notes the anti-Roman feeling among Greeks and shows the regular use of these forces for controlling the local inhabitants, down to the fifth century.

¹⁴³ This attitude seems to be reflected in Strabo, *Geog.* xvii 1, 53 (small Roman garrison, for Egyptians are unwarlike); Agrippa II's speech in Josephus, *B.J.* i 384–7 (n. 116, above) (two legions suffice to curb Egypt and Alexandria); Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* xxxii 71–2 (n. 61, above) (Alexandrians create disturbance, but cannot endure war).

¹⁴⁴ Warnings against exaggeration are exemplified by W. D. Barry, 'Popular Violence and the Stability of Roman Alexandria, 30 BC–AD 215', *BSAA* xlv (1993), 19–34.

by potential rebels, Egyptian or Jewish, did from time to time preoccupy Roman authorities in Egypt. Alexandrian Jews suffered an inspection for this purpose in 38. Philo, stressing that no weapons were found, recalls by contrast shiploads of weapons reaching the river harbours in Alexandria, about the year 34–5; they had been confiscated from Egyptians in the *chora*, ‘suspected because of their frequent revolts’ (Philo, *Flacc.*, 92–3).¹⁴⁵ The long sequence of revolts and disturbances in Egypt itself reached back into the Ptolemaic period.¹⁴⁶ In 41 the Alexandrian Jews revived and armed themselves, according to Josephus (*Ant.* xix 278). A badly damaged passage of the London fragment of the papyrus Acts of Paulus and Antoninus, discussed below, may indicate a confiscation of weapons by Lupus at the time of Jewish unrest under Trajan, for it mentions in successive half-lost lines a ‘[decre]e of Lupus’ and ‘weapons’.¹⁴⁷ Under Hadrian, a papyrus of 119 attests a prohibition against growing arrow-reed or tamarisk (used for arrows and other weapons), perhaps in this case with potential Egyptian unrest again primarily in view, after Egyptians had been armed to help repress the Jewish rebels.¹⁴⁸ One may perhaps compare Polybius’s statement that, over three hundred years earlier, after Ptolemy Philopator had armed Egyptians to help him win the battle of Raphia in 217, he had to engage in a ‘war against the Egyptians’ who then rebelled; whatever the course of events under Philopator may have been, Polybius here suggests the kind of concern which the Roman authorities will later have had after Egyptian-aided repression of the Jews.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ H. Box (ed.), *Philonis Alexandrini In Flaccum* (Oxford, 1939), 108–9, discusses the date in connection with a decree of Flaccus regulating the carrying of arms, dated 34–5.

¹⁴⁶ B. C. McGing, ‘Revolt Egyptian Style. Internal Opposition to Ptolemaic Rule’, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* xliii (1997), 273–314; Veisse, *Les révoltes égyptiennes*.

¹⁴⁷ Col. iv, lines 3–4 (from P. Lond. Lit. 118 Recto) in Acta Alexandrinorum IX = CPJ 158a, as conjecturally interpreted with a query by W. Weber, ‘Eine Gerichtsverhandlung vor Kaiser Traian’, *Hermes* l (1915), 47–92 (84, n. 2), developed in a restoration (the edict ordered the surrender of arms and, in lines 4–5, a search for them) and historical interpretation by A. von Premerstein, ‘Alexandrinische und jüdische Gesandte vor Kaiser Hadrian’, *Hermes* lvii (1922), 266–316 (268, 274–5). Von Premerstein was followed by H. I. Bell, *Juden und Griechen im römischen Alexandria* (Beihefte zum ‘Alten Orient’, 9, Leipzig, 1926), 40, Musurillo, *Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*, 49, 184 (but with a restoration of lines 4–5 on which the decree would have ordered surrender of arms and withdrawal rather than surrender of arms and a search for them), and Harker, *Loyalty and Dissidence in Roman Egypt*, 59, 76 (following Musurillo’s restoration); in CPJ ii, pp. 92, 97 V. A. Tcherikover prints Musurillo’s restoration, but notes in his commentary von Premerstein’s interpretation and his restoration of lines 4–5.

¹⁴⁸ BGU 2085, from the Fayyum (village elders swear that these plants have not been grown), in H. Maehler (ed.), *Urkunden römischer Zeit* (Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Staatlichen Museen Berlin, Griechische Urkunden, xi.1, Berlin, 1968), pp. 149–52, no. 2,085, reproduced with English translation and comment in Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, no. 42 and pp. 185–6.

¹⁴⁹ Polybius v 107, 1–3, discussed by Veisse, *Les révoltes égyptiennes*, 5–7.

The Jews of Alexandria

The Jewish minority in Alexandria and the *chora* together amounted to not less than a million, according to Philo (*Flacc.* 43). Josephus in the seventies estimated the whole population of Egypt apart from Alexandria at seven and a half million (*B.J.* ii 384–7); Alexandria itself had a total population of about three hundred thousand, according to Diodorus Siculus in the late first century BC (xvii 52). These figures, however doubtful, indicate a very large minority Jewish population in Alexandria and Egypt together.¹⁵⁰ Alexandria itself in Philo's time was divided into five quarters, lettered Alpha to Epsilon; two of the five are described as Jewish, although a fair number of Jews lived scattered in the others (Philo, *Flacc.* 55), and there were Jewish prayer-houses in all parts of the city (Philo, *Leg.* 132). Correspondingly, a communal Jewish dedication inscription, perhaps of a proseuche in the Ptolemaic period, was found in the south-west of the city at Kom el-Shukafa, west of the Serapeum.¹⁵¹ Only literary sources attest the 'greatest and most famous' of the Alexandrian prayer-houses, as Philo calls it (Philo, *Leg.* 134); it is probably to be identified with the basilica-synagogue mentioned in rabbinic texts, of which it was said in Judaea after the revolt that 'whoever has never seen the double colonnade (*diplostoon*) of Alexandria has never seen the glory of Israel'.¹⁵²

The rabbinic description of the basilica also specially notes the separate places taken in it by adherents of each particular craft, such as goldsmiths, silversmiths, metal-workers and weavers, thereby indicating some of the occupations which Alexandrian Jews were thought to follow. Philo correspondingly speaks of 'workshops (*ergasteria*) of the Jews' in Alexandria, and mentions Alexandrian Jewish traders, agricultural workers, shipmen, and merchants, as well as craftsmen (Philo, *Flacc.* 56–7).

One of the two predominantly Jewish quarters within the city mentioned by Philo seems, on the basis of a report in Josephus, to have been Delta.

¹⁵⁰ On the problems of assessing such estimates see B. McGing, 'Population and Proselytism: How Many Jews Were There in the Ancient World?', in J. R. Bartlett (ed.), *Jews in the Hellenistic and Roman Cities* (London, 2002), 88–106.

¹⁵¹ W. Horbury and D. Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Cambridge, 1992), no. 14 (= CIJ no. 1434); on the area, Barbara Tkaczow, *Topography of Ancient Alexandria (An Archaeological Map)* (Travaux du Centre d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences, 32; Warsaw, 1993), pp. 65–6, no. 12, and Maps A and B.

¹⁵² Tosefta Sukkah iv 6, paralleled in the Talmud Yerushalmi, Sukkah v 1, 55a–b and the Babylonian Talmud, Sukkah 51b, in a description attributed to R. Judah b. Ilai (mid second century), translated with note of differences between the three sources by Krauss, *Synagogale Altertümer*, 261–3 (but he questionably distinguishes between this building, which he regards as a bazaarlike hall also used for prayers, and the great prayer-house in Philo). For comment on Philo discussing the rabbinic description see Smallwood, *Philonis Alexandrini Legatio ad Gaium*, 222–3.

In the Alexandrian disturbances at the time of the outbreak of revolt in Judaea against Rome in 66, discussed above, Josephus notes that Roman forces attacked the Delta quarter, where Jews were associated together (Josephus, *B.J.* ii 495). In a papyrus of 13 BC one of two workshops 'in the Delta quarter' is said to be 'in Campa near Cibotus'.¹⁵³ This reference to Cibotus places Delta near the western harbour, Eunostos, with some of the shipyards mentioned by Strabo as lying below Rhacotis (*Geog.* xvii 1, 6 (cited above); xvii 1, 9). On the other hand, Josephus indicates elsewhere (*Ap.* ii 33–5) that a quarter known as a long-established area of Jewish habitation was in the north-east of the city, near the sea just east of the promontory of Lochias, on the eastern side of the Great Harbour and the royal palaces; Josephus calls it an excellent residential neighbourhood granted by Alexander the Great, in order to answer Apion, who mocks Jewish settlement in the city near the waves of a harbourless sea.

It seems likely that in these two different contexts in two separate books Josephus is indeed mentioning two different quarters.¹⁵⁴ The north-eastern quarter on the edge of the city near the open sea is probably in view in Philo when he says that the Jews, driven into one quarter under Flaccus, overflowed onto beaches and rubbish dumps (*Flacc.* 56).¹⁵⁵ Jewish funerary inscriptions have been found, correspondingly, near this eastern area, on the sites of cemeteries east of the ancient city.¹⁵⁶ Even without such measures as Flaccus used, the suburban sites where burials were made also became sites of settlement.¹⁵⁷

Strabo's failure to mention the city walls in his detailed description of Alexandria indeed suggests that by early Roman times the inhabited area had already expanded beyond the walls in such a way that they could generally be ignored.¹⁵⁸ Epigraphic finds indicate suburban life already under the Ptolemies. There were Jews in the settlements just outside Alexandria to the east, where a plaque recording the dedication of a proseuche, perhaps from the second century BC, was found at Hadra (where Jewish epitaphs were also found), and to the west, where a proseuche dedication dated to 37 BC was found at Gabbary, in the vicinity of the suburb (*proasteion*)

¹⁵³ BGU 1151, quoted by Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, ii, 79 (n. 182).

¹⁵⁴ So Adriani, *Repertorio d'arte dell' Egitto Greco-Romano, Serie C* [Architettura e Topografia] (2 vols., Palermo, 1966), text volume, 239–40; Pearson, 'The Acts of Mark and the Topography of Ancient Alexandria'. By contrast, Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, ii, 109 (n. 270) holds that 'we can hardly imagine that Josephus is in these two passages referring to two different regions of the city'.

¹⁵⁵ Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, ii, 110 (n. 271).

¹⁵⁶ Horbury and Noy, JIGRE, pp. xiii–xvi.

¹⁵⁷ Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, i, 26–7 (Necropolis), 31–2 (areas east of the city including Hadra).

¹⁵⁸ So Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, i, 12.

called Necropolis in Strabo (*Geog.* xvii 1, 10), on the strip of land between sea and lake.¹⁵⁹ Further again to the west on this strip of land is a likely location for the settlement of male and female Jewish ascetics called Therapeutae (Philo, *V. Contempl.* 21–3).¹⁶⁰ Representing a body of devout Jews found throughout Egypt, it may well have continued in existence at the time of the uprising, eighty or more years after Philo described it.

Sources for Jewish revolt in the city

Eusebius, reproducing sources probably including lost portions of Appian of Alexandria, as suggested earlier in this chapter, and supplemented by the extant passage of Appian on the Nemeseion, just quoted (*B.C.* ii 90, 138), is the main source for Jewish revolt in Alexandria itself.¹⁶¹ A further supplement is formed by the papyrus fragments of the edict of Lupus of 14 October 115, discussed earlier in this chapter in connection with the date of the outbreak of revolt.¹⁶² The edict indicates the quelling of Jewish turbulence by means of a Roman-Jewish battle in Alexandria, followed by Greek anti-Jewish disturbance, just at the time when according to Eusebius *stasis* was building up into war. Finally, destruction connected with the uprising figures in the literary attestation of Hadrian's rebuilding in Alexandria, in Eusebius's *Chronicle* and elsewhere.

One more source, the eighth-century George Syncellus, who states that 'Hadrian punished the Jews who were fighting in faction against the Alexandrians [*kata Alexandreon stasiazontas*]' (Syncellus, Dindorf 348D; n. 44, above), has been taken to attest repression of Jewish Alexandrian *stasis* by Hadrian at the beginning of his reign. Syncellus has been particularly influential through interpretation to this effect by Mommsen, who urged that this passage represented the original Greek of an annal in Eusebius's *Chronicle*, Hadrian i, translated above, which in Jerome's version simply notes that Hadrian restored Alexandria after its destruction by

¹⁵⁹ JIGRE nos. 9 (= CIJ no. 1433; Hadra), 10 (Hadra epitaphs, not in CIJ), and 13 (= CIJ no. 1432; Gabbary); on Hadra and Necropolis see the preceding footnote. For the find-spots of nos. 9 and 13 see Tkaczow, *Topography of Ancient Alexandria (An Archaeological Map)*, pp. 205–6, no. 48, and p. 199, no. 34B, respectively, with Maps A and B.

¹⁶⁰ Joan E. Taylor, *Jewish Women Philosophers of First-Century Alexandria: Philo's 'Therapeutae' Reconsidered* (Oxford, 2003), 75–81.

¹⁶¹ On Appian see also [Chapter 1](#), nn. 9 and 17, and [Chapter 2](#), n. 25, above.

¹⁶² P. Milan Vogliano ii 47, republished as CPJ ii no. 435 and Acta Alexandrinorum IXc; Musurillo appended this text as a relevant source to the Acts of Paulus and Antoninus in the corpus of the Acts of the Alexandrians, but its identification as an edict of Lupus indicates its more official character.

the Romans.¹⁶³ Yet it seems more likely, as noted already, that Syncellus conflated the originals of two annals of Eusebius as they are now known through Jerome's translation.¹⁶⁴ Again, G. Firpo has urged that Syncellus rests on an old source, not Eusebius, especially because his report can be associated with Cassius Dio on Alexandrian rioting stopped by a letter from Hadrian (*Hist.* lxi 8, 1a, discussed below) and with violence involving slaves debated between Greeks and Jews in the Acts of Paulus and Antoninus (also discussed below); Syncellus uses the vocabulary employed by writers near the time of the events, speaking of 'engagement in faction' (*stasiazein*) in Alexandria and, in another annal, of 'war' (*polemos*) in Libya and Egypt, but does not take it from Eusebius.¹⁶⁵ The further sources adduced are themselves hard to interpret, however, as noted in discussion below; and the vocabulary, as Firpo recognizes, could come from Eusebius, being suggested by the Latin version of his annal for Trajan xviii and attested in the Greek of his *History*.¹⁶⁶ That Syncellus reflects misinterpretation of Eusebius seems a preferable explanation.

Three further sources which refer to turbulence in the city have been related to Greek-Jewish *stasis* under Trajan or in the years 115–17, but seem too uncertain in date and general in language for this interpretation to be compelling. Before they are reviewed it should be recalled that the Greek populace, as noticed already in connection with the Alexandrian War and the anti-Roman Acts of the Alexandrians, could be stirred up independently of conflict with Jews, as under Augustus when the prefect Petronius was stoned (Strabo, *Geog.* xvii 1, 53). Thus 'Alexandrian sedition', probably a recurrence of Greek unrest, broke out over the bull Apis while Hadrian was in Britain and Gaul, perhaps in 122 ('Alexandrina seditio', *HA* Hadrian xii 1).¹⁶⁷ Rivalry between places where the newly recognized Apis might be installed for veneration was the reason for the outbreak, according to the *Historia Augusta*; the Alexandrians, jealous for the prestige of their Serapeum, perhaps wished to supplant Memphis, where the mummified Apis

¹⁶³ Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v, 543, n. 1.

¹⁶⁴ See the objections to Mommsen by Schürer and von Premerstein summarized in n. 45, above.

¹⁶⁵ Firpo, 'La "guerra di Quieto" e l'ultima fase della rivolta giudaica del 115–117 d.C.' 100–2, 112–15, quoting also the annal 'the Jews in Libya and Egypt were destroyed in war' (Dindorf 349D).

¹⁶⁶ Eusebius, *Chronicle*, Trajan xviii, in Jerome's translation: *dimicant* (? for part of *polemein*) . . . *magna seditione contendunt* (? for part of *stasis* or *stasiazein*); Eusebius, *H.E.* iv 2, 2 *stasiazein* . . . *stasin* . . . *polemon* (vocabulary discussed earlier in this chapter).

¹⁶⁷ The passage is linked with Jewish revolt, but also taken to refer to an earlier time (115–17) than the Life of Hadrian suggests by its link with Hadrian in Britain and Gaul, by L. Capponi, 'Serapis, Boukoloi and Christians from Hadrian to Marcus Aurelius', in M. Rizzi (ed.), *Hadrian and the Christians* (Millennium-Studien 30, Berlin and New York, 2010), 121–39 (121, n. 2). The interpretation preferred below follows, rather, the dating and explanation offered in the Life.

was buried in the Serapeum.¹⁶⁸ In this case, then, there would have been violent anti-Roman demonstrations on behalf of Alexandria against other cities, rather than clashes between one sector of the Alexandrian populace and another. Egyptian links of the Alexandrians will have heightened disturbance, as when in the late Ptolemaic period a Roman who killed a cat in the city was nearly lynched for this seemingly anti-Egyptian act (Diodorus Siculus, *Hist.* i 83, 8).¹⁶⁹

To consider the debated sources which might be related to Jewish turbulence under Trajan, first, Dio Chrysostom's speech to the Alexandrians, as noticed above, gently mocks the disturbance (*tarachē*) which they have caused, and its intentionally moderate yet firm quelling by Roman troops. His relaxed tone fits the outward Roman attitude of nonchalance, and might suit a disturbance in the years 105–12, to which the speech was conjecturally assigned by H. von Arnim, but not the tense atmosphere of 115–16. Jews are unmentioned, no date is indicated, and in any case the speech may not come from the Trajanic period suggested by von Arnim.¹⁷⁰

Second, a short excerpt from Cassius Dio in the Byzantine historian Petrus Patricius, given without context and without any reference to Jews, relates that the Alexandrians were only stopped from rioting when Hadrian wrote to them; but it could refer to a time later in Hadrian's reign than 117–18, perhaps to the Apis riots in the 120s.¹⁷¹ As noted already, it can be combined with Syncellus on Hadrian's punishment of Alexandrian Jews and with the fragmentary Acts of Paulus and Antoninus on Greek-Jewish argument, discussed below, to suggest Alexandrian Jewish-Greek *stasis* early in Hadrian's reign.¹⁷² Dio here need not, however, refer to Jews, Syncellus probably rests on misinterpretation of Eusebius (n. 45, above), and the import of the Acts is unclear (see below).

Third, the Roman soldier Terentianus, in an undated papyrus letter to his father assigned palaeographically to the earlier part of the second century, writes that 'you know we are hard-worked now, for we are putting

¹⁶⁸ This is suggested as possible by Fündling, *Kommentar zur Vita Hadriani der Historia Augusta*, ii, 598 (K 264, on xii 1).

¹⁶⁹ Compare n. 77, above, for Egyptian anti-Jewish as well as anti-Roman feeling.

¹⁷⁰ Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* xxxii 71–2, discussed in n. 61, above.

¹⁷¹ Cassius Dio, *Hist.* lxi 8, 1a; for the Apis riots see *HA* Hadrian xii 1, cited above; Barry, 'Popular Violence and the Stability of Roman Alexandria, 30 BC–AD 215', 24 (noting the possible alternative connection of the excerpt from Dio with the events of 115–17).

¹⁷² So Firpo, 'La "guerra di Quietò" e l'ultima fase della rivolta giudaica del 115–117 d.C.', 112–15, followed by L. Capponi, 'Hadrian in Jerusalem and Alexandria in 117', *Athenaeum* xcvi (2010), 473–85 (475–6); she also suggests that the letter of Hadrian might be the imperial letter mentioned in the fragmentary P. Oxy. 2177 (the Acts of Athenodorus) = *Acta Alexandrinorum* X, where however the purpose of the letter is unclear and Jews are unmentioned.

down the tumult [*thorybos*] and disturbance [*akatastasia*] of the city'.¹⁷³ Here the language suits serious rioting, but again Jews are unmentioned, and no anxiety is expressed about the writer's father, who is in the *chora*; the letter could suit the earlier stages of unrest in 115, although even then a reference to Jews might be expected, but cannot be confidently connected with the revolt or its prelude.

On the other hand, events in Alexandria at the time of the revolt do receive some light from sources of a more anecdotal and publicistic kind. The ardently pro-Hellene, anti-Roman and anti-Jewish Acts of the Alexandrians, Greek accounts of trial scenes preserved in papyri, form a kind of propaganda literature presenting some analogies with Christian martyr-acts. A. Bauer's 1898 description of the Acts of the Alexandrians as 'pagan martyr-acts' went together with an emphasis on their literary and fictional rather than documentary and archival character which has been developed further in subsequent study.¹⁷⁴ On the Jewish side they can be compared with publicistic political literature including Philo's tracts on events in 38, and Sibylline oracles. Later examples of such literature are the rabbinic anecdotes noted above, on the destruction of the basilica-synagogue and the slaughter of Alexandrian Jews by Trajan; these form a further source for Alexandria in the revolt.¹⁷⁵ Slippery as the Acts of the Alexandrians are for the historian, they give a valuable impression of the kind of rumour and gossip which will have circulated in the times of Jewish-Greek conflict, with a strong impact on events.

Two sets of Acts in particular have been discussed in connection with Alexandrian Jewish unrest under Trajan – the Acts of Hermaiscus, pointing to the earlier years of Trajan, and the Acts of Paulus and Antoninus, referring to Jewish unrest in the city towards the end of Trajan's reign, and in the view of many also suggesting a Jewish presence in Alexandria after Hadrian's accession.

¹⁷³ P. Mich. 477 (P. Inv. 5399), lines 28–30, published with commentary in H. C. Youtie and J. G. Winter (eds.), *Papyri and Ostraca from Karanis* (Michigan Papyri, vol. viii, Ann Arbor and London, 1951), p. 58, and again in Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 28–32, 177, who notes opinions against a connection with the revolt (Youtie and Winter) and for it (E. G. Turner); for a connection is also S. Strassi, 'Hoi ek tou Kaisareiou. Diffusione e valore simbolico dei Kaisareia nell' Egitto romano', *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* lii (2006), 218–43 (219 with n. 4).

¹⁷⁴ A. Bauer, 'Heidnische Märtyrerakten', *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* i (1901), 29–47 (concluded 20 September 1898), taken up in the title of Musurillo, *Acts of the Pagan Martyrs* (1954), and in emphasis on their character as imagined tales in Harker, *Loyalty and Dissidence in Roman Egypt*.

¹⁷⁵ See especially Loewe, 'A Jewish Counterpart to the Acts of the Alexandrians'.

The Acts of Hermaiscus

The Acts of Hermaiscus seem to reflect a situation two years or more before 115. The edict of Lupus from 115 discussed already combines with Eusebius's source to indicate serious factional fighting between Alexandrian Jews and Greeks, leading to Roman repression of the Jews followed by an official warning to the triumphant Greeks. In the Acts of Hermaiscus a comparable rebuke to the Greeks is ascribed to Trajan himself. These Acts, preserved in a damaged early third-century copy first edited in 1914 (P. Oxy. 1242=Acta Alexandrinorum VIII=CPJ 157), use the phrase 'impious (*anosioi*) Jews' discussed already for its overtones of rebellion.¹⁷⁶

Yet they present a scene which could only have taken place well before the revolt. Greek and Jewish embassies from Alexandria have appeared before Trajan in Rome. This sets the dramatic date before his departure (probably in 113) for the Parthian expedition. Both embassies carry their 'gods'. This is perhaps meant to suggest particularly earnest supplication: a Roman observer in late republican times noted that, when Caesar entered Alexandria, then in arms against Rome, the people went out to meet him in suppliant dress 'and with all those sacred objects borne before them, by the cult of which they are accustomed to placate the anger of kings'.¹⁷⁷ Similarly, early in the third century, the leading Alexandrians came out to the suburbs 'with certain sacred and secret objects' to meet Caracalla, whom they had criticized, according to Cassius Dio (lxxviii 22, 2). In these Acts the Greek Alexandrians carry a bust of Serapis, and perhaps the Jews are imagined as carrying a small ark containing sacred books.¹⁷⁸

Trajan receives the Jews most graciously, prompted by his wife the empress Plotina, who is depicted as their friend; she has already sought to induce the senators to oppose the Alexandrians and favour the Jews. When the Greeks arrive and salute the emperor, however, Trajan asks how they dare greet him, having committed 'such harsh acts', *toiauta chalepa*, against the Jews.¹⁷⁹ This adjective *chalepos*, used for severity in various

¹⁷⁶ For discussion see W. Weber, 'Eine Gerichtshandlung vor Kaiser Traian', *Hermes* 1 (1915), 47–92; for further treatments of the text, Harker, *Loyalty and Dissidence in Roman Egypt*, 189.

¹⁷⁷ Ps.-Caesar, *Bellum Alexandrinum* xxxii 3, *sacris*. . . *omnibus prolati quorum religione precari offensos iratosque animos regum erant soliti*.

¹⁷⁸ C. H. Roberts, referring to E. L. Sukenik, *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece* (Schweich Lectures 1930; London, 1934), 52–3, on small portable chests for scrolls of the law, as reported by Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*, 175.

¹⁷⁹ Imperial anger at a salutation is probably a *topos* of this kind of literature; Hadrian in the midrash is pictured as executing Jews indiscriminately, either because they greet him or because they fail to do so (Lam. R. iii 9, on 3:58–60).

contexts, is found in the vocabulary of *stasis* discussed above.¹⁸⁰ Like the arrival of two embassies, each with its own *sacra*, it evokes the atmosphere of factional strife.

Hermaiscus scarcely improves this atmosphere by adding (bravely, from the Greek viewpoint) ‘We are sorry to see your council filled with impious Jews.’ Caesar is angry with Hermaiscus for making out that he has a Jewish council, and Hermaiscus replies that the emperor is indeed acting as an advocate of the impious Jews. The bust of Serapis now sweats, and crowds gather in Rome, but cry out and flee to the highest points of the hills.¹⁸¹

If the dramatic date is accepted as indicating that the period before the Parthian war is envisaged, this narrative from Alexandrian Greeks will not simply be an elaborated imaginary version of events surrounding the edict of Lupus discussed already. It suggests, rather, that there had been anti-Jewish outrages in the years before 113, and that Alexandrian Jewish notables were anxious to press their cause with Rome, no doubt at the same time seeking to quell restiveness in their own community.¹⁸²

Plotina is presumably thought to be open to their suggestions. In the midrash she is an equally potent influence on Trajan, but now she is against the Jews, and persuades him to crush them. A special reason, however, is given for this – enemies of the Jews have slandered them to her, or she has herself come mistakenly to think that they hate the imperial family.¹⁸³

The notion of Jewish senators voiced by Hermaiscus, however exaggerated, matches the impression which was abroad in Rome ten to fifteen years earlier, at the end of the Flavian period (as already noted from Cassius Dio), to the effect that the senatorial class included sympathizers with Judaism.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁰ Thucydides, iii 82, 5; Plato, *Laws*, 629, both quoted in this chapter, above. The use of the adverb *chalepōs* in Philo, *Flacc.* 141, where ‘the city took hardly’, that is ‘grievously resented’, a blow to its reputation caused by satire on the prefect is adduced by Barry, ‘Popular Violence and the Stability of Roman Alexandria, 30 BC–AD 215’, 23 to suggest that *chalepa* in the Acts of Hermaiscus here may simply refer to something non-violent; but there is no complete parallel between this use of the adverb for taking something ‘hardly’, or feeling bitter about it, and the use of the adjective, as in the Acts of Hermaiscus, for hard, severe or cruel deeds.

¹⁸¹ P. Oxy. 1242 = Acta Alexandrinorum viii = CPJ no. 157, col. iii, lines 41–56.

¹⁸² Opposition to revolt by the Alexandrian Jewish upper classes is envisaged for example by A. Fuks, ‘Aspects of the Jewish Revolt in AD 115–7’, *JRS* li (1961), 98–104 (100); Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 341–2.

¹⁸³ Lam. R. i 45, on 1:16; iv 22, on 4:19 (her child is born on 9 Ab, when Jews mourn, and dies at Hanukkah, when the Jews’ festal lights are slanderously interpreted to her as a sign of their joy at the death); in the parallel account in the Talmud Yerushalmi (Sukkah vi, 55b), she herself misunderstands liturgical fasting and rejoicing on the days of the child’s birth and death.

¹⁸⁴ Cassius Dio, *Hist.* lxxvii 14, discussed at Chapter 3, pp. 124–5 and n. 92, above. J. A. Crook, *Consilium Principis* (London, 1955), 53–5, followed by Bennett, *Trajan*, 105, notes the lack of evidence for Jews in the considerable available attestation of Trajan’s consilium (with the exception of Tiberius Alexander Julianus, if he was the son of Philo’s nephew Tiberius Julius Alexander); but for

Nerva's coin-legend from this period, on removal of the calumny of the *fiscus iudaicus*, would fit that impression.¹⁸⁵ Correspondingly, as also noted above, Trajan in this depiction does not continue the Flavian devotion to Serapis, a discontinuity which could be taken by patriotic Alexandrians to signify failure of imperial sympathy with their cause and perhaps even an inclination towards Judaism.

In all, then, the Acts of Hermaiscus indicate an outbreak of anti-Jewish violence some time before that condemned in the edict of Lupus, in an atmosphere in which Alexandrian Greeks believed that Roman authority favoured the Jews. This outbreak would in turn be viewed by Jewish partisans as inviting reprisal, on the lines of the later Jewish turbulence quelled by Roman forces in 115.

The Acts of Paulus and Antoninus

A second fragmentary account in the Acts of the Alexandrians was called by Wilcken the Acts of Paulus and Antoninus. It includes parts of speeches from these two on behalf of the Greeks, and also from the Jews (whose representatives are not named), to 'Caesar'. His personal name is not given in the preserved text, and no location is indicated.

These Acts have been interpreted as evidence for Jewish unrest under Trajan in 115–16, for the continuing significance of the Alexandrian Jewish community at the time of Hadrian's accession in 117, despite Eusebius's notice of Greek slaughter of Alexandrian Jews, and for further Alexandrian Jewish disturbance under Hadrian. Yet interpretation remains debatable; 'Caesar' has been identified as both Trajan and Hadrian, and the deficiencies of the text hinder firm conclusions.

The composition is principally attested in two papyri, written on both sides in what is identified as the same early second-century hand, and formerly belonging to a single roll: P. Lond. Lit. 118, a small fragment presenting parts of lines belonging to two columns from the roll (with the names Theon, Lupus, and an otherwise unknown Claudianus), and P. Louvre 2376 bis, two larger fragments rather more fully attesting parts of six further columns (with a mention of Theon and Lupus again, but mainly devoted to speeches of Paulus, Antoninus, the Jews and Caesar concerning Alexandria and the Alexandrians). An Antoninus is also mentioned in a badly preserved column of the Milan papyrus presenting an edict of Lupus

the view that the charge in the Acts of Hermaiscus, if extended to senatorial circles more broadly, was not without foundation see Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*, 168–72.

¹⁸⁵ Weber, 'Eine Gerichtshandlung vor Kaiser Traian', 64–5.

from the year 115, discussed earlier in this chapter (CPJ 435, i 23; see nn. 11 and 108, above); the circumstances mentioned in the Acts of Paulus and Antoninus resemble those met in the Milan papyrus also in other respects.

Yet only fragments of the Acts survive, and how 'to orientate oneself amidst these ruins' (T. Reinach) is still a vexed question.¹⁸⁶ The Paris and London fragments were first definitely connected as parts of the same roll by U. Wilcken in a re-edition of both in 1891.¹⁸⁷ We do not know how many columns of the roll are lost. On grounds of content Wilcken placed the London fragment as parts of cols. iv and v of the surviving text, the Paris fragments providing cols. i–iii on their recto side, and vi–viii on the verso. He took the text to be a Jewish account of speeches for the Jews before Trajan, perhaps in 117 in Antioch, not long before he died. The Paris fragments were then re-edited by T. Reinach, who recognized that Greeks also spoke and that the account was written from the Greek point of view; he stressed the historical importance of the indication in col. vi that 'impious Jews' had been resettled in a place whence, so the Greeks feared, they might attack Alexandria.¹⁸⁸ Reinach considered the emperor to be possibly Hadrian, but more probably one of the Antonines; he later opted for Hadrian.¹⁸⁹

A much shorter fragment of text in a Berlin papyrus, ascribed to the late second or early third century and first published in 1894, shows correspondences with parts of columns ii–iii in the Paris and London text as reconstructed by Wilcken; now accepting the Greek standpoint of this text, he interpreted the Berlin fragment as part of another recension of the underlying account, notable especially for shortening or omission of speeches on behalf of the Jews.¹⁹⁰

In a new edition of all these fragments Wilcken (1909) identified Hadrian as the unnamed Caesar, a view in which many have followed him.¹⁹¹ Events connected with Lupus under Trajan were indeed being mentioned

¹⁸⁶ T. Reinach, 'Juifs et grecs devant un empereur romain', *REJ* xxvii (1893), 70–82 (75, 'Pour s'orienter au milieu de ces ruines . . .'); for a strong warning of the difficulties see Bell, *Juden und Griechen im römischen Alexandria*, 37.

¹⁸⁷ U. Wilcken, 'Ein Actenstück zum jüdischen Kriege Trajans', 464–80.

¹⁸⁸ Reinach, 'Juifs et grecs devant un empereur romain', 75–81.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 79, n. 1 (the Hadrianic view is possible), 79–80 (he prefers Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, or Commodus); Reinach, 'Nouveaux documents relatifs aux juifs d'Égypte', *REJ* xxxvii (1898), 218–25 (218, on the Paris and London text and the Berlin fragment, now favouring Hadrian).

¹⁹⁰ BGU 341 = Acta Alexandrinorum IXB = CPJ 158b, discussed in relation to the Paris and London text by Wilcken, 'Zum alexandrinischen Antisemitismus', 821–2, 834–6; he suggested that in this case, as with Christian martyr-acts, widely differing recensions of a given trial narrative circulated concurrently.

¹⁹¹ Wilcken, 'Zum alexandrinischen Antisemitismus', 814, followed by Weber, 'Eine Gerichtsverhandlung vor Kaiser Traian', 80; W. D. Gray, 'New Light from Egypt on the Early Reign of Hadrian',

in the text, he suggested, but under Hadrian; in Alexandria a fresh Greek-Jewish *stasis* had broken out after Hadrian's accession and his transfer of Turbo from Egypt to Mauretania.¹⁹² In 1922, A. von Premerstein attempted continuous restoration of as much of the Paris and London text as possible; he now placed the London columns first and last, and the six Paris columns, still in Wilcken's order, between them, retaining for convenience Wilcken's column numbers.¹⁹³ The Paris and London papyri were re-edited again together by H. Musurillo in 1954 as *Acta Alexandrinorum* IXA, following von Premerstein's arrangement of the columns, and Musurillo's text was reprinted with new translation and commentary, now however following Wilcken's arrangement of the columns, by Tcherikover as CPJ 158a, in 1960.¹⁹⁴ Then in connection with the 1988 publication of P. Oxy. 3781, the announcement of Hadrian's accession cited above, J. R. Rea re-edited col. i, lines 1–14.¹⁹⁵ In all these treatments Wilcken's view was accepted, but differences in the placing of the London fragments of columns highlight the difficulties of attaining any overall view of the text.

It had been suggested meanwhile that the Paris, London and Berlin texts, respectively, are the remnants of three separate compositions, contemporary with one another and from the same standpoint.¹⁹⁶ The fact that the London fragment is from the same roll as the Paris fragments increases, however, the likelihood that these belong to the same composition, and Wilcken's view that, with the Berlin fragment, we have simply the remains of two recensions of one account remains plausible.¹⁹⁷ Yet the suggestion underlines once more the extent to which the original compositions remain unknown. The fullest of the three fragmentary texts is in any case the Louvre papyrus. Here they are cited according to V. Tcherikover's arrangement, following Wilcken, in CPJ 158a.

AJSL xl (1923), 14–29; Bell, *Juden und Griechen im römischen Alexandria*, 40–4; Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*, 181; Tcherikover, CPJ ii, no. 158, pp. 88–9; Fuks, CPJ ii, no. 435, pp. 229–30; Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 533; Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 406, n. 67; Hengel, 'Hadrians Politik gegenüber Juden und Christen', 363, n. 23 (not accepting the argument of M. Pucci, see n. 192, below); Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity*, 102–3; Harker, *Loyalty and Dissidence in Roman Egypt*, 56, 76, 85, 87, 90, 191–2 (the name Hadrian is given with 'perhaps' or conditionally at 56, 85, 87, but without qualification elsewhere); L. Capponi, 'Hadrian in Jerusalem and Alexandria in 117', *Athenaeum* xcvi (2010), 473–85 (475–6).

¹⁹² Wilcken, 'Zum alexandrinischen Antisemitismus', 807–22.

¹⁹³ Von Premerstein, 'Alexandrinische und jüdische Gesandte vor Kaiser Hadrian'.

¹⁹⁴ On these papyri and their editions see Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*, 179–82; Harker, *Loyalty and Dissidence in Roman Egypt*, 190–2.

¹⁹⁵ J. R. Rea (ed.), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, lv (London, 1988), pp. 14–18 (16–17); Rea's Greek text is reproduced and discussed by Harker, *Loyalty and Dissidence in Roman Egypt*, 191–2.

¹⁹⁶ J. Schwartz, 'Quelques réflexions à propos des *Acta Alexandrinorum*', *ZPE* lviii (1984), 130–3.

¹⁹⁷ So Harker, *Loyalty and Dissidence in Roman Egypt*, 190–1.

The events indicated in the texts can be tentatively described as an edict of Lupus to do with weapons (perhaps mentioned in the fragmentary iv 2–4, from the London papyrus, discussed already; see n. 147, above), an edict of Lupus to bring forth for mockery a king of stage and mime (i 1–7, iv 11–12), the breaking out of custody of a number of slaves, for which Jews deny responsibility (ii 8–9, iii 5–14), and a series of letters from the Alexandrians to Caesar which complain that Jews have been ordered to settle nearby (*proskatoikein*), where they could ‘fall upon and make war against’ our city (Antoninus’s speech in the Louvre papyrus, vi 11–18).¹⁹⁸

That ‘Caesar’ is Trajan can be suggested by the references in the Louvre papyrus to an edict of Lupus (i 5), presumably M. Rutilius Lupus, attested as prefect 113–17, to ‘the Dacian war’ (i 13, recalled personally in a response by the emperor), again to Lupus (iv 3, in the London papyrus), and to Antoninus (vi 8, etc.), if he is to be identified with the Antoninus of CPJ 435. Correspondingly, the ‘king of stage and mime’ mentioned in i 1 and i 7 can be envisaged as an actor satirizing Lucuas, the ‘king’ of the Cyrenian Jews who invaded Egypt under Trajan. The Greeks had used mime-writers, and given mock salutations to a simpleton dressed as a king, in order to satirize the hailing of king Agrippa I by Alexandrian Jews (Philo, *Flacc.* 33–40); comparable anti-Jewish theatre is attested again in the third century.¹⁹⁹ A mention of the theatre in the edict of Lupus published in 1937 from a Milan papyrus and discussed at the beginning of this chapter (CPJ no. 435, ii 25; most of this line and the following line is lost) again encouraged a connection of the Paris text with Lucuas, but Tcherikover held that there is too little context in its first column to permit a satisfactory interpretation.²⁰⁰ A Hadrianic setting for these lines in the Louvre papyrus was indeed later implied by J. R. Rea’s attractive restoration of col. i, redividing five letters in i 2 to give *etos a*, ‘year One’, and giving a smooth-running sentence in lines 1–4 where on earlier conjectures the construction seemed abrupt; the reference to an edict of Lupus (in office until 117) remains, but the stage king, Rea suggests, is an actor in a drama to celebrate Hadrian’s accession; designating the current year as One, he would have represented either Trajan or Hadrian.²⁰¹ Lastly, however, in a passage (ii 5) often taken to indicate Hadrian, ‘Caesar’ mentions ‘the

¹⁹⁸ For summaries see Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*, 184–6; Tcherikover, CPJ ii, no. 158, p. 89.

¹⁹⁹ Lam. R., Proem 17, and iii 5, on Lam. 3:14, in the name of Abbahu (Caesarea, end of third century).

²⁰⁰ Tcherikover, CPJ ii, no. 158a, p. 95, on i 7 (‘I think we must frankly avow our ignorance here’).

²⁰¹ Rea, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, lv, pp. 16–17; earlier scholars had suggested part of the verb *tothazo*, ‘mock’, used by Philo, *Leg.* 165 together with *chleuazo* (which soon appears in the Paris text of the Acts, col. i, line 6) in connection with the anti-Jewish mockery of Gaius’s Egyptian servants;

kyrios in whose absence (following a likely restoration) disturbances took place; here Hadrian might indeed be mentioning Trajan, but the *kyrios* can equally well be a prefect of Egypt.²⁰²

If, however, as Wilcken and Reinach came to think, the text suggests a hearing under Hadrian after further disturbance, 'my prefect' in another speech of 'Caesar' (iii 21) can be taken as referring not to Lupus but to Q. Rammius Martialis, Hadrian's new appointee, prefect of Egypt from the first Egyptian regnal year of Hadrian (11–28 August 117); moreover, the name Rammius can be conjecturally restored in the London papyrus, although at this point there is scarcely any context (v 3, vocative [*Ram*]mie). Caesar's reference to the 'Dacian' war in the Louvre papyrus might then be understood in connection either with the young Hadrian's participation in Trajan's Dacian wars (*HA* Hadrian iii 2–3, 6–7), or with Hadrian's repression in 118–19 of the Roxolani and Sarmatians, neighbours of the Dacians (*HA* Hadrian vi 6–8, cf. v 2).²⁰³ Wilcken noted that the rioting which caused Hadrian to write to the Alexandrians, according to the excerpt from Cassius Dio in Petrus Patricius, could have occurred while Hadrian was quelling the Roxolani; but in view of the fragmentary nature of both the excerpt and the Acts he did not claim this as more than a possibility.²⁰⁴ If the war with the Roxolani is indeed in view, the dramatic date of the hearing before 'Caesar' is no earlier than 118–19, and Musurillo and Tcherikover put it (allowing for Alexandrian disturbance during the war with the Roxolani and the subsequent series of letters mentioned in col. vi) in 119–120.²⁰⁵ On the other hand, Gray's date of 117 under Hadrian (and so not long after his accession) would be possible on the view that Hadrian spoke of his experiences in Trajan's Dacian wars, and that the disturbances took place under Trajan, although little time is then allowed for 'so many letters sent to you' – Hadrian (vi 11–12).²⁰⁶ After the publication of the edict of Lupus from a Milan papyrus (CPJ ii 435), A. Fuks concluded that the events concerned in the Acts of Paulus and Antoninus are mainly the

but the syntax of lines 1–4 then seemed abrupt (a conjunction might be expected with 'how they brought him forth . . . ' in line 2). See the query over the construction of the restored words in Weber, 'Eine Gerichtsverhandlung vor Kaiser Traian', 81, n. 6.

²⁰² E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, i (3rd–4th edn, Göttingen, 1901), 66 and n. 2 (not reproduced in the revised English translation of 1973); similarly, von Premerstein, 'Alexandrinische und jüdische Gesandte vor Kaiser Hadrian', 284; Tcherikover in CPJ ii, no. 158a, p. 96.

²⁰³ The latter is preferred by Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*, 181–3; Marcius Turbo for this purpose was made temporary commander of Pannonia and Dacia (*HA* Hadrian vi 7).

²⁰⁴ Wilcken, 'Zum alexandrinischen Antisemitismus', 816.

²⁰⁵ Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*, 183; Tcherikover in CPJ ii, p. 89.

²⁰⁶ Gray, 'New Light from Egypt on the Early Reign of Hadrian', 19.

same as those of the year 115 alluded to in the edict, but were followed by further disturbances (the resettlement of Jews could be part of this sequel), and are now recalled under Hadrian.²⁰⁷ Lastly, a Hadrianic setting for the stage king was implied, as just noted, by J. R. Rea's restoration of col. i.

Thus names and phrases which immediately suggest the later years of Trajan but could also fit a discussion of these in the early years of Hadrian (especially Lupus, Dacian war, Antoninus; the stage king, if connected with Lucuas) must be viewed together with two textual conjectures – on Rammius and, especially, on the stage king and year One, part of the restoration of a long passage – which, if right, indicate a Hadrianic setting. Although the conjectures can themselves be said to depend on the assumption of this setting, the fact that parts of the text can be plausibly restored on this assumption weighs to some extent in its favour. As compared with reports in the early historians, this interpretation fits Hadrian's engagement with ending revolt and establishing peace as documented in the *Historia Augusta* and in Eusebius's *Chronicle*, discussed above, although an appeal to Syncellus on Hadrianic punishment of the Alexandrian Jews in particular seems unjustified.²⁰⁸

One difficulty for the Hadrianic interpretation lies, however, in reconciling this picture of fresh Alexandrian Jewish *stasis* under Hadrian, followed by a judicial hearing which – in 117, according to Gray, but in 119–20, according to Musurillo, Tcherikover and others – is also still reviewing events of 115, with the historians' attestation of a massacre of Alexandrian Jews under Trajan (Eusebius), and Jewish demolition of Pompey's monument outside Alexandria at the time when Trajan was 'utterly destroying' the Jews in Egypt (Appian). The rabbinic narrative of Trajan's slaughter of the Alexandrians gives the same impression of massacre. Appian and Eusebius thus express themselves in a way which seems to indicate annihilation of the Alexandrian Jews, as A. von Premerstein put it (without mentioning the Talmud); but – he added on the basis of the Hadrianic interpretation of these Acts – that cannot in fact be supposed to have taken place.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁷ Fuks in CPJ ii, no. 435, pp. 229–30; like the edict of Lupus, the Acts of Paulus and Antoninus mention a Greek attack on Jews, an incident connected with the theatre, the responsibilities of slaves and masters, and the name Antoninus (mentioned in passing in CPJ 435, i, 23, but central in these Acts).

²⁰⁸ This was rightly noted, against Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v, 543, n. 1, by von Premerstein, 'Alexandrinische und jüdische Gesandte vor Kaiser Hadrian', 312, n. 1; see nn. 36 and 45, above.

²⁰⁹ Von Premerstein, 'Alexandrinische und jüdische Gesandte vor Kaiser Hadrian', 307; as noted already (see n. 208) he had rejected Mommsen's interpretation of Syncellus as evidence for the continuing importance of the Jewish community at the beginning of Hadrian's reign.

M. Pucci, however, obviated this difficulty by arguing that the Caesar of the Acts is indeed Trajan, as Wilcken originally thought. Accepting with Fuks that the events are mainly those mentioned in the edict of Lupus, she notes that Trajan is in any case suggested by the mention of Lupus and a Dacian war, and that there is no need to accept the conjectural restoration of the name Rammius, in the vocative [*Ram*]mie (although her own suggestion, the vocative [*Ky*]rie addressed to the emperor, is judged unlikely by A. Harker, since from a photograph the letter before Iota appears indeed to be Mu).²¹⁰ She added that the date of 115 would also explain the lack of any specific mention of the fighting of 116–17 in Antoninus's complaint about Jewish resettlement, and that in 115 the Greek and Jewish representatives could have sought out Trajan while he was based in Antioch for the Parthian campaign.²¹¹ Cassius Dio indeed specifically notes that litigants and embassies had come to Antioch from all over the world while he wintered there (Dio, *Hist.* lxxviii 24, 1, mediated through Xiphilinus). The Paris and London text could then be interpreted as giving further details about the situation in 115–16, including the time after 'the battle of the Romans against the Jews' mentioned in the edict of Lupus (CPJ ii, no. 435, iii 26 – iv 1).

Discussion still continues, but some limited conclusions can be drawn on these Acts as a source for revolt in the city. First, it is still unclear whether Caesar is Trajan or Hadrian. There is a fair case for Hadrian, but it must contend with the awkwardness of apparent recurrence to earlier events without recognition of the impact of intervening conflict and massacre. For this question the overall deficiency of the text is a grave impediment. Second, however, although the stage king is ambiguous, the events which do stand out with some clarity, including a resettlement of Jews, most probably occurred in any case under Trajan, at and soon after the time of Lupus's 115 edict. Third, the possibility of a Jewish presence in the city at the beginning of Hadrian's reign has been considered especially on the basis of these Acts. For this question they should probably be left aside as uncertain testimony, in the present state of discussion; but the possibility of some Jewish presence in Alexandria under Hadrian is raised by other sources discussed below, the Fifth Sibylline book and (by analogy) the papyri indicating some small continuing Jewish presence in

²¹⁰ M. Pucci, 'CPJ II, 158, 435 e la rivolta ebraica al tempo di Traiano', *ZPE* li (1983), 95–103; Harker, *Loyalty and Disidence in Roman Egypt*, 192.

²¹¹ M. Pucci Ben Zeev, 'Greek Attacks against Alexandrian Jews during Emperor Trajan's Reign', *JSJ* xx (1989), 31–48; Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 139–41; so also Kerkeslager, 'The Jews in Egypt and Cyrenaica, 66 – c.235 CE', 62.

the *chora*, despite fearful slaughters of Jews there. Lastly, as with the Acts of Hermaiscus, the preoccupation of the text with various incidents forms a valuable indication of the rumours abroad in the city.

The revolt in the city

To summarize events as they have emerged so far: already before Trajan left for the east in 113, Alexandrian Greek-Jewish conflict had involved anti-Jewish outrages; the Acts of Hermaiscus suggest that these led to embassies from both sides, the Greeks being convinced that Trajan, his consort and council favoured the Jews. In 115, to follow Eusebius, Jewish *stasis* against gentile neighbours broke out in Alexandria, the rest of Egypt, and Cyrenaica. Eminent Jews no doubt made an effort to restrain this outbreak, but they were perhaps divided in sympathy, as had probably been the case when refugee Sicarii sought the support of their predecessors in 73; the midrashic traditions discussed below on the wealthy Pappus and 'Lulianus the Alexandrian', executed by Trajan after aiding Jewish immigration to Judaea, likewise suggest that funding for insurgents in Alexandria and Egypt could have come, given no doubt with varied degrees of willingness, from wealthy Alexandrian Jews.²¹² In Alexandria in 115, at any rate, as Lupus's edict of 14 October shows, Jewish turbulence had to be restrained by Roman forces in a 'battle of the Romans against the Jews', and this battle was followed by Greek anti-Jewish turbulence.

As the Acts of Paulus and Antoninus suggest, a Roman decree directed 'impious Jews' to transfer residence 'over against us' or 'by our side' (*proskaitoikein*), where they could easily 'fall upon and make war against' Alexandria. According to Antoninus's speech this order has evoked letters of complaint from the Greeks to Caesar, but no answer has been received (CPJ no. 158, vi 11–18). On the understanding of the Acts as representing a hearing before Hadrian, this resettlement has sometimes been connected with Hadrian's rebuilding in Alexandria after the revolt.²¹³ Sometimes, however, still on the Hadrianic interpretation, it has been placed earlier,

²¹² See pp. 264–9, below; a Jewish Julianus is attested on an amphora stopping from Alexandria (CIJ 1439 = JIGRE 21), but the name was common.

²¹³ Von Premerstein, 'Alexandrinische und jüdische Gesandte vor Kaiser Hadrian', 297–8, 312 (part of the Alexandrian Jewish population resettled on the border of a Greek quarter during Hadrian's rebuilding of Alexandria after the disturbances), followed in the main by Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*, 185–6; Tcherikover, CPJ ii, no. 158, p. 98, on vi 14 (but with the suggestion that those Jews being resettled were refugees from the *chora*); Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 408–9 (viewing this suggestion with some favour).

perhaps just after Hadrian's accession and Rammius Martialis's arrival.²¹⁴ It could, however, even if 'Caesar' is Hadrian, be envisaged as the result of a decree issued under Trajan. That is the view of it taken here.

That this decree concerned the Jews of Alexandria rather than refugees from elsewhere is suggested by analogy with Philo's description of a resettlement in the city during the Greek-Jewish conflict in 38. Indeed, it has been proposed that the presentation here in the Acts has been deliberately adapted to mirror an episode in the celebrated Alexandrian disturbance under Gaius.²¹⁵ Yet resettlement is true enough to practice in such circumstances to have been a genuine measure. In 38 Flaccus had permitted the Greeks to evict the Jews from four of the five quarters of the city, and to drive them into one – probably the quarter east of Lochias – whence they overflowed onto beaches, rubbish heaps and tombs – probably the area of burials near the shore east of the city (Philo, *Flacc.* 55–6).²¹⁶ A later comparable Roman attempt to facilitate policing was the dividing of Alexandria by a wall and guard posts under Caracalla (Cassius Dio, *Hist.* lxxviii 23, 3).

Two opposite interpretations of the decree of resettlement are offered. Perhaps the Greeks had driven Jews into one single district, as in 38, but the Romans now allowed them to return to their homes in other quarters 'by our side' (*proskatoikein*) and so to intermingling with other inhabitants.²¹⁷ This permission seems unlikely, however, at a time of tension. Alternatively and more plausibly, it is suggested that the Romans themselves would have forced all Jews into one district for purposes of control, but the Greeks felt threatened by its position.²¹⁸ It is objected that the Greeks would hardly have complained of a measure like that which their own ancestors had taken under Gaius, but now this was not their own action and they would have been ready to see its disadvantages; in any case, they would have been seeking the complete expulsion of Jews, and this complaint would have suited their argument.

The district concerned could have been a suburb like those on the sites of Hadra to the east or Gabbary to the west, noted above for the Jewish element in their populations. Tcherikover takes it to be outside the city

²¹⁴ So Bell, *Juden und Griechen im römischen Alexandria*, 43 (the decree caused the disturbances punished by Rammius Martialis); Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity*, 102–3.

²¹⁵ Harker, *Loyalty and Dissidence in Roman Egypt*, 96.

²¹⁶ For this interpretation of the topography see nn. 155–6, above.

²¹⁷ Wilcken, 'Zum alexandrinischen Antisemitismus', 820; Pucci Ben Zeev, 'Greek Attacks against Alexandrian Jews during Emperor Trajan's Reign', 37–8.

²¹⁸ Weber, 'Eine Gerichtsverhandlung vor Kaiser Traian', 86, n. 3.

when he suggests (placing the event after Hadrian's accession) that the resettled Jews were not from Alexandria, but refugees from the *chora*.²¹⁹ Yet it seems more plausible to envisage the site as the old Jewish quarter east of Lochias, perhaps now with an extension to the east where the overflow had taken place in 38; Apion's mockery of Jewish settlement down on the beach of a harbourless shore would already suit some such outlying habitation (Josephus, *Ap.* ii 33–4). The Christian tradition that disciples of Saint Mark built a church near the sea in this area, and that he himself was killed there by adherents of the cult of Serapis, is probably another sign of the association of this north-eastern area with Jewish residence.²²⁰

Perhaps then this passage in Antoninus's speech can be linked with Appian's report of the Jewish overthrow of Pompey's monument in the precinct of Nemesis 'for the needs of the war' (*B.C.* ii 90, 138). Appian notes that the precinct was 'before the city', and it then seems likely that at one stage Jewish forces controlled both the Jewish quarter east of Lochias and the area outside to the east, including the area further south where the Nemeseion may have been situated.²²¹ The Jewish presence noted above in the eastern suburb in the region of modern Hadra might have aided this outcome. Stone was perhaps needed for fortification (compare the barricades of squared stone and the towers erected by the Greeks in the city during Caesar's Alexandrian War), and at the same time a possible vantage point for Greek or Roman counter-attack from outside was removed.²²² Before this, it may be suggested on the basis of Antoninus's speech, Jews had been driven into their quarter east of Lochias and the area beyond. The use of *proskatoikein* would suit this quarter, on and beyond the old city boundary, and need not refer to a settlement wholly outside Alexandria. Greek fears as expressed by Antoninus would then have been realized in the next stage of hostilities, depicted by Appian on the Nemeseion.

To place these events in their broader context, by the time of Lupus's decree of 14 October 115, discussed above, the *stasis* attributed in Eusebius's

²¹⁹ Tcherikover, CPJ ii, no. 158, p. 98, on vi 14; this is viewed as a possible explanation by Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 408–9.

²²⁰ See the Greek *Martyrium S. Marci* in Simeon Metaphrastes, *Vitae Sanctorum* (PG 115.163–70), discussed by Pearson, 'The Acts of Mark and the Topography of Ancient Alexandria'; a form of this tradition is also found in the Paschal Chronicle, Olympiad 220 (ed. L. Dindorf, i, 471).

²²¹ So, tentatively, P. Perdrizet, 'Némésis', *BCH* xxxvi (1912), 248–74 (256–8); the Nemeseion was placed east rather than north-east of the city by A. Calderini in his map of ancient Alexandria, in W. Schubart, 'Alexandria', *RAC* i (Stuttgart, 1950), cols. 271–83 (273–4), and an eastern position without further specification is favoured by Adriani, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto Greco-Romano, Serie C*, text volume, 230. Conjectured locations of ancient sites known only from literary texts are not marked by Tkaczow, *Topography of Ancient Alexandria (An Archaeological Map)*. I have not seen B. Lichocka, *Némésis en Egypte romaine* (Mainz, 2004), summarized in SEG lv (2005), 000.

²²² On the stone barricades and towers see Ps.-Caesar, *Bellum Alexandrinum*, iii 4.

History to this year had included a 'battle of the Romans against the Jews' followed by Greek anti-Jewish turbulence. This turbulence, as noted above, is unlikely to be identical with the probably later killing of city Jews which followed the 'first engagement' of the war, according to Eusebius (*H.E.* iv 2, 2–3). It was in the following year, reckoned from December 115 or January 116, that *stasis* became war, still according to Eusebius's *History*; his unnamed source with its clear Alexandrian interest was perhaps Appian himself, as suggested above. The decree of resettlement can be tentatively ascribed to late autumn 115, in the period of turbulence which followed the 'battle of the Romans against the Jews' and perhaps coincided with news of the uprising in Cyrenaica and the advance of Cyrenaic Jewish forces towards Egypt. The same autumnal period of turbulence would form a plausible setting for violence involving slaves (Acts of Paulus and Antoninus, ii 8–9, iii 5–14) and an edict against weapons (Acts of Paulus and Antoninus, iv 2–4). Fresh Jewish war preparations and outbreaks, including fortification of what had now become the one Jewish quarter, on the lines just tentatively sketched with the help of Appian and the Acts of Paulus and Antoninus, can be envisaged in Alexandria as *stasis* became war in 116.

Yet these Jewish preparations soon met overwhelming opposition, even though, or rather because, the 'first engagement' of the war was a Jewish victory. Its site is unknown, but it could have taken place on the road from Cyrene near the coast, between Paraetonium (Marsa Matruh) and Alexandria, in the area where the two battles of El-Alamein were fought in 1942 to halt the German and Italian advance from Cyrenaica into Egypt. In ancient times, however, this 'first engagement' was a victory for the force advancing to the east, that of the Cyrenaican Jews; however, gentile fugitives fled to Alexandria and 'took captive and killed the Jews in the city' (Eusebius, *H.E.* iv 2, 3, discussed above).

Eusebius gives no further details of events in the city, turning instead to the Roman repression of revolt in the *chora*. In the *Chronicle*, without specifying the capture and killing of the city Jews, he simply notes that 'the gentile party prevails in Alexandria' (annal for Trajan xvii, quoted in full above). Orosius combines the *History* and the *Chronicle* to give the misleading impression of a single battle in Alexandria itself: 'In Alexandria, however, after battle had been engaged, they were conquered and crushed.'²²³ The important point conveyed by the *Chronicle* is a sense of

²²³ [I]n Alexandria autem commisso proelio victi et adtriti sunt, Orosius, *Hist.* vii 12, 7. Orosius's confusing combination of the two sources, discussed in n. 40, above, might have led him to think of a battle inside Alexandria (as in the translation by R. J. Deferrari 'in Alexandria, in a pitched battle . . .', quoted by Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 90), although it might just

the decisive character of the slaughter in Alexandria. Lucuas was indeed deprived of the support of the Alexandrian Jews, as Eusebius puts it in the *History*, but this gentile advantage in the city also meant that Roman military and naval forces now had a secure base for further operations.

The brief summary statement in Eusebius's *History* suggests a slaughter without a battle in the city. This event, responding to failure to check Lucuas's eastward advance, would then have been comparable, as to its circumstances, with the massacres and imprisonments of Jews at gentile hands in the Syrian cities in 66, at a time when Jewish rebel forces were attacking nearby cities and towns – acts committed by the gentiles not only out of hatred, says Josephus, but also to forestall the danger which otherwise threatened (Josephus, *B.J.* ii 457–80 [461]).

Some of these incidents as described by Josephus are wholesale massacres of Jewish populations by the gentile populations, as at Caesarea and Scythopolis; others, as at Ascalon, Ptolemais-Acco, Tyre, Hippos and Gadara, combine the killing of large numbers, perhaps those considered more dangerous, with imprisonment of the rest. In Alexandria, however, with 'took captive and killed', Eusebius (*H.E.* iv 2, 3) seems to signify that those captured were killed.²²⁴ His language recalls Josephus's summaries concerning the massacre of captives by both Jews and gentiles: 'the slaughter of those [Syrians] who were captured was beyond measure . . . they slaughtered those [Jews] who were taken in the cities' (*B.J.* ii 460–1).

Rufinus's translation seems to agree with this understanding of Eusebius's 'took captive and killed', but at the same time implies queries about the extent of the massacre and the Roman response to the Greek actions. His version runs: 'But the gentiles who had fled from the battle-line, bursting into Alexandria, took captive and killed any Jews whom they happened to find there' (*sed gentiles, qui ex acie fugerant, inrumpentes Alexandriam Iudaeos, si quos forte inibi reppererant, captos interemere*).²²⁵ The participle *inrumpentes* could represent expansion by the translator, as could the clause *si quos . . .*, 'any . . . whom they happened to find there', but the latter at

be possible to take *commisso proelio* of engagement in battle elsewhere. In any case the report in Eusebius's *History* of a battle outside Alexandria followed by a massacre in the city is convincing in its similarity to Josephus's reports of gentile attacks on Jews in the Syrian cities at a time when Jews were at war in the vicinity, noted in the text below.

²²⁴ Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 393, 395–6 interprets 'killing some of the Jews and imprisoning others', possibly influenced by a view of the Acts of Paulus and Antoninus as attesting communal Alexandrian Jewish survival under Hadrian; she identifies this slaughter with the Greek turbulence rebuked by Lupus in the edict of 14 October 115 (but Eusebius's narrative suggests that the slaughter after the battle against Lucuas belongs to the following year, as urged above).

²²⁵ E. Schwartz, *Die Kirchengeschichte* and T. Mommsen, *Die lateinische Uebersetzung des Rufinus* (GCS ix, Eusebius Werke 2; 2 vols., Leipzig, 1903), i, 301.

least perhaps more probably reflects a longer original Greek text.²²⁶ If so, Eusebius or his source stresses in this clause the killing as well as capture of any Jew whom the Greeks met, and goes on to note that this slaughter deprived the Cyrenian Jews of the help they expected, but does not explicitly describe it as a complete annihilation. At the same time the wording suggests that Jews might be found in various parts of the city. If, as seems possible, resettlement in one quarter had already been ordered, some of these might have been attempting flight. If they had been armed bands, some mention of conflict might have been expected. Given the lack of detailed information, these conjectures may be worth noting; but this text, even in the longer form found in Rufinus, remains a brief summary which cannot be pressed too hard.

To move back to *inrumpentes*, Rufinus with the use of this word seems to envisage an inrush by Greek forces who 'burst into' the city despite Roman guards at the gates and elsewhere, and so highlights the question concerning Roman city security which Eusebius's narrative raises. Perhaps there was deliberate Roman non-intervention, given the threat from Jewish rebels outside the city; on the other hand, active co-operation by Roman forces is unmentioned. This silence on the Romans should not be overrated, given the brief and Hellenocentric character of the account, but it does contrast with the importance given in the sequel to Marcius Turbo. Yet Roman action against the Jews probably in any case eventually followed Jewish resistance to the killings.

In its suggestion of massacre rather than imprisonment Eusebius's *History* is close to the narrative of Trajan ascribed to Simeon b. Yohai in the Talmud Yerushalmi (Sukkah v 1, 55b); here, however, by contrast, Greeks are unmentioned, and action by the Romans alone is described. Three times Israel have disregarded the warning not to return to Egypt (Exod. 14:13), and the third time is under Trajan. Trajan, having brought his legions, simply slaughters the Jewish men and women of Alexandria, destroying their famous basilica, and their blood runs out as far as to Cyprus – in allusion perhaps both to the view that the Nile current ran as far as Cyprus, and to the contemporaneous Cypriot Jewish rising.²²⁷ 'At that hour the horn of Israel was broken, and will not be restored to its place until the Son

²²⁶ At *H.E.* ii 25, 7, quoting the Christian writer Gaius on the trophies of SS. Peter and Paul in Rome, Rufinus's Latin probably represents a line of about 20 to 22 letters which has fallen out of the Greek text, as suggested by F. Tailliez, followed by T. D. Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography and Roman History* (Tria Corda, 5, Tübingen, 2010), 24–6. A comparable omission can be envisaged at iv 2, 3.

²²⁷ Loewe, 'A Jewish Counterpart to the Acts of the Alexandrians', 119, n. 72, citing Euripides, *Bacchae*, 406–8 (the Nile waters Cyprus).

of David comes.' Here Turbo is replaced by Trajan himself, and Alexandria with its fame represents Egypt as a whole.

This retrospect affirms terrible Roman slaughter of Jews in Alexandria and Egypt under Trajan, and follows the laudatory description of the basilican prayer-house in Alexandria as the glory of Israel which is ascribed to Judah b. Ilai, but is too general to do more than underline the likelihood of Roman-Jewish as well as Greek-Jewish battle in the city. It accords with the generally anti-Roman attitude ascribed to Simeon b. Yohai in the years following Bar Kokhba's revolt, just as the description of the basilica which precedes it can be thought to accord, in its affirmation of diaspora Israelite 'glory', with Judah b. Ilai's generally positive view of Roman rule.²²⁸

For Eusebius's source, however, Greek rather than Roman hands accomplish the decisive slaughter. This may simply reflect a Hellenocentrism which eschewed emphasis on Rome. The earlier history of Greek-Jewish relations in the city suggests, however, in any case, that this slaughter will not have taken place without Jewish resistance and Roman permission. Since a Jewish army threatened Alexandria, and Jews, probably those of Alexandria, had taken defensive measures which included the pulling down of Pompey's monument outside the city, the killing may not have been stopped, and was possibly aided, by such Roman forces as were left to defend and police the city.²²⁹ Yet any aid given will have had its limits, for these forces will probably also have been involved, as before, in quelling the Greek population and restoring order; Greek disorder in Alexandria remained a threat. Given the great size of the Alexandrian Jewish population, these events will have been drawn out, refugees will have been numerous, and it is conceivable that a small number of Jews were able to remain in the city after the final restoration of order; however, the impression given in both the *History* and the *Chronicle* that the massacre was a turning point (an impression underlined by the Talmudic lament just quoted) makes it unlikely that major Jewish fighting in Alexandria itself took place thereafter.²³⁰

²²⁸ This point is made by N. Hacham, 'From Splendor to Disgrace: on the Destruction of Egyptian Jewry in Rabbinic Literature', *Tarbiz* lxxii (2002–3), 463–88; the account of the three returns is found, without the description of what Trajan did, also in Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael, Beshallah, Wayehi, 3, on Exod. 14:13.

²²⁹ Jewish resistance is comparably envisaged (without discussion of specifically Roman repression) by Bell, *Juden und Griechen im römischen Alexandria*, 39.

²³⁰ The difficulty of ascertaining from Eusebius whether the whole Jewish population was involved in a massacre, how many were killed, and in what circumstances is rightly underlined by G. Schimanowski, *Juden und Nichtjuden in Alexandrien. Koexistenz und Konflikte bis zum Pogrom unter Trajan (117 n. Chr.)* (Münsteraner Judaistische Studien 18, Münster, 2006), 205–6.

Hadrian's subjection of Jews rebelling 'for the second time', ascribed to his first year by Eusebius's *Chronicle* (the 'first time' being taken probably to be the first Jewish revolt against Rome in 66), will then not refer to Alexandria, despite the interpretation of this annal in Syncellus on Hadrian's punishment of Alexandrian Jews.²³¹ The immediate destination of some Jewish refugees will have been Lucius's army. More distant western destinations could have included Cyrene and, eventually, Africa. To the east, links of Judaea with Alexandria continue to be evident in inscriptions and rabbinic literature; thus Akiba's pupil Eleazar b. Shammua, born in Alexandria, could perhaps have come to Judaea at this time.²³²

Hadrian succeeded Trajan in the following year (August 117). His restoration of Alexandria is ascribed to his first year by Eusebius, that is to the year from September 117 onwards, and was evidently among the first great public works of his principate. It will relate to damage caused in the period 115–16, although it almost certainly exceeded simple rebuilding. Similar building in Alexandria was continued by his successor Antoninus Pius.²³³

Viewed together with other evidence for honours to the new emperor and rebuilding in Egypt, and for Hadrianic edicts concerning Egypt before the end of October 117, Hadrian's restoration of Alexandria has been thought to suggest his personal presence there at some time in the period from late September to October 117.²³⁴ Alexandria was indeed vital for a claimant to power, as already noticed, but perhaps none of this activity absolutely requires Hadrian's presence.

A visit from him at this point can also be suggested, however, by a passage on Hadrian, Jerusalem and the biblical translator Aquila in an account of biblical versions by Epiphanius, a fourth-century Judaeon who became bishop of Salamis in Cyprus.²³⁵

This narrative by Epiphanius, discussed further in the following chapter, sets a journey by Hadrian to Egypt via Phoenicia and Jerusalem forty-seven years after the desolation of Jerusalem – that is, if the desolation is dated

²³¹ See n. 45, above. The rebellious attitude of Egypt at the beginning of Hadrian's reign mentioned in the *Historia Augusta* (Hadrian, v 2) will relate to the *chora*.

²³² Horbury and Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt*, nos. 146, 148, 150 (Jaffa, 2nd–4th century); G. Stemberger, *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch* (9th edn, Munich, 2010), 93 (Eleazar born in Alexandria).

²³³ Adriani, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto Greco-Romano, Serie C*, text volume, 21, 27–8.

²³⁴ Gray, 'New Light from Egypt on the Early Reign of Hadrian'; attention is drawn to his work in a fresh presentation of the argument by Capponi, 'Hadrian in Jerusalem and Alexandria in 117', 476–80.

²³⁵ Capponi, 'Hadrian in Jerusalem and Alexandria in 117', 480.

in 70, in the year 117.²³⁶ Substantially the same reckoning survives in the early seventh-century Paschal Chronicle, now simply in connection with Jerusalem and without reference to Egypt; but a third text with much the same tradition on Hadrian and Jerusalem, the sixth-century Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila, gives no year and, having mentioned Hadrian's love of inquiry and travel, with 'again he visited' seems to imply a journey belonging to a series.²³⁷

Epiphanius himself placed the desolation of Jerusalem by Titus in the second year of Titus's principate (80–81), which with the addition of forty-seven years would bring the time of Hadrian's journey to 127–8, near the date of 129–30 indicated by Cassius Dio (Ixi 11, 1–2) and coinage (Chapter 5 and n. 1, below).²³⁸ The parallel with the Paschal Chronicle suggests, however, that the reckoning of forty-seven years after the desolation came to him from his source and is independent of his own calculations.²³⁹ It is close to the reckoning of fifty-two years between the destruction of the temple and the fall of Bethar attributed in the Talmud to R. Jose b. Halafta.²⁴⁰

Even so, the journey which Epiphanius describes seems likely to be that of 129–30, as suggested by a series of scholars (n. 236, above), for it also remains doubtful whether Hadrian could have given the time envisaged in the suggestion of a visit in the late September and the October of 117. Hadrian's presence in Antioch soon after the beginning of October would

²³⁶ Epiphanius, *De mensuris et ponderibus*, xiv, reprinted from Petavius's edition of 1622 in PG xliii 260 (on his way to Egypt Hadrian came to Jerusalem forty-seven years after its destruction by Titus, and began the new foundation of the city as Aelia Capitolina); see Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 540, following Petavius (Epiphanius seems from his language to think, despite the date he gives, of one of Hadrian's later long journeys from Rome); Abel, *Histoire de la Palestine depuis la conquête d'Alexandre jusqu'à l'invasion arabe* (2 vols, Paris, 1952), ii, 67–8 (the new emperor's occupations between August and October 117 would scarcely have permitted him to visit Palestine and Egypt, whereas what Epiphanius describes well fits Hadrian's documented Syrian, Judean and Egyptian journey twelve years later).

²³⁷ L. Dindorf (ed.), *Chronicon Paschale* (2 vols., Bonn, 1832), i, 473–4 (Olympiad 224, year 3, indiction 1, corresponding to AD 119); F. C. Conybeare (ed.), *The Dialogues of Athanasius and Zacchaeus and of Timothy and Aquila* (Anecdota Oxoniensia 8, Oxford, 1898), text, p. 91 (f. 118v).

²³⁸ D. Petau (Petavius) (ed.), *Epiphanius Constantiae, sive Salaminis in Cypro, Episcopi, Opera Omnia* (2 vols. Paris, 1622), ii, 393–4 (from his *Animadversiones on De mensuris et ponderibus*, xiv), reprinted in PG xliii 549–50; for the desolation in the second year of Titus see Epiphanius, *De mensuris et ponderibus*, xiii (PG xliii 260).

²³⁹ The dependence of the Paschal Chronicle not on Epiphanius but on a common source was shown by Conybeare (ed.), *The Dialogues of Athanasius and Zacchaeus and of Timothy and Aquila*, xxviii–xxix.

²⁴⁰ Talmud Yerushalmi, Taanith iv 5, 69a; without attribution, Lam.R. ii 2, 4. The point is emphasized by Raffaeli, 'Jewish Coinage and the Date of the Bar-Kokhbah Revolt', but an alternative reckoning of sixty-eight years is noted from Seder Olam Rabbah, 30 (cited in Chapter 3, n. 28 above for its reference to Varus) by Alon, *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age (70–640CE)*, 576.

seem to be implied if, as an inscription indicates, by 13 October he had reached Mopsucrene, twelve miles beyond Tarsus, on his way to Ancyra and then to the rebellious Roxolani on the lower Danube.²⁴¹ Hence it seems likely that after his accession he remained in Syria and dealt with the importance of Egypt and its troops for a newly acclaimed emperor simply by the despatch of his trusted companion Valerius Eudaemon as procurator for the administration of Alexandria, and by the appointment of a new prefect of Egypt, Rammius Martialis.²⁴²

To return to the works which he sponsored in Alexandria, perhaps through Eudaemon, they are mentioned in Eusebius's annal in the words 'Hadrian restored Alexandria, which had been overthrown by the Romans, at the public expense'.²⁴³ In view of Eusebius's explicit reference to Greek historians in the *History*, this report may again reflect a Greek source, possibly a lost portion of Appian. It well suits the Alexandrian Greek mood of grudge against Rome. Roman forces may indeed have set fire to Jewish districts, as they did in 66, although this at the time may well not have displeased the Alexandrians, and may have done other damage in the course of fighting.

An instance of such damage is very possibly formed by the most famous building of the Jewish community, the basilican prayer-house discussed above. One version of its rabbinic description ends 'And who destroyed it? Trajan the wicked.'²⁴⁴ Jews perhaps defended themselves in this building, which was then demolished or set on fire, as had happened at the hands of the Greek mob with some houses of prayer under Flaccus (Philo, *Leg.* 132, 134).

Another possible instance is more doubtful. A comparably great centre of Greek cultus was the Serapeum, in the south-west of the city on the

²⁴¹ Birley, *Hadrian*, 83 and n. 18, judging plausible the suggestion by Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 57–60 (with acknowledgement to A. von Domaszewski) that an inscription from Rome (CIL VI 5076) describes Hadrian's itinerary for the days 13–19 October.

²⁴² Birley, *Hadrian*, 79 and n. 8; for Eudaemon's support for Hadrian's bid for power see *HA* Hadrian xv 3, for his appointment as procurator *ad dioecesis Alexandriae* the Ephesian inscription ILS 1449 = Smallwood, *Documents illustrating the Principates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian* no. 283.

²⁴³ *Hadrianus Alexandriam a Romanis subversam publicis instauravit impensis* (ed. Helm, p. 197c); this text, indicating overthrow 'by the Romans', is accepted by Alon, *The Jews in Their Land*, 398, and Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 295; but the Armenian and Syriac versions give 'by the Jews', the text preferred by Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 51, n. 74; Tcherikover in CPJ i, p. 87, n. 77; Hengel, 'Messianische Hoffnung', 661–2, n. 22. Jerome's reading, however, is not implausible historically; and it is the more surprising reading, and one which would be susceptible to alteration into the form represented by the Armenian and Syriac because the previous annal, Trajan xix, begins with the overthrow of Salamis by the *Jews*.

²⁴⁴ Talmud Yerushalmi, Sukkah v 1, 55a–b; the parallel in Tosefta Sukkah iv 6 lacks this conclusion, and that in the Babylonian Talmud, Sukkah 51b, does not specify the destruction, but ends 'Abbaye said, Alexander of Macedon killed all of them [who were assembled there]'.

hill of Rhacotis inland from the western harbour.²⁴⁵ In October 1945 its archaeological investigation brought evidence of a Roman rebuilding, and it was suggested that this might have followed damage inflicted in the revolt.²⁴⁶ Here under Tiberius or Caligula the governor Flaccus had met Greek notables, according to the Acts of the Alexandrians.²⁴⁷ Christians at the end of the second century, perhaps following Jewish belief, held that copies of Hebrew scriptures were preserved here in the Ptolemaic library.²⁴⁸ The hearty dislike of the Serapeum as a temple felt none the less by both Jews and Christians in second-century Alexandria is brought out towards the end of the century by Clement of Alexandria, who mocks the legend of the temple's foundation, notes its vulnerability to fire (perhaps he wrote soon after the fire of 181 mentioned below), and quotes the (Jewish) Sibylline oracle on its imminent destruction, as a prelude to the building of a temple in Egypt to the one God: 'And thou, Serapis, dwelling on thy pile of profitless stones, shalt lie a vast ruin in the midst of wretched Egypt' (Sib. v 487–8).²⁴⁹

The Roman rebuilding of the Serapeum was ascribed to Hadrian by A. J. B. Wace, partly because he located the Nemeseion, where Pompey's monument was demolished by Jews, nearby (whereas others subsequently have placed it to the east of the city).²⁵⁰ It was not unlikely, he thought, that the Serapeum was wrecked at the same time, and subsequently rebuilt under Hadrian, to be restored again towards the end of the second century after a fire in 181 under Commodus; this later repair would have fitted with the

²⁴⁵ Strabo, *Geog.* xvii 1, 10 (the Serapeum 'inside the canal' from Cibotus to Lake Mareotis); Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, i, 27–8, 265–75; n. 121, above.

²⁴⁶ A. Rowe, *Discovery of the Famous Temple and Enclosure of Serapis at Alexandria, with an Explanation of the Enigmatical Inscriptions on the Serapeum Plaques of Ptolemy IV* by E. Drioton (Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte, Cahier 2, Cairo, 1946), 60–4; Rowe's description is quoted by Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, ii, p. 424, n. 652.

²⁴⁷ P. Oxy. 1089 = Acta Alexandrinorum ii, col. ii, in Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*, 4–7 and CPJ ii, no. 154, pp. 60–4.

²⁴⁸ Tertullian, *Apol.* xviii 8 (with a reference to the Letter of Aristes, but adding the specification of the Serapeum) 'today at the Serapeum Ptolemy's libraries are shown, with the Hebrew texts themselves', *hodie apud Serapeum Ptolemaei bibliothecae cum ipsis hebraicis litteris exhibentur* (contrast Justin Martyr, *I Apol.* xxxi 5 'the books remained with the Egyptians up to the present', without mention of the Serapeum). On the likelihood that the Serapeum did house a library from Ptolemaic times onwards see Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, i, 323–4; deposit of the Septuagint at the time of the late second-century rebuilding, not long before Tertullian wrote, is suggested by Rajak, *Translation and Survival*, 44.

²⁴⁹ Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* [*Exhortation to the Greeks*], iv 42–4, 47; J. Geffcken, *Die Oracula Sibyllina* (GCS, Leipzig, 1902), 127; the view of Saint Mark in his legend as killed by adherents of Serapis (n. 150, above) is another manifestation of the same feeling, perhaps in essence pre-Constantinian but later in its literary attestation.

²⁵⁰ A. Calderini and A. Adriani, cited in n. 154, above; Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 316.

deposit of coins dating from Trajan to Julia Domna found under the corners of a piscina belonging to the Roman temple.²⁵¹ The Ptolemaic Serapeum might indeed have been defended by Greeks against Jews, somewhat as the rebuilt Roman Serapeum was later defended by Greeks against Christian attack in 391.²⁵² On the other hand, the letter of Herodes dated 30 October, probably in 118, cited above, shows that, even if damaged, soon after the revolt it could still be visited in a normal way. Yet in any case the Roman rebuilding has been ascribed, rather, entirely to the period from the fire under Commodus onwards, 181–217, mainly perhaps to the time of Septimius Severus, on the basis of the use of similar concreted rubble in various parts of the structure.²⁵³ It will then have no connection with the Jewish revolt.

Hadrian certainly built, however, a Hadrianeum for his imperial cult, and an extensive new quarter of the city called 'Hadrianos', attested in papyri from the mid second century onwards, and in a city description preserved in the Chronicle of Michael the Syrian.²⁵⁴ The position of the Hadrianeum is unclear, but it seems likely that the new quarter was to the north-east of the city, by the sea and including the site of the nearest of the ancient eastern cemeteries.²⁵⁵ This new quarter will therefore have overlapped with or included the site of the old north-eastern quarter described by Josephus as favoured by Jews and discussed in connection with Jewish resettlement above. Perhaps then it implied, like colonies on sites of insurrection, the punishment of rebels.²⁵⁶

Yet there is no mention in Eusebius or Cassius Dio of an exclusion of Jews from Alexandria, like that which Dio (lxviii 32, 3) records in Cyprus after the revolt. On the analogy of the survival of a Jewish community in the *chora* on a small scale, as attested in papyri, one may envisage a

²⁵¹ A. J. B. Wace, in a note quoted by Rowe, *Discovery*, 63–4; his suggestion was followed by Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 295, n. 207; 316–17 and Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 399 ('if the Hadrianic date [for the Roman Serapeum] is correct').

²⁵² On the attack of 391 see Sozomen, *H.E.* vii 15.

²⁵³ Judith S. McKenzie, 'The Serapeum of Alexandria: Its Destruction and Reconstruction' (on M. Sabottka, *Das Serapeum in Alexandria* (Études alexandrines 15, Cairo, 2008)), *JRA* xxii (2009), 772–82 (778–9).

²⁵⁴ The quarter is described as immense, and as an addition to the existing quarters of the city, in the description of the city (reflecting a pagan rather than Christian background) preserved in Syriac translation in the Chronicle of Michael the Syrian; see P. M. Fraser, 'A Syriac *Notitia Urbis Alexandrinae*', *JEA* xxxvii (1951), 103–8.

²⁵⁵ Adriani, *Repertorio d'arte dell' Egitto Greco-Romano*, Serie C [Architettura e Topografia], text volume, 21, 222–3.

²⁵⁶ For this conjecture see Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity*, 408 (n. 32).

surviving remnant of the vast city population.²⁵⁷ Comparably, that there were Alexandrian Jews in a position to seek Hadrian's favour near the beginning of his reign is suggested by the future-looking praise of Hadrian as 'most excellent' (*panaristos*) in the series of oracles on the Roman emperors which, in a Jewish revision, introduce the Fifth Sibylline book (Sib. v 47–50). This otherwise strongly anti-Roman book repeatedly evinces concern with Egypt, notably but not only at the beginning (lines 52–114) and near the end (lines 484–511, quoted above from Clement of Alexandria on the Serapeum – lines which come just before the short final vision of the warfare of the stars and the conflagration of the earth).²⁵⁸ Mainly reflecting a date about the end of the first century or the beginning of the second, the book was quoted by Clement of Alexandria towards the end of the second century.²⁵⁹ An Egyptian origin for the main composition is likely, and its currency in late second-century Alexandria is clear. The revision of the opening oracles, a later addition, can reasonably be ascribed to an Alexandrian Jew under Hadrian.²⁶⁰ Hence, even when the Acts of Paulus and Antoninus are left aside as uncertain in reference to Hadrian, and Syn-cellus is viewed as misinterpreting Eusebius, the papyri from the Egyptian *chora* and the Fifth Sibylline book allow the suggestion that an Alexandrian

²⁵⁷ Second-century papyri suggesting limited Jewish presence after 117, with dates in the years 126–61, include CPJ nos. 451 (Heraclea daughter of Onias, in Sesphtha in the Oxyrhynchite nome), 452*b* (tax on Jewish commerce, Oxyrhynchite nome; second century, undated, ascribed to post-revolt period), 453 (Jewish lessor and her son, Hermoupolite district), 455 (Jewess complains of theft, Arsinoite nome), 460 (one payment of Jewish tax in Karanis), 462 (ostraca from Thebes recording payments to government in cash or wheat by 'Pollia Maria the younger'), 464 (two Jews in a list of tenants found at Soknopiaiou Nesos in the Fayyum; second century, undated, ascribed to post-revolt period).

²⁵⁸ J. Geffcken, *Komposition und Entstehungszeit der Oracula Sibyllina* (TU 23.1, Leipzig, 1902), 26–7; the framing of the book by Egyptian material, as well as its importance elsewhere in the book, makes the question whether an Egyptian compiler used some oracles without explicit focus on Egypt, or a non-Egyptian compiler used Egyptian oracles, less entirely open than is suggested by Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, iii, 645.

²⁵⁹ For this dating of the main body of the book see, among others, Geffcken, *Komposition und Entstehungszeit der Oracula Sibyllina*, 25–6; Collins, 'Sibylline Oracles', 390; Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, iii, 644–5; M. Hengel, 'Messianische Hoffnung und politischer "Radikalismus" in der "jüdisch-hellenistischen Diaspora. Zur Frage der Voraussetzungen des jüdischen Aufstandes unter Trajan 115–117 n. Chr.", repr. from D. Hellholm (ed.), *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East* (2nd edn, Tübingen, 1989), 655–86 in M. Hengel, *Judaica et Hellenistica: Kleine Schriften I* (Tübingen, 1996), 314–43 (326–7).

²⁶⁰ The final line of the introduction (line 51), on 'three kings' after Hadrian (Antoninus Pius, Lucius Verus, M. Aurelius), is probably a further addition; see Stemberger, *Die römische Herrschaft im Urteil der Juden*, 55, following V. Nikiprowetzky. For lines 1–50 as edited by an Egyptian Jew early in Hadrian's reign see also M. Hengel, 'Hadrians Politik gegenüber Juden und Christen', reprinted from *Journal of the American Near Eastern Society* xvi–xvii (1984–5) [= *Ancient Studies in Memory of Elias Bickerman*], 153–81 in Hengel, *Judaica et Hellenistica: Kleine Schriften I*, 358–91 (359).

Jewish remnant survived under Hadrian. Relatively peaceful conditions at about the end of the second century are somewhat comparably assumed when the rebuilding of the Serapeum from 181 to 217 is thought a likely occasion for the deposit of a copy of the Septuagint in its library.²⁶¹ Yet not until the third century, probably, did an Alexandrian Jewish community begin to regain any considerable importance.

The tension of the atmosphere there still in the late second century can perhaps be sensed in a story ascribed to Eleazar b. Jose, a contemporary of Simeon b. Yohai in post-war Judaea. 'Once I was in Alexandria of Egypt and found an old man who said to me, Come and see what my fathers did to yours.' He showed Eleazar bones of Jews beneath a building, with the remark 'Some they drowned, some they slew with the sword, some they crushed beneath buildings [under construction].'²⁶² All this is applied by Eleazar in the sequel to maltreatment of Jews in the time of Moses, giving a reason for the near-blasphemous taunt 'Pharaoh . . . has evil entreated this people, neither hast thou delivered thy people at all' (Exod. 5:23).²⁶³ The attribution of these remarks to an Alexandrian, and their particular content, is well suited, however, to the aftermath of the rising under Trajan. The Alexandrian boasts of the atrocities, and even their detail recalls the second century: the notion of a building constructed on Jewish corpses and skeletons is comparable with that of a vineyard fenced with Jewish corpses, attributed in Talmud and midrash to Hadrian.²⁶⁴ Of course the conversation may be wholly imaginary, but it will still reflect what was thought plausible enough in late second-century Judaea. On the other hand, there is no indication in the story that it was perilous or unusual for Jews to visit Alexandria, and thus far it coheres with the view that they were not excluded, and that some remnant of the large earlier population remained.

Egypt

The main source for the rising in the land of Egypt is once again Eusebius, supplemented by the excerpt from Appian on his adventure near Pelusium, and by papyri, often lacking year dates but more plentiful for the *chora*

²⁶¹ Rajak, *Translation and Survival*, 44.

²⁶² Babylonian Talmud, Sanh. 111a, following the longer text preferred by W. Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten* (2 vols., Strassburg, i [2nd edn], 1903, ii, 1890), ii, 413, with nn. 1–2.

²⁶³ The problem raised by this verse can be seen earlier in its ascription to the courageous *parrhesia* of Moses as a friend of God in Philo, *Her.* 20–1.

²⁶⁴ Jerusalem Talmud, Taanith iv 8, 69a; Lam. R. ii 4, on Lam. 2:2.

than for Alexandria.²⁶⁵ Dio, concentrated on Cyrenaica, adds only that ‘in Egypt they committed many similar deeds’ (lxviii 32, 2).

Eusebius relates that the Cyrenaic rebels in Egypt, victorious in their first battle against the Greeks, were deprived of alliance with the Alexandrian Jews by the Greek-led massacre in the city; but they went on ‘plundering the *chora* of Egypt and ravaging its nomes’.²⁶⁶ Marcius Turbo was sent against them with infantry, cavalry and naval forces. In many battles over a considerable time he killed many thousands of Jews, not only from Cyrene but also of those from Egypt who had joined themselves to Lucuas, their king (Eusebius, *H.E.* iv 2, 3–4). In the *Chronicle* (Trajan xvii) the Thebaid as well as ‘Egypt’ is mentioned among the regions in which Jews arose.²⁶⁷ Appian, on the other hand, documents Jewish warlike activity in the north-east of the Delta, near Pelusium.

The uprising was therefore felt throughout Egypt, from the Delta southwards to the Thebaid (Map 2). The information supplied in Eusebius and Appian has made it possible to refer to this revolt a number of papyri preserving letters or documents mentioning Jewish disturbance or damage; particularly important was a find at el-Ashmunein, ancient Hermoupolis, including the archive of Apollonius mentioned already, and represented in collections at Bremen and Giessen.²⁶⁸ On this basis some further affected localities can be specified, from north to south, as the district of Memphis (P. Brem. 40, P. Giss. 27 = CPJ nos. 438–9), the Arsinoite nome (the modern Fayyum) (BGU 889 = CPJ no. 449); the city of Oxyrhynchus (P. Oxy. 705 = CPJ no. 450) and its district (P. Oxy. 707 = CPJ no. 447), and the nomes of Hermoupolis (P. Giss. 41 = CPJ no. 443; P. Brem. inv. 7, P. Giss. inv. 245 = Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, nos. 21–2), Lycopolis (P. Brem. 11 = CPJ no. 444), and Apollonopolis of the Heptacomia, north of Thebes (P. Giss. 19, 27 = CPJ nos. 436, 439).

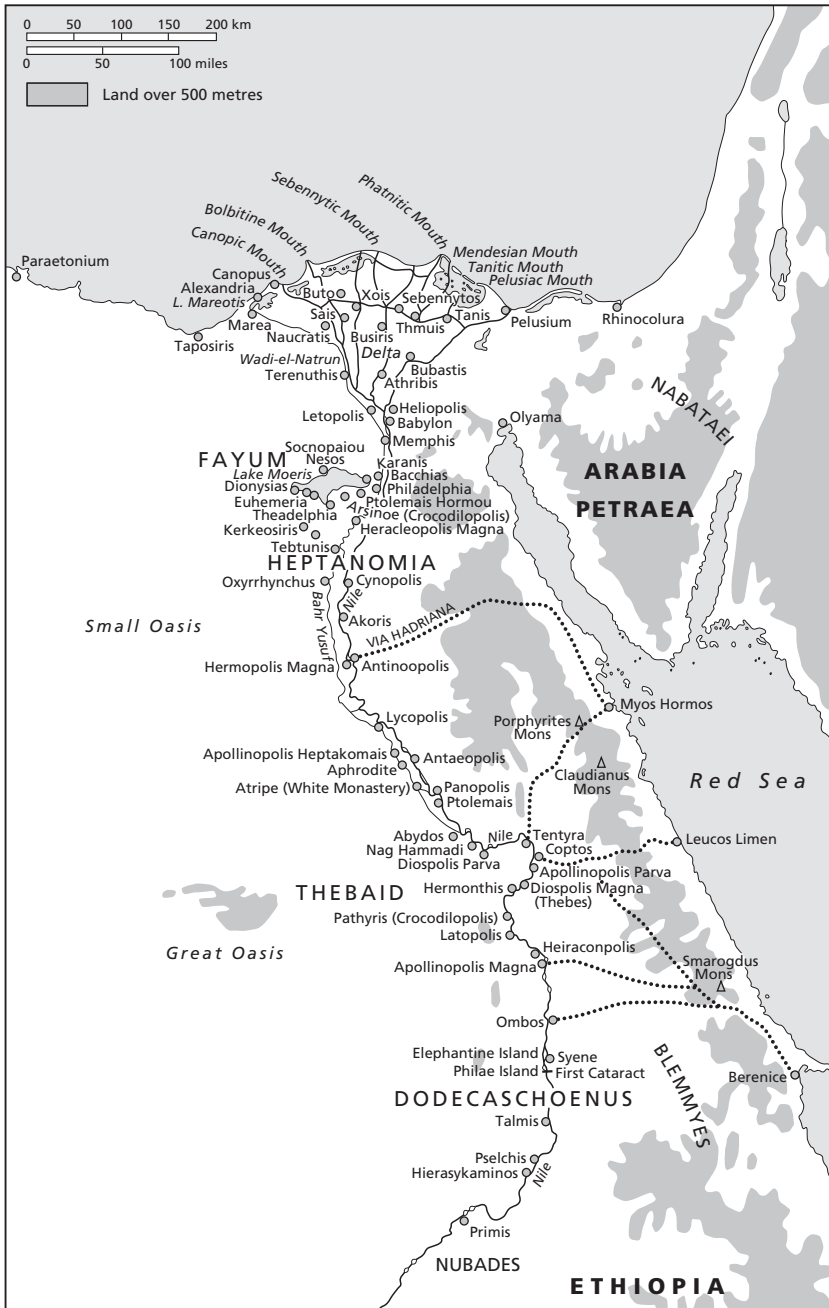
As already noted, Apollonopolis Magna (Edfu), south of Thebes, can be added to the list because a series of ostraca recording payments of the Jewish tax there breaks off with a receipt dated Year 19 of Trajan, Pachon 23 (18 May 116) (CPJ no. 229). This inference would confirm that the revolt spread to the Thebaid, and would also suggest the date when it reached Edfu in particular.

²⁶⁵ Appian, frag. 19 (excerpt from *Historia Romana*, book xxiv), in Viereck, Roos and Gabba, *Appiani Historia Romana*, i, 534–5; Stern (ed.), *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, ii, no. 348; Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, no. 49; see Chapter 1, n. 55, above.

²⁶⁶ For the situation of nomes mentioned below see the map in Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (2nd edn, here rev. J. D. Thomas), facing p. 295.

²⁶⁷ On the habit of viewing the Thebaid separately from the rest of Egypt see n. 20, above.

²⁶⁸ Wilcken, *Die Bremer Papyri*, 6.



Papyri mentioning confiscated or former Jewish land extend this list, if, as is likely, confiscations correspond to supposed support for the rising.²⁶⁹ Districts involved, again from north to south, can be noted as the Athribite nome (P. Oxy. 500 = CPJ no. 448), on the eastern side of the Delta; the Arsinoite (SB 12, 10892 = Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, no. 38); and the Heracleopolite, Oxyrhynchite, and Cynopolite (P. Oxy. 1189 = CPJ no. 445).²⁷⁰

It has been suggested that, south of Elephantine, the Nile island opposite Aswan and just below the First Cataract, the rising would have affected Jews in Nubia, among 'the Ethiopians who live above Syene' (Aswan), as Strabo calls the inhabitants of the kingdom of Meroe; he describes the rebuttal of an 'Ethiopian' attack on Roman Egypt (Philae, Syene and Elephantine had been taken) by Petronius, under Augustus (Strabo, *Geog.* xvii 1, 53–4). For Jews in 'Cush' (Nubia and Ethiopia) at an earlier time see Isa. 11:11, discussed below, and perhaps Ps. 87:4.²⁷¹ Petronius sought to control lower Nubia as far south as Primis (Qasr Ibrim) and the Second Cataract, but in 20 BC by agreement this southern area reverted to Meroe, and Rome retained simply the northern portion known as Dodekaschoinos.²⁷² It is not impossible that Jews had settled upstream from Syene in Nubian cities such as Talmis (where temple reliefs were completed under Trajan) or Pselchis, in the Roman Dodekaschoinos, or Primis, in the Meroitic kingdom, and that they joined the insurrection, or that inhabitants of Nubia, perhaps including Jews, took advantage of the Egyptian disturbances to raid the Thebaid; but these remain conjectures.²⁷³ The Jewish Sibyl at any rate, in a book probably compiled, as noted already, in Egypt about the beginning of the second century, renewed a standard fear that 'a great man of the Ethiopians shall destroy Syene' (Sib. v 194).

Within the unfolding of this formidably widespread rising some stages can tentatively be discerned. The initial *stasis* of Jew against Greek in

²⁶⁹ See nn. 302–5, below.

²⁷⁰ For earlier lists on the lines followed here see A. Kasher, 'Some Comments on the Jewish Uprising in Egypt in the Time of Trajan', *JJS* xxvii (1976), 147–58 (148); Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 295–6.

²⁷¹ Ps. 87:4 may refer to Cushites who come on pilgrimage rather than to born Jews, but such pilgrimage itself suggests a Jewish community in Cush.

²⁷² For the historical context of the repression described by Strabo see L. Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 BC–AD 500* (Probleme der Ägyptologie 29, Leiden and Boston, 2009), 441–2, 457.

²⁷³ Jews from this region would probably have joined Lucius's forces in Egypt in the view of Münter, *Der jüdische Krieg unter den Kaisern Trajan und Hadrian*, 17, following Basnage; outbreaks here are envisaged too by Yeivin, *Milhemet Bar Kokhba*, 44, and noted as possible by Kasher, 'Some Comments on the Jewish Uprising in Egypt in the Time of Trajan', 153, n. 32, both citing Münter.

115 affected 'the rest of Egypt' as well as Alexandria, according to Eusebius's *History* (iv 2, 2).

In this stage the formation of bands of Jewish combatants will have begun in the Egyptian towns and villages.

A second stage, which Eusebius calls that of war and sets in 116 onwards, saw the advance of the Cyrenian Jewish army under Lucuas into Egypt. This will have further stimulated the militarization of Egyptian Jewish bands which can be envisaged, with a comparable development on the Greek and perhaps Egyptian side, behind Eusebius's passing note of the presence of Egyptian Jews in Lucuas's army. It would have been in train before 'the first battle' mentioned by Eusebius, the Jewish victory in the *chora* which led to calamity for the Alexandrian Jews. Typically of Eusebius's Greek source, only Greeks figure as the Jews' opponents, and there is no mention of the likely Roman leadership or of Egyptian allies.

In the papyri this second stage is illustrated in the archive of Apollonius, governor (*strategos*) of the nome of Apollonopolis of the Heptacomia, well to the south of the Delta but still north of Thebes. Letters attest his purchase of a cuirass and sword and his departure for military service, both probably in 116, and damage to his personal estates further north in the nome of Hermoupolis, with its long-standing Jewish population.²⁷⁴ The prolonged struggle to overcome the Jewish forces, in late 116 or early 117, is illustrated by a fragmentary letter on the defeat of 'the massed villagers of our nome', whose push against 'the impious Jews' formed 'the one hope and expectation left to us', with the better news of the arrival of 'another legion of Rutilius [Lupus]', at Memphis.²⁷⁵ Here, as already noted and by contrast with Eusebius's Greek source, there is a clear reference to Egyptian participation in the fighting, on the Greek and Roman side. The nome is probably the Hermopolite once again, and the date could be before or after Marcius Turbo's arrival in Egypt, but is at any rate before Lupus's

²⁷⁴ P. Giss. 47 = Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, no. 14, letter to Apollonius reporting purchase and dispatch to him of cuirass and sword, written on 19 June probably in 116 (see Pucci Ben Zeev, *ibid.*, p. 168); P. Giss. 19 = CPJ no. 436, letter from his wife in early September 116 mentioning his sudden departure for a situation in which he was in danger (see p. 167 and n. 16, above, and Pucci Ben Zeev, *ibid.*, pp. 168–9); P. Giss. 41 = CPJ no. 443, request from Apollonius to the prefect for leave, dated 28 November under Hadrian, probably 117, noting that owing to Jewish attack practically all he has in the Hermoupolite villages and Hermoupolis needs attention. For Jews in Hermoupolis in the Persian and early Ptolemaic period see the Aramaic letters in P. Grelot, *Documents araméens d'Égypte* (Paris, 1972), and compare the legend of Jewish foundation of the city in Artapanus, quoted from Alexander Polyhistor in Eusebius, *P.E.* ix 27 (Moses and his followers encamp in the nome of Hermoupolis and build a city which Moses calls Hermes' city).

²⁷⁵ P. Brem. 1 = CPJ no. 438, discussed at p. 13, n. 14 above as a witness to Egyptian involvement on the Greek and Roman side.

departure (which could be as late as August 117, later than the probable date of the letter, given its bad news); of the two legions concerned, one has been identified as XXII Deiotariana, stationed in Egypt since Augustus's time, and 'another' was perhaps III Cyrenaica.²⁷⁶

To this second stage, with its Jewish victories, one might refer Appian's anecdote of his own narrow escape, 'when I was fleeing from the Jews during the war which was going on in Egypt'.²⁷⁷ Lost in the dark with his Arab guide on foot in the district of Pelusium, Appian missed the boat that was to carry him to safety, and despaired of his life. At dawn, however, he found himself by an unintended waterway, and boarded a trireme bound for Pelusium. The boat which had been waiting for him on another river was captured by the Jews.

This passage gives the one clear glimpse of warfare in the north-eastern Delta, and suggests Jewish activity by water as well as land; at the time of Caesar's Alexandrian War Jews had been river guards in this area (Josephus, *B.J.* i 175, *Ant.* xiv 99), and that was probably still the case.²⁷⁸ During the Jewish war in 67, Jewish pirates, to use the Roman term, based in Joppa, had harried shipping to and from Egypt and made navigation impracticable.²⁷⁹ Rebel naval activity at sea as well as in rivers and waterways was perhaps among perils feared by the Romans when Turbo was provided with naval forces. The episode may also, as S. Applebaum suggested, illuminate the strategy of Lucius in the form of a drive towards Judaea. It suggests at any rate a concentration near Pelusium and perhaps an effort to take this port, a 'key' not only to Egypt, as Alexandria was, but also to the land and sea approaches to Judaea.²⁸⁰ This effort could tentatively be placed after the Jewish failure over Alexandria.

From the viewpoint of Eusebius's Greek source, the Cyrenian and Egyptian Jews continued their ravages in the *chora* until Marcius Turbo, distinguished in the service of Trajan and then also of Hadrian, came from the Parthian front with his infantry, cavalry and naval forces. At the beginning of the Parthian campaign he had been in command of the Roman fleet in Misenum.²⁸¹ Although the Jewish army could not take Alexandria, may

²⁷⁶ Wilcken, *Die Bremer Papyri*, p. 20 (allowing for the possibility that the phrase 'legion of Rutilius' could still have been used after Turbo's arrival); Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 169–70, 178–85.

²⁷⁷ Appian, frag. 19 (excerpt from *Historia Romana*, xxiv).

²⁷⁸ Josephus, *Ap.* ii 64, on Roman continuation of the Jewish responsibility for the river guard; see n. 292, below.

²⁷⁹ Josephus, *B.J.* iv 414–16.

²⁸⁰ Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 318, 338–40; on Pelusium see n. 133, above.

²⁸¹ Fündling, *Kommentar zur Vita Hadriani der Historia Augusta*, i, 334 (K 109, on iv 2), with a curriculum vitae of Turbo.

also have been unsuccessful at Pelusium, and evidently never controlled Memphis, the country estates like those of Apollonius in the Hermopolitan nome, together with the villages, would have provided sustenance and booty; with a pinch of salt one may perhaps apply to Lucuas's force in Egypt Philo's remark on the armies of Moses in the land of Midian, that they enriched themselves with much booty from the country homesteads, 'for there was no less in the estates than in the cities' (Philo, *V. Mos.* i 312, interpreting Num. 31:9–11 and the impressive inventory of plunder which follows).²⁸² Moreover, existing Jewish prevalence in the 'land of Onias' in the eastern Delta would have given important aid.²⁸³

Turbo's arrival marks the beginning of a third stage. The extent of his forces and his despatch from the eastern front attest the strength of the rising. Even now, repression required 'many battles and no little time' (Eusebius, *H.E.* iv 2, 3–4). 'No little time' suggests that Turbo would probably have been sent from the east not later than the beginning of 117, and perhaps already in 116, considering that later in 117 he was posted to Mauretania, the repression of the Jews being complete, not long after Hadrian's accession.²⁸⁴ Perhaps after his arrival in Egypt, a papyrus letter mentions Apollonius's 'victory and success', probably near Memphis (P. Giss. 27 = CPJ no. 439).

The cost of Roman victory in army casualties is indicated in papyri. The Greek document PSI 1063 presents six receipts dated 3 September 117 for deposits for mobilization of 126 new 'Asian recruits' for a mounted cohort. The number suggests a high proportion of casualties in this auxiliary unit, *cohors I Lusitanorum*, attested in 111 and 131 in the south of Egypt. These were possibly incurred in battles fought under the command of Turbo; the recruitment of so many from outside Egypt also suggests unusual circumstances.²⁸⁵ Then P. Vindob. L, 2, a Latin list without date (between 98 and 127), names legionaries from III Cyrenaica and XXII Deiotariana; ten out of twenty-eight legible names are recorded as killed, and as the

²⁸² In Judaea in the fifties and sixties compare the plundering of the houses of the wealthy in the countryside, with the murder of the owners and the burning of villages, by prophetlike charlatans and brigands under Felix (Josephus, *B.J.* ii 264–5), and, in 66–7, by the band of Simon bar Giora in Acrabatene (immediately south of Samaria), followed, after his occupation of Masada, by attacks on villages in Idumaea (southern Judaea) (Josephus, *B.J.* ii 652–4).

²⁸³ Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*; Capponi, *Il tempio di Leontopoli in Egitto*, 129.

²⁸⁴ So Wilcken, *Die Bremer Papyri*, p. 15; Fündling, *Kommentar zur Vita Hadriani der Historia Augusta*, i, 359 (K 102, on iv 1) tentatively sets Turbo's initial campaign in summer 116.

²⁸⁵ PSI 1063 = Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, no. 29, discussed by J. F. Gilliam, 'An Egyptian Cohort in AD 117', *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1964/1965* (Bonn, 1966), 91–7, repr. in Gilliam, *Roman Army Papers*, 309–15; Kasher, 'Some Comments on the Jewish Uprising in Egypt in the Time of Trajan', 152–3, 156–8; Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 176–7.

two legions served together in Egypt the losses can with fair probability be attributed to the revolt.²⁸⁶

Lastly, the state of things after repression was complete, in a fourth stage, is indicated by two documents concerning building. An account for works carried out from 27 Thoth (24 September) 117 onwards on a temple of Artemis in the Heracleopolite nome, north of Oxyrhynchus, suggests repair after war damage.²⁸⁷ Then a request of 29 August, probably in 118, from Apollonius's architect or builder Herodes, at work on his Hermopolite estates, asks for leave to take an opportunity of visiting his brother in Alexandria by boat – because travel on foot is impeded by 'the devastation of the places' on the way (P. Brem. 15 = CPJ no. 446). His phrase is notably close, in different words, to Eusebius's 'laying waste the land of Egypt and ravaging its nomes' (Eusebius, *H.E.* iv 2, 3).²⁸⁸ A third construction in Egypt which has been connected with the revolt is a Corinthian temple to Zeus-Helios-Serapis at the mines of Mons Claudianus, raised according to an inscribed dedication of 23 April 118 'for the salvation and everlasting victory' (*hyper soterias kai aioniou nikes*) of Hadrian and all his house, and the good fortune of all his undertakings.²⁸⁹ Given the date, however,

²⁸⁶ P. Vindob. L, 2 = Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, no. 28, with her discussion, 182–4; Kasher, 'Some Comments on the Jewish Uprising in Egypt in the Time of Trajan', 152–3, 156–8, also notes the possible connection with the revolt of BGU 140, a letter issued by Hadrian in August 119 and posted in the camp of the two legions in Egypt; it accords rights of inheritance to children, from marriages which would not previously have been recognized, born to fathers who died on military service.

²⁸⁷ P. Reinach 2065 recto = SB xiv.3 (1983) 11958, first ed. A. Świderek (Świderkowna), 'Deux papyrus de la Sorbonne relatifs à des travaux effectués dans des temples de l'Heracleopolite', *JJP* xi–xii (1957–8), 65–7; corrections suggested by N. Lewis, 'Sur "Deux papyrus de la Sorbonne"', *JJP* xiii (1961), 87–9; discussed in connection with rebuilding after the revolt by L. Capponi, 'Hadrian in Jerusalem and Alexandria in 117', 477.

²⁸⁸ Wilcken, *Die Bremer Papyri*, p. 49, on P. Brem. 15, line 23; probably two months later Herodes wrote from Alexandria the letter preserved in P. Brem. 48, cited in this chapter, n. 138, above. The journey described in this later letter was made not – as Herodes had had in view in P. Brem. 15, lines 19–21 – in a ship belonging to his brother (Wilcken, *Die Bremer Papyri*, pp. 113, 115–16), but by 'small boats' (P. Brem. 48, line 28, *diaramata*); a 'kind of small boat' is suggested as the sense emerging from a number of occurrences of the word in papyri, including this, by P. G. W. Glare, with A. A. Thompson, H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. Stuart Jones and R. McKenzie, *Greek–English Lexicon: Revised Supplement* (Oxford, 1996), 92b, s. *dierama*. Wilcken interprets the *diaramata* as 'transfers' or 'ferryings' across canals or arms of rivers ('mehrfaches Übersetzenlassen'), implying a journey mainly by land (Wilcken, *Die Bremer Papyri*, pp. 113, 115–16); but the translation 'small boats' might also leave open the possibility of a river and canal voyage accomplished by stages with the help of small boats.

²⁸⁹ CIG 4713f = OGIS 678 (W. Dittenberger (ed.), *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1905), ii, pp. 421–4); 'salvation' and 'victory' were referred to the quelling of recent Jewish sedition in Egypt by Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 85, followed by Abel, *Histoire de la Palestine*, 68 and Capponi, 'Hadrian in Jerusalem and Alexandria in 117', 477, and were noted by R. Loewe, '"Salvation" is not of the Jews', *JTSN.S.* xxxii (1981), 341–68 (367–8),

the reference to 'salvation' and 'victory' perhaps applies more naturally to the quelling of the 'upheaval of the Sarmatians and Roxolani', *tumultus Sarmatarum et Roxolanorum* (HA Hadrian vi 6), mentioned already.²⁹⁰

The Jewish kingdom of Lucias had had notable success in the second stage noted above. Like the similarly tenacious kingdoms set up in the slave-revolts in Sicily and southern Italy in the second and first centuries BC, it could draw on large numbers.²⁹¹ Its Egyptian subjects, like the Cyrenian Jews, were close to traditions of military service and the life of military settlers. In Egypt Jews bore arms under the Ptolemies, as noted above, and probably still under Roman rule, as Josephus suggests; the ostrakon (CPJ no. 229) cited above as the last surviving receipt for Jewish tax in Edfu confirms payment by a centurion, and is one of a number of pieces of evidence suggesting that Jews in Roman Egypt still served in the armed forces.²⁹² Such service could be proudly associated by Jews with their own ancestral warfare, as when in II Macc. 8:20 victory for a Jewish force in the Seleucid army is added to biblical examples of national deliverance.

An internal focus for military traditions among the rebels will have been formed by the narratives and laws of warfare in the Pentateuch.²⁹³ Thus in Egypt the war code of Deuteronomy 20, which was echoed and debated in Judaea from I Maccabees and the Qumran Temple Scroll and War Scroll to the Mishnah and halakhic midrash, received both commendation and practical criticism in Philo.²⁹⁴ Varying opinion on the application of its

in argument for the broader view that Hadrianic *soter* and *soteria* inscriptions might, in appropriate circumstances, imply a grateful side glance at elimination of a 'Jewish peril'.

²⁹⁰ The reference to *nike* in the dedication is matched by the legend *victoria* on coins of 118, connected with the quelling of Sarmatian tumult by Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 50.

²⁹¹ On the slave rebellions (139 BC or 135–132 BC, 104–99 BC, and, in southern Italy under Spartacus, 73–71 BC) see M. I. Finley, *Ancient Sicily* (London, 1979), 137–47; on their treatment by Diodorus Siculus, T. Urbainczyk, *Slave Revolts in Antiquity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2008), 81–90.

²⁹² Josephus, *Ap.* ii 64 (the Alexandrian Jews continued by the emperors in their responsibility for the river guard); Capponi, *Il tempio di Leontopoli in Egitto*, 120–1, with p. 120, n. 60. Juster, *Les juifs dans l'empire romain*, ii, 274, n. 2, in a review of much of this evidence, had suggested that the continued existence of Jewish troops in Trajanic Egypt helped to explain the development of revolt into war.

²⁹³ Compare the particular importance, noted already, of the prophecies included in the Pentateuch.

²⁹⁴ Philo, *Virt.* 22–33, commends the rules of Deut. 20:5–9, on exemptions from war service and the appointment of captains; compare the Temple Scroll (11Q19), cols. lxi–lxii, where they are summarized, and I Macc. 3:56, where Judas Maccabaeus is said to exempt all the categories mentioned in Deut. 20:5–8. Contrast, however, Philo, *Agr.* 146–68, in which practical objections to exemption of those mentioned in Deut. 20:5–7 are raised; here in Philo the objections are used to support the regular exegetical argument that, when a literal sense for a passage seems unlikely, an allegorical meaning must be intended, but their wider currency in discussion of the military application of the rules taken in the literal sense is suggested by the rabbinic view that, in a war of obligation, the exemptions do not apply (Mishnah, *Sotah* viii 7; Sifre Deuteronomy 198, on Deut.

rules for exemption from service can perhaps be envisaged accordingly in the Jewish rebel army in Egypt (see note 294). Not long before the rising, Deut. 20:9, on the appointment of captains, was treated by Josephus as advice to take a single general under the divine commander (Josephus, *Ant.* iv 296–300) – an interpretation into which a ‘king’ like Lucuas might have fitted. Comparably, in Egypt as elsewhere, Jews portrayed Moses as a general.²⁹⁵ Phinehas, Simeon and Levi also figured as military heroes.²⁹⁶ The spirit of faction thought by outsiders to possess the Jews would have been understood internally as the zeal and solidarity associated with the exodus; ‘they set up the divine law with one consent, that the saints should share alike in good things and in dangers’ (Wisd. 18:9).

The completion of repression by Turbo left a situation which was still unsettled. The ‘many thousands’ of Jewish deaths in fighting (Eusebius, *H.E.* iv 2, 4) will have been followed as well as accompanied by killings of non-combatant Jews settled throughout Egypt, and the flight of refugees. Appian and Eusebius mention only the deaths of Jewish rebels, but some captives will have been enslaved rather than killed.²⁹⁷ Continued unrest in the non-Jewish Alexandrian populace is suggested by Dio’s report noted above, which can be related to protracted rioting in 122 (Cassius Dio, *Hist.* lxxix 8, 1a).²⁹⁸ Fear of risings in the *chora* by Egyptians who had recently been armed to give help against the Jews is probably reflected, as also noted already, by the oath of village elders in the Fayyum in 119 that they had not grown arrow-reed or tamarisk.²⁹⁹ To this extent at least, the old conjecture that Egyptian peasant rebellion accompanied the Jewish rebellion can be justified.³⁰⁰

In these years under Hadrian following Turbo’s departure the rising received further penalization, and its repression was celebrated. Confiscation of Jewish land is reflected in a group of papyri, cited above

20:9). On the War Scroll (1QM), col. x, on this point see Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (Oxford, 1962), 65–70.

²⁹⁵ Philo, *Sac.* 130 (Moses as *strategos*), *Agr.* 87 (his knowledge of tactics and strategy), *V. Mos.* ii 273 (Moses as leader and army commander, *stratarches*); similarly later on in Egypt, Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* i 24, *Ecl. Proph.* vi 2. Meanwhile Josephus had made generalship a prominent feature of his depiction of Moses (as at *Ant.* ii 241, 268; iv 329).

²⁹⁶ For texts current in Egypt see Eccus. 45:23–4, Philo, *Mos.* i 301–14 (Phinehas); Joseph and Asenath xxxiii 7–16, Philo, *Migr.* 224, *Mut.* 100 (Simeon and Levi); on this interpretative trend see Hengel, *The Zealots*, 154–86.

²⁹⁷ Thus two slaves captured in armed conflict (*dora[toktetat]*) who were sold in 125/6 (P. Hamburg I 63) may have been Jews taken in the rising of 115–17, as is suggested by P. van Minnen, ‘Prisoners of War and Hostages in Graeco-Roman Egypt’, *JJP* xxx (2000), 155–63 (157–8).

²⁹⁸ See nn. 171–2, above. ²⁹⁹ See nn. 148–9, above. ³⁰⁰ See Chapter 2, n. 14, above.

in connection with the geographical extent of the rising.³⁰¹ Thus a letter (the date is missing), from the *strategos* of the Heracleopolite nome to the *strategos* of the Oxyrhynchite, transmits 'a schedule (*graphê*) of what belonged to the Jews', with a copy to be forwarded to the *strategos* of the Cynopolite.³⁰² The great extent of such property is confirmed in two Berlin papyri of the second century, one (after 188) listing landholdings probably in the Arsinoite nome (in the Fayyum), including many which were 'formerly the property of Jews', and the second mentioning a 'Jewish account' (*Ioudaikos logos*); the following line mentions Greeks (*Hellênes*) who have died intestate, and it appears that in each case an account is recording revenues from former private property which now accrue to government.³⁰³ The *Ioudaikos logos* is named elsewhere in a summary of revenues from various estates.³⁰⁴ Finally, P. Oxy. 500 = CPJ no. 448 is an application of 2 October 130 to lease land formerly belonging to Jews in the Athribite nome; it was viewed by A. Świderek with the two Berlin papyri just mentioned, and reinterpreted to refer to the property of Jews who had been not 'killed' (as in the reading followed in CPJ) but 'dispossessed' (*apheremenoi*).³⁰⁵

These papyri then suggest that confiscations affected, if not all Jews in Egypt (other post-117 papyri make this unlikely), at least all considered as having supported the rising. The confiscations could be attributed to sentences implemented by Hadrian, the rebels having been considered guilty of treason against Rome (*maiestas*); the *Ioudaikos logos* itself has

³⁰¹ A Hebrew parchment fragment was referred to sequestration of Jewish funds after the war by F. Klein-Franke, 'A Hebrew Lamentation from Roman Egypt', *ZPE* li (1983), 80–4 (photograph in Taf. Va); but the lament seems likely to be less specific (the relevant words could perhaps more plausibly be read *herimu qeren* 'they have lifted up their horn'). Further doubts on dating and applicability are summed up by Méléze-Modrzejewski, '*Ioudaioi apheremenoi*', 342, n. 14.

³⁰² P. Oxy. 1189 (see lines 9–10) = CPJ no. 445 = Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, no. 36.

³⁰³ P. Berol. inv. 8143 ABC + 7397 recto = SB 12, 10892 = Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, no. 38 and P. Berol. inv. 7440 recto = SB 12, 10893 = Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, no. 39, as edited and interpreted by A. Świderek (Świderekowna), '*Ioudaikos Logos*', *JJP* xvi–xvii (1971), 45–62.

³⁰⁴ P. Köln II 97, ascribed to the second century = Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, no. 41 (see line 15); but this text may rather come from the late first century, as urged by L. Capponi, 'Le fonti storiche e i documenti sulle finanze dei giudei in Egitto', in Troiani and Zecchini (eds.), *La cultura storica nei due primi secoli dell'impero romano*, 163–72 (168). The phrase has also been restored in P. Bouriant 44 = Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, no. 40, republished before this suggestion as CPJ 458. On both papyri see Méléze-Modrzejewski, '*Ioudaioi apheremenoi*', 354; Capponi, 'Le fonti storiche e i documenti sulle finanze dei giudei in Egitto', 167–8.

³⁰⁵ Świderek (Świderekowna), '*Ioudaikos Logos*', 60, n. 23; Méléze-Modrzejewski, '*Ioudaioi apheremenoi*'; Méléze-Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt*, 217–22.

likewise been judged a Hadrianic innovation.³⁰⁶ The institution of a 'Jewish account' for such revenues (perhaps including Vespasian's Jewish tax) probably goes back, however, to the early seventies, when similar confiscations in Egypt can be envisaged in response to the turbulence of the refugee Sicarii and their Alexandrian sympathizers (Josephus, *B.J.* vii 409–19).³⁰⁷ At this same period the governor of Cyrene, Catullus, confiscated 'for the revenues of Caesar' properties of wealthy Jews whom he had executed for sedition (Josephus, *B.J.* vii 445–6).³⁰⁸ The later Hadrianic confiscations were matched in Egypt by Greek celebration of the defeat of the Jews, notably in an annual festival at Oxyrhynchus which was still being kept up at the end of the second century.³⁰⁹ For the Egyptian Jewish community, as its vigour in the fourth century and later shows, Hadrianic repression was not the end; revival will hardly have gained strength, however, until the third century.³¹⁰

Cyprus

The brief notices in Dio and in Eusebius's *Chronicle* discussed above form the main sources. Dio (lxviii 32, 2) mentions Cyprus together with Egypt as a pendant to his account of the rising in Cyrene; the whole passage forms, as noted above, a reference to events which had been happening during Trajan's Parthian war. Eusebius in the *Chronicle*, by contrast, speaks first of the Jews in Libya, Egypt and Alexandria (Trajan xvii), then of the

³⁰⁶ Świderek (Świderkowna), 'Ioudaikos Logos'; Méléze-Modrzejewski, 'Ioudaioi apheremenoi', 355–61, finding a possible echo of Hadrian's judgment in Syncellus's 'Hadrian punished the Jews who had engaged in factional fighting against the Alexandrians' (n. 45, above).

³⁰⁷ This was suggested contemporaneously by Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 189 and, with fuller argument, by Capponi, 'Le fonti storiche e i documenti sulle finanze dei giudei in Egitto', 167–71; Josephus, *B.J.* vii 411–12, on the Sicarii in Alexandria as murdering unsympathetic Jews of standing but continuing to exhort others to revolt, shows that some upper-class Jews in Egypt in the seventies could have been suspected of sedition.

³⁰⁸ On the confiscation of the property of 'public enemies' from the republican period onwards, and, under the empire, the retention rather than sale of such property by the ruler, see Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, 163–74.

³⁰⁹ P. Oxy. 705 = CPJ no. 450, set in its local context by A. Kasher, 'The Jewish Community of Oxyrhynchus in the Roman Period', *JJS* xxxii (1981), 151–7 (152).

³¹⁰ For the Hadrianic repression as the end of the Jewish community see J. Méléze-Modrzejewski's title 'Ioudaioi apheremenoi. La fin de la communauté juive d'Égypte (115–117 de n. è.)', and the ending of his book *The Jews of Egypt* at this chronological point; but for small-scale survival thereafter, and gradual recovery during the third century, see V. Tcherikover in CPJ iii (1964), p. 3. The lack of clear evidence for contact or controversy with Alexandrian or Egyptian Jews in Clement of Alexandria, towards the end of the second century, would be consistent with a still much reduced community, as noted by J. Carleton Paget, 'Clement of Alexandria and the Jews', reprinted from *Scottish Journal of Theology* li (1998), 86–97 in J. Carleton Paget, *Jews, Christians and Jewish Christians in Antiquity* (WUNT 251, Tübingen, 2010), 91–102.

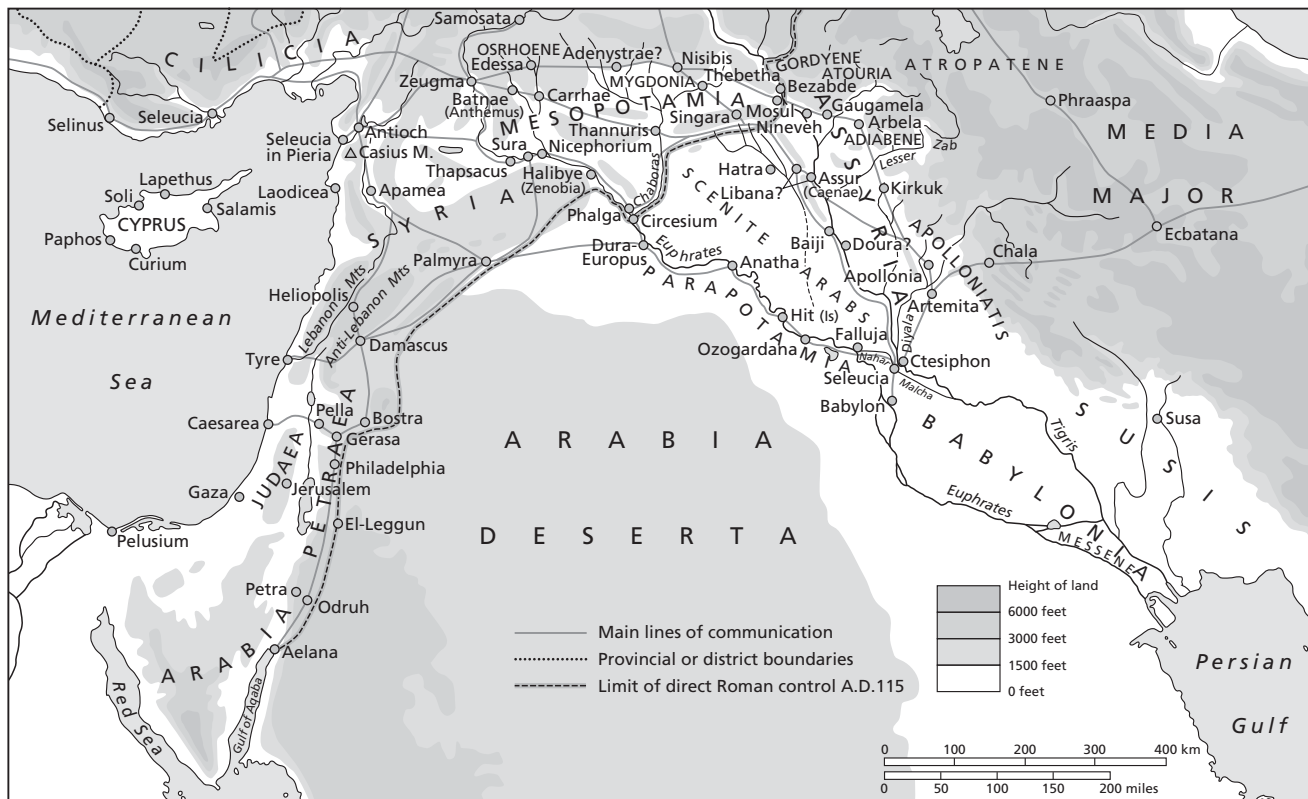
Jews in revolt in Mesopotamia (Trajan xviii), then of the Jewish overthrow of 'Salamis, a city of Cyprus' (Trajan xix) (see [Map 3](#)). In this context in the *Ecclesiastical History*, however, Cyprus is unmentioned. In the place where a notice of this revolt might be expected to occur, given the order of events in the *Chronicle*, there is the affirmation discussed above that Greek historians described these events in the same way. From the order of events in the *Chronicle* it may be suspected (without necessarily confining this revolt within the one year of Eusebius's annal) that insurgence in Cyprus came to a head somewhat after the insurgency in Cyrene and Egypt. It was then devastating as regards property (here only is the effect on a large city specifically recorded) and lives (Dio envisages even more gentile deaths in Cyprus than in Cyrene).

Jews are attested in Cyprus at least from the fourth century BC; when Persian rule succeeded that of Egypt, the island was attached to the satrapy of Syria.³¹¹ Despite its closeness to Cilicia and Syria, after Alexander the Great, Ptolemy succeeded in gaining it. Cypriots and Cypriot Jews had close links with Egypt. The Jews of 'Alexandria, Egypt and Cyprus' are viewed together by Josephus (*Ant.* xiii 284) when he shows from Strabo the importance of Jewish support at the end of the second century BC for Cleopatra III, whose generals Chelkias and Ananias were sons of the high priest Onias, and for her son and rival Ptolemy IX Lathyrus. Cleopatra sent some Egyptian Jews to Cyprus as a military force, for Lathyrus had settled himself there, but they went over to him (Josephus, *Ant.* xiii 284–7), and from Cyprus he responded to appeals for aid from the Palestinian coastal cities against the Hasmonaean king Alexander Jannaeus (Josephus, *Ant.* xiii 328–31, 358).³¹² Perhaps, as in Cyrene and Egypt, military traditions and rural as well as urban settlement can be envisaged for the Jewish population; the dates imported to Jerusalem from Cyprus by Helen of Adiabene may have come, it is suggested, from Jewish plantations.³¹³

³¹¹ D. Noy and H. Bloedhorn, *Inscriptiones Iudaicae Orientis* iii, *Syria and Cyprus* (TSAJ 102, Tübingen, 2004), p. 213 and nos. Cyp6–Cyp8 (Phoenician-language Jewish epitaphs from Citium); Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (in this chapter rev. T. B. Mitford), 372.

³¹² In *Ant.* xiii 286–7, and in the passage on Jews in Cyrene and Alexandria quoted by Josephus, *Ant.* xiv 114–18 (cited in [Chapter 3](#), n. 18 and [Chapter 4](#), n. 99, above), Strabo probably drew on a lost Alexandrian Jewish source; see Capponi, *Il tempio di Leontopoli in Egitto*, 87, n. 125. For Lathyrus's exploitation of the Egyptian repute for cannibalism in this war see n. 86, above.

³¹³ Josephus, *Ant.* xx 51, as interpreted by Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 299; on Cypriot links with Judaea see A. Reifenberg, 'Das antike zyprische Judentum und seine Beziehungen zu Palästina', *JPOS* xii (1932), 209–15. The fourth-century or later column-inscription from Golgoi (CIJ 735 = IJO Cyp3), referred by Applebaum, 299, to renewal of Jewish worship in a rural Cypriot location where it would have been broken off after the Jewish revolt, probably simply records repair of a third-century or later synagogue; see D. Noy in Noy and Bloedhorn, *Inscriptiones Iudaicae Orientis*, iii, *Syria and Cyprus*, pp. 218–20 (220).



3 Cyprus, Syria, Mesopotamia and Babylonia

The continuing importance of Cypriot links with Syria and Palestine as well as Egypt and Cyrene emerges from the Acts of the Apostles (11:19–20 and 13:1, on the Jews of Cyprus and Antioch, and on Cypriot and Cyrenian Jews at Antioch; 13:4–6, noticed below in connection with Salamis in Cyprus). Communication with Egypt comes to the fore again in the legendary *Travels and Martyrdom of Saint Barnabas* issued in the name of Saint Mark; reaching the south coast, the writer says, after flight from the Jews at Salamis following Barnabas's martyrdom, 'we found an Egyptian ship, and embarking were brought to Alexandria'.³¹⁴

The Jewish rising in Cyprus was led by 'one Artemion' (Cassius Dio, lxxiii 32, 2). Jews destroyed Salamis and massacred its gentile inhabitants (Eusebius, *Chron.*, Trajan xix). This ancient port, on the east coast about three miles north of present-day Famagusta, was famed for the legend of its foundation from the Greek mainland Salamis by Teucer son of Telamon, fleeing from his father's wrath and trusting in an oracle of Apollo.³¹⁵ The chief city of Cyprus, it claimed the name of *metropolis*, and had been the capital in the early Ptolemaic period, giving way then to Paphos on the south coast; in the later Roman empire, refounded as Constantia under Constantius II, about 346, it became once more the capital of the island.³¹⁶ A large Jewish population in this city in the early empire is suggested by the plural 'synagogues' of Acts 13:5, on the apostles Barnabas (a Cypriot Jew, Acts 4:36), Paul and Mark in Salamis, supported by the legend of Saint Barnabas quoted above; this passage in Acts, on the apostles' journey from Antioch via the port of Seleucia to Cyprus, also suggests the importance of traffic between Salamis and the Syrian coast.³¹⁷

In the sources for the Trajanic uprisings this is, as noted, the only occasion on which the rebels are recorded as overwhelming an important

³¹⁴ *Acta Barnabae (Periodoi kai martyron tou hagiou Barnaba)* 25–6, ed. M. Bonnet in R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet (eds.), *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* (2 parts in 3 vols., Leipzig, 1891–1903), ii.2, 292–302 (301). This account, describing the burning of the apostle, including his bones, so that only dust is preserved, seems essentially earlier than the fifth-century or later encomium by the monk Alexander, cited below (n. 317), which envisages the miraculous preservation of the body (after death by stoning, and the burning of the corpse) and its discovery c.488 by the archbishop Anthemius, thanks to visions of Saint Barnabas, in time to vindicate the claims of Salamis as an apostolic see. On Anthemius see T. B. Mitford, 'Roman Cyprus', *ANRW* ii 7.2 (ed. H. Temporini; Berlin, 1980), 1,285–384 (1,382–3).

³¹⁵ Euripides, *Helen*, 146–50; Horace, *Od.* i 7, 28–9.

³¹⁶ Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (in this chapter rev. T. B. Mitford), 372; Mitford, 'Roman Cyprus', 1,309, 1,311–12, 1,323; 1,312, n. 20, on *metropolis* in a Hadrianic inscription of 123, published in T. B. Mitford and I. Nikolaou, *Inscriptions from Salamis* (Nicosia, 1974), no. 92.

³¹⁷ Compare the fifth-century or later *laudatio* of Saint Barnabas by the monk Alexander (n. 314 above), in which Barnabas is held captive in a Salamis synagogue and then taken out and stoned, all in this case at the instigation of Jews from Syria; see G. Henschen, D. Papebroch, F. Baertius and C. Janning (eds.), *Acta Sanctorum Junii*, ii (Antwerp, 1698), 436–53 (444–5, paragraphs 26–30).

city. Among the island's cities, 'only in Salamis can something like an industrial proletariat be detected' (T. B. Mitford), in epigraphic references to associations of craftsmen and artisans.³¹⁸ Eusebius's annal of the event itself permits the conjecture that in this city with its many Jews *stasis* will have raged well beforehand, and that there may also have been friction in the countryside.³¹⁹ Thus a Jewish presence in the region of Salamis, in the eastern Cypriot hinterland, about thirty years before the uprisings, is suggested by an inscribed Greek birth record of the year 87 from Tremithus using Sambat (sabbath) as the name of a day.³²⁰ Perhaps, as Dio's mention of Artemion might suggest, the final destruction and massacre in Salamis took place in conjunction with an organized Jewish force drawing on other places too. If so, the fate of Salamis and its gentile inhabitants is like that which was feared by the Greeks of Alexandria when Lucius approached. Dio, without mentioning any particular place, puts the (gentile) deaths in Cyprus at 240,000, even more than the number of 220,000 which he gives for Cyrene, and he adds that 'for this reason no Jew is permitted to set foot on the island; but even if one is driven upon its shores in a storm, he is put to death' (Cassius Dio, lxviii 32, 2–3). (This ban was later relaxed, as Jewish inscriptions ascribed to the third or fourth centuries show.³²¹) The lawless behaviour of the Salamis Jews in the legend of Saint Barnabas, when (giving up the idea of delivering him to the governor) they burn him and pursue his companions, fits a *topos* of martyr literature; but in this case it might also echo traditions of the turbulence of the city's Jews.³²²

Repression is documented in an honorary inscription to C. Valerius Rufus, military tribune of the Seventh Legion, 'sent with a detachment', *misso cum vexillo*, by Trajan, 'on an expedition to Cyprus', *Cyprum in expeditionem*, in 116 or 117.³²³ The revolt was probably quelled in the course

³¹⁸ Mitford, 'Roman Cyprus', 1, 322, n. 143, citing Mitford and Nikolaou, *Inscriptions from Salamis*, nos. 13 (linen weavers erect statue of Hadrian) and 91 (clubhouses for artisans; second or third century).

³¹⁹ Rural disturbance is suspected by Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 299, suggesting that Cypriot dates imported to Jerusalem by Helen of Adiabene (Josephus, *Ant.* xx 51) came from Jewish plantations, and citing CIL III (1), 215, an inscription from Cohors VII Breucorum found in the village of Knodara, near Salamis.

³²⁰ Sacha Stern, 'A "Jewish" Birth Record, *Sambat*-, and the Calendar of Salamis', *ZPE* clxxii (2010), 105–14, on the inscription Noy and Bloedhorn, IJO iii, *Syria and Cyprus*, p. 245, App24, originally published by T. B. Mitford, 'Further Contributions to the Epigraphy of Cyprus', *American Journal of Archaeology* lxxv (1961), 93–151 (118–19, no. 18).

³²¹ Noy and Bloedhorn, IJO iii, *Syria and Cyprus*, nos. Cyp1–Cyp4.

³²² *Acta Barnabae* 23–5, in Lipsius and Bonnet (eds.), *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, ii.1, 300–1; n. 236, above.

³²³ ILS 9491 = Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, no. 284 = Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, no. 3, from Berytus, dated after 116 by the epithet

of 117, as the order of events in Eusebius's *Chronicle* suggests. A statue of Trajan was set up at Soli, where the Cypriot copper mines once farmed by Herod the Great make a Jewish population probable, in Trajan's twentieth year (reckoned from September 116).³²⁴ Two fragments of an inscribed statue base from Curium show that the divine Trajan was honoured by his son in 117–18, suggesting the possibility of a personal visit by Hadrian from Antioch.³²⁵ Hadrianic inscriptions at Salamis, notably one cited already from the year 123 expressing gratitude for benefaction, probably attest continued imperial help after the damage suffered in the rising.³²⁶ At Lapethos, Hadrian was saluted as saviour and benefactor in an inscription from the beginning of his reign, which again might possibly, though uncertainly, relate to help after the rising.³²⁷

The gravity of the outbreak is particularly clear from the Cypriot ban on Jews, a measure of the kind which Titus had declined to permit at Antioch after the fall of Jerusalem in 70; Dio underlines its uncommon stringency. Now in this case Roman opinion converged with Greek anti-Jewish animosity. A factor in this convergence was probably the weakening of the Parthian front and the increase in casualties brought by Jewish opposition in Cyprus as well as Egypt. R. Syme attributed to these considerations, coupled with the reports of atrocities, Tacitus's savage verdict on the likely death of Jews exiled by Tiberius, *vile damnum*, 'a negligible loss'.³²⁸ Similarly, Hadrian's knowledge of Cyprus in these years when he was governor of Syria, together with his early responsibility as emperor for restorative measures in Alexandria, Egypt and Libya, and probably also here, must be reckoned among the influences on his attitude to the Jews ten to fifteen years later.³²⁹

Parthicus given to Trajan; for discussion see Lepper, *Trajan's Parthian War*, 176, n. 4; Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 269; Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 185, 246.

³²⁴ Dedication published by T. B. Mitford in *Opuscula Archaeologica* vi (1950), 32–3, no. 16, discussed by S. Applebaum, 'Cyrenensia Judaica', *JJS* xiii (1962), 31–43 (42), and Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 414, n. 103; Josephus, *Ant.* xvi 128 (Augustus grants Herod half the revenue of the mines, and management of the other half).

³²⁵ SEG xx (1964), no. 157, as interpreted by Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 269.

³²⁶ Mitford and Nikolaou, *Inscriptions from Salamis*, no. 92, discussed by Mitford, *Roman Cyprus*, 1, 312.

³²⁷ IGRR III, 934, dated by its use of Trajanic titles to early in Hadrian's reign, as interpreted by Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 84, and Loewe, "Salvation" is not of the Jews', 366–7; the date favours a connection with the revolt, but Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 414 warns that the conventional language need not relate to current circumstances other than the new reign itself.

³²⁸ Tacitus, *Ann.* ii 85, 4, written with the Trajanic revolts in mind according to R. Syme, *Tacitus* (2 vols., Oxford, 1958), ii, 467–8.

³²⁹ So Birley, *Hadrian*, 230.

The legend that the blood of slaughtered Alexandrian Jews streamed out to Cyprus reflects ancient views of the Nile current, as noted already; but it can still point to the likelihood that the Cyrenaic and Egyptian rebel co-operation included Cyprus. The importance of Cyprus in the revolt is strongly suggested by its contacts with both Egypt and Syria, including Antioch with its imperial headquarters, and by the presence of detailed reports in both Dio and Eusebius, notably Dio's notices of the leader Artemion, 240,000 gentile deaths, and the banning of Jews from the island. C. Merivale, stressing the proximity of Cyprus to Antioch, suggested that Cyprus was the arsenal and rallying-ground of the whole widespread revolt.³³⁰ For a somewhat comparable view in antiquity of an episode in Cypriot Jewish turbulence as stirred up from Syria, one may recall the imagined rôle of Syrian Jews in instigating attacks on the apostles by the Jews of Salamis, in the fifth-century or later encomium of Saint Barnabas cited above.³³¹

At any rate, the importance of the island as a nodal point in communications and a relatively safe retreat shows that the part played by Cyprus in the set of revolts as a whole should not be underrated. Moreover, the sparse information given by Dio and Eusebius is enough to suggest that Cyprus shared some common features with the other two western revolts: urban faction (Alexandria, Salamis, probably the Cyrenaic Pentapolis); rural military traditions and friction (Egypt, Cyrenaica, probably also Cyprus); ruthless hostility to gentile neighbours and representatives of Rome (Cyrenaica, Egypt, Cyprus); and union under a single leader (Andreas, Lucuas, Artemion).

Mesopotamia

For the east, the main sources are still Dio and Eusebius, but their accounts differ in emphasis. Dio speaks of revolt by unspecified inhabitants of the territories initially gained when Trajan advanced, but Eusebius speaks only of revolt by Jews. If in one modern interpretation a Jewish revolt beyond the Euphrates forms the mainspring of the entire set of Jewish uprisings, in another the case for any Jewish rebellion here, especially to the east in Roman-occupied Parthia, is viewed as uncertain.³³²

³³⁰ Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, viii, 166–7; on his general outlook and his stress on the political importance of the diaspora in the eastern Roman provinces and Mesopotamia, see [Chapter 2](#), above.

³³¹ See n. 317, above.

³³² For these interpretations see, respectively, Barnes, 'Trajan and the Jews'; D. Goodblatt, 'The Jews in Babylonia, 66 – c.235 CE', in Katz (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, iv, 82–93 (86).

Dio, as epitomized by Xiphilinus, relates that, when Trajan, having gained Armenia, Osrhoene (in northern Mesopotamia), and Adiabene (north-east of the Tigris), had advanced south-eastwards into Babylonia, Lusius Quietus repressed rebellion in his rear; he took Nisibis and burnt Edessa, in Mesopotamia, and subordinate commanders (*hypostrategoi*, legates) took Seleucia, in northern Babylonia (Cassius Dio lxxviii 30, 1–2). The Jews are not specified; but Dio, having related their western risings in Cyrene, Egypt and Cyprus, adds (lxxviii 32, 3) that Lusius, sent by Trajan, was among those who subdued the Jews. He does not mention the area in which they lived, but comparison with Eusebius (see below), who reproduces similar information on Lusius, suggests that Mesopotamia is meant.

In a sketch of Lusius's career Dio also notes that he was a Moor, a ruler among the Moors, who had been dismissed from the Roman service in disgrace but, when Mauretanian assistance was needed against the Dacians, came to Trajan and did great things in both Dacian wars; next, by his valour and good fortune in the Parthian war, Quietus obtained consular rank and the governorship of Palestine – success which aroused hatred and contributed to his downfall, says Dio (Cassius Dio, lxxviii 32, 4–5, placed in Boissevain's text after lxxviii 18, 1).³³³ This passage, with which Eusebius converges as regards the Parthian war and the governorship, is preserved not through Xiphilinus but through the *Excerpta Valesiana*, the tenth-century excerpts of Dio and other authors, on virtues and vices, edited by H. de Valois in 1634.³³⁴

Eusebius, however, speaks only of revolt by Jews in Mesopotamia. Trajan, either when it had happened (*Chronicle*) or suspecting that it would happen (*History*), ordered Lusius to purge the province of them. Lusius slew vast numbers, and therefore was made governor of Judaea – this name is used

³³³ This short biography is discussed with other sources, including a seeming echo of the hatred mentioned by Dio in the fourth-century Themistius, *Or.* xvi, on Quietus's utterly barbaric origin – 'not a Roman, not even a Libyan from the parts of Libya subject to Rome' – by A. von Premerstein, *Das Attentat der Konsulare auf Hadrian im Jahre 118 nach Chr.* (Beihefte zu Klio, 8, Leipzig, 1908), 62–4; however, his identification of Quietus with an unnamed figure in a passage of the second-century physiognomist Polemo preserved in Arabic is doubted by Birley, *Hadrian*, 336, n. 22; A. Galimberti, *Adriano e l'ideologia del principato* (Centro ricerche e documentazione sull'antichità classica, Monografie 28; Rome, 2007), 47–50. Themistius had been adduced to illustrate Eusebius on Quietus by H. de Valois (1659).

³³⁴ Chapter 1, n. 59, above; H. de Valois (Valesius) (ed. and tr.), *Polybii, Diodori Siculi, Nicolai Damasceni, Dionysii Halicarnensis, Appiani Alexandrini, Dionis et Ioannis Antiocheni Excerpta, ex collectaneis Constantini Augusti Porphyrogeniti* (Paris, 1634); on the value of these excerpts from Dio and Xiphilinus's epitome for reconstructing Trajan's Parthian campaign see Lepper, *Trajan's Parthian War*, 2–5.

rather than the 'Palestine' of Dio, in both *Chronicle* and *History* (Eusebius, *Chronicle*, Trajan xviii; *H.E.* iv 2, 5).

For Lusius and eastern rebellion both Dio and Eusebius are likely to draw on Arrian's *Parthica*. This view is rejected by Marina Pucci Ben Zeev, because of Eusebius's failure to mention the atrocities in Cyrene which Dio describes in dependence, as Pucci Ben Zeev now judges, on Arrian; it remains possible that Dio used another source here, as Pucci Ben Zeev formerly thought, perhaps the recollections of his father Apronianus, governor of Cilicia, whom he cites for the circumstances of the accession of Hadrian (Cassius Dio, lxi 1, 3).³³⁵

Other considerations favour shared dependence by Dio and Eusebius on Arrian for rebellion in the east. First, despite the differences just noted, they seem to reflect a common source; they agree in mentioning the name of Lusius Quietus, his repression of rebels in Mesopotamia (unnamed in Dio, Jews in Eusebius), his repression of specifically Jewish rebels (in Mesopotamia in Eusebius, but in Dio mentioned after stories of Cyrene, Egypt, and Cyprus, and not clearly located), and his war record as leading to his Judaean (Palestinian) governorship. Arrian is their most likely source for this information on the Parthian campaign. Second, two possible traces of this source have been noted in similarities of phrasing. Thus a sentence from Arrian quoted twice in the Suda lexicon presents Trajan as wishing 'utterly to abolish the nation' (*exelein to ethnos*), doubtless the Jews, or at least to check their engagement in 'wicked presumption' (*atasthalia*).³³⁶ This phraseology was probably itself well-worn; Josephus relates that the pious Antiochus Sidetes, when besieging Jerusalem c.132 BC, did not listen to those who counselled him *exelein to ethnos* because of Jewish separatism (Josephus, *Ant.* xiii 245). Still, Arrian's use of this language is perhaps echoed in Eusebius on the intention to purge (*ekkatharai*) them from the province (Eusebius, *H.E.* iv 2, 5) or, in the Latin version of the *Chronicle*, to banish them from it (*ut eos provincia exterminaret*, *Chronicle*, Trajan xviii).³³⁷ Again, W. Weber suggested that joint use of Arrian is reflected when Dio and Eusebius come unwontedly close in language in this context; Lusius 'had success' in many other respects as well as his recovery of Nisibis (*katorthose*, Cassius Dio lxxviii 30, 2), and 'for this success (*katorthoma*), in

³³⁵ Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 161–3.

³³⁶ The quotation is presented and discussed by Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, ii, no. 332a. The Titans, the paradigmatic rebels (compare Horace, *Od.* iii 4, 42–3 on the 'impious Titans'), act with *atasthalia* in Hesiod, *Theog.* 207.

³³⁷ Motta, 'La tradizione sulla rivolta ebraica al tempo di Traiano', 484–5, discussed by Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 161–3.

slaying a multitude of Jews in Mesopotamia, he was appointed governor of Judaea (Eusebius, *H.E.* iv 2, 5).³³⁸ These suggestions support the argument drawn from the considerable broader agreement of Dio and Eusebius at this point.

There is therefore a good case for dependence by both Dio and Eusebius on a common source, probably Arrian, for events connected with the Parthian war. This in turn suggests that different aspects of the same events come to the fore in both historians. Arrian, their common source, would have mentioned the Jews, as the Suda quotation especially indicates. Jews will have been prominent in revolt against Rome in the conquered territories; the cities attacked by Lusius (Nisibis and, further west, Edessa, in Mesopotamia) and the subordinate commanders (Seleucia in Babylonia, to the south and east) are all likely to have had some Jewish population.³³⁹ Dio was perhaps concerned with the revolt in general rather than Jewish participants in particular, by contrast with Eusebius, who in both *Chronicle* and *History* is following the thread of Jewish rebellion in different places. A somewhat comparable difference over the presence of Jews was noted above in the accounts of the march of Mithridates to support Caesar in Alexandria (n. 129, above), as they appear in Ps.-Caesar on the one hand (without mention of Jews) and Josephus on the other (stressing Jewish participation and alliance).

The silence of Dio on Jewish revolt in Mesopotamia should not therefore be taken to cancel Eusebius's emphasis on it. Stronger doubt has been expressed on any Jewish share in revolt in Seleucia, for Lusius alone is said to have repressed Jews, and he acted in Mesopotamia rather than Babylonia.³⁴⁰ Yet Jewish habitation in Seleucia is likely, and the immediate region was an important centre of Jewish population in Talmudic times,

³³⁸ Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 33, n. 117.

³³⁹ For Jews in these cities compare Josephus, *Ant.* xviii 379 (massacre and flight of Jews in Seleucia in the previous century); Sifre Deut. 80, on Deut. 19:1 (one of a number of sources connecting R. Judah ben Bathyra in Nisibis with second-century Judaeans figures); the Doctrine of Addai (fifth-century with earlier material), ff. 4a, 12a, 22a, ed. and tr. G. Phillips (London, 1876), Syriac pp. 5, 18, 34, English pp. 6, 18, 32–3 (Jews in Edessa, including traders in silks); the inscriptions Syr 78–80 (Aramaic, including one in Aramaic and Greek) in Noy and Bloedhorn, *Inscriptiones Iudaicae Orientis*, iii, 128–32 (Jewish epitaphs, first–fourth centuries, at Edessa); see further A. Oppenheimer, *Babylonia Judaica in the Talmudic Period* (Wiesbaden, 1983), 133–4 (Edessa), 207–23 (Seleucia: no firm evidence of presence of Jews in the Talmudic period, but very likely that some were there), 319–34 (Nisibis); J. B. Segal, *Edessa, 'the Blessed City'* (Oxford, 1970), 41–3 (Jews in Edessa, first to third centuries), 78–80, and Plates 16a (menorah incised at cave-tomb), 31a (Greek text of the bilingual Jewish epitaph); J. Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia*, i, *The Parthian Period* (Chico, CA, 1984), 46–52 (Nisibis), 94–9 (Jews in the silk trade).

³⁴⁰ Goodblatt, 'The Jews in Babylonia, 66–c.235 CE', 86.

after the decline of Seleucia in the early third century.³⁴¹ Probably Jews were involved in revolt here too, but apart from Seleucia the general anti-Roman movement was less pronounced in Babylonia than Mesopotamia because of the presence of Trajan.³⁴²

The picture of Jewish contribution to Parthian resistance which has emerged can be compared to some extent with the Parthian alliance made against Rome by the last Hasmonaean king, Antigonus, when the Parthians invaded Syria and Judaea in 40 BC (Josephus, *Ant.* xiv 330–2, cf. *B.J.* i 248–9). The question how far Parthian influence encouraged Jewish uprisings outside Mesopotamia and Babylonia is considered below.

The repression of the Jews beyond the Euphrates perhaps occasioned the contemporary prophecy of the Jew or Judaizing Christian Elchasai that, three years after Trajan had subdued the Parthians to his rule, war would break out between the angels of impiety in the north; on this account all kingdoms of impiety were now in confusion (Hippolytus, *Ref.* ix 16, 4).³⁴³ This prophecy of warfare among the angels resembles in general the roughly contemporary prediction of astral warfare noted above at the end of the Fifth Sibylline book (Sib. v 512–31). The final words of Elchasai's oracle, on the wicked kingdoms in confusion, sound like a prophetic paraphrase of the *Historia Augusta* on the disturbed state of the empire at Hadrian's accession (*HA* Hadrian v 2). The beginning of the oracle sketches a prospect (seeming likely under Trajan, but in fact unfulfilled under Hadrian) of renewed war involving Parthia, Osrhoene, Armenia and Rome. The hostile angels would be, as in the book of Daniel, the heavenly princes who guide the gentile kingdoms (Dan. 10:13; 20–1). As in the Parables of Enoch, perhaps from the reign of Herod the Great, 'the angels will throw themselves . . . upon the Parthians and Medes; they will stir up the kings . . .' (I Enoch 56:5).³⁴⁴

This fragment of the revelation of Elchasai is then notable as a rare reasonably clear instance of Jewish or Judaizing prophecy immediately connected with the Trajanic uprisings.

³⁴¹ On the decline of Seleucia, probably on account of changes in the course of the Tigris, see Oppenheimer, *Babylonia Judaica in the Talmudic Period*, 226–32.

³⁴² So Lepper, *Trajan's Parthian War*, 211–12.

³⁴³ He received his revelation in Parthia under Trajan, according to Alcibiades who publicized it in the church in Rome in the early third century (Hippolytus, *Ref.* ix 13); for its probable link with the revolt see Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church*, 223; G. P. Luttikhuisen, *The Revelation of Elchasai* (Tübingen, 1985), 50 (Greek text of Hippolytus, *Ref.* ix 16, 4, with suggested emendations), 78–9, 190–4 (Quietus's Mesopotamian reprisals in 116 occasioned the composition of a revelation in Aramaic by a Jewish author).

³⁴⁴ M. A. Knibb's translation, in H. F. D. Sparks (ed.), *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (Oxford, 1984), 235; this passage (I Enoch 56:5–7), describing a Parthian attack on Jerusalem, probably reflects the Parthian invasion of Judaea in 40 BC.

Judaea

To recall aspects of the Judean situation from [Chapter 3](#), strict Roman policing in the twenty years before 115 is suggested by the Christian traditions of the denunciation of members of the Saviour's family, under Domitian, not because they were Christians but because they were descendants of David, and of the crucifixion of Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, the grandson of Jude the Lord's brother, after a similar denunciation, probably early in Trajan's reign.³⁴⁵ The attestation of a strong presence of troops in 90 is consistent with this inference.³⁴⁶ Second, hatred of Rome marks a text like II (Syriac) Baruch, probably completed in Judaea under Domitian, even though this book teaches continuation of Jewish life and observance until redemption comes: 'we have nothing now but the Mighty One and his law' (II Baruch 85:3).³⁴⁷ Third, some degree of recovery in Judaea after 70 is suggested by the continuance of Jewish property-owning, and by the Trajanic-period settlement said to include Jewish habitation excavated near Jerusalem, in present-day Shuafat. Fourth, however, as II Baruch might suggest, despite the stream of opinion which seeks stability, the philosophy of Judas the Galilaean was not forgotten; Bar Kokhba coins show that the catchwords of the First Revolt in Judaea – 'liberty' and 'redemption' – were remembered thereafter.

The 'war of Quietus'

'In the war of Quietus they forbade the crowns of the brides, and that a man should teach his son Greek' (Mishnah, Sotah ix 4).³⁴⁸ This war is mentioned here between 'the war of Vespasian' and 'the last war' (Bar Kokhba's uprising). It has been identified with uprisings outside Judaea, above all in Mesopotamia, where repression by Quietus is documented in the passages discussed above from Eusebius and Cassius Dio.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁵ Eusebius, *H.E.* iii 20, 1–7; 32, 3–6 (in both cases citing Hegesippus); Eusebius, *Chron.*, Domitian xvi, Trajan x.

³⁴⁶ Eck, *Rom und Judaea*, 110–11, on an inscribed military diploma of 90, with photograph.

³⁴⁷ See [Chapter 2](#), n. 95, above.

³⁴⁸ On the claims of the text followed here with the name 'Qitos', taken to correspond with Quietus, see [Chapter 1](#), n. 10, above.

³⁴⁹ Goodman, 'Judaea' (2), 671 and n. 22 (the phrase need not concern events in Palestine); J. R. Ayaso Martínez, *Judaea Capta. La Palestina romana entre las dos guerras judías* (Estella, 1990), 54–6 (a general reference to the uprisings under Trajan, without any geographical specificity); Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 533 (it may simply refer to Mesopotamia); D. Rokeah, 'The War of Quietus: towards the Clarification of a Philological-Historical Problem',

This non-Judaean interpretation of the ‘war of Quietus’ seems to have two striking silences in its favour. First, rabbinic texts attest Trajanic troops attacking Jews in Egypt, as noted above, but not in Judaea; this silence of Jewish Judaean and Judaean-influenced sources might suggest that Judaean conflicts at the time of Quietus can hardly have taken place.³⁵⁰ Yet the survival of early second-century traditions of Judaean history in rabbinic literature – concerned as it is mainly with halakhah, biblical interpretation, morality and religion rather than historiography – is unlikely to be complete. Moreover, rabbinic depictions of Trajan as an arch-enemy of Israel, responsible for the martyrdoms of the brothers Pappus and Lulianus, with the rabbinic narrative of their activity, discussed below, raise in themselves the question at least of unrest in Judaea.

A second striking silence is that of Eusebius. He makes no explicit mention of any Judaean unrest under Quietus, even though he is a Caesarean author, much concerned with Judaea, who is tracing the course of Jewish rebellion. Yet in this silence he probably reflects the non-Judaean focus of his sources. His main source, probably Appian, was well-informed on Jewish revolt in Egypt, but (as noticed already) mentions Cyrene mainly in connection with Egypt; the Cypriot information in Eusebius’s *Chronicle* which probably comes from the same source may well similarly reflect the links of Cyprus with Egypt. Appian in the surviving parts of his *Roman History* indeed has remarks on the Jews in Judaea in other connections.³⁵¹ In the lost material used here by Eusebius, however, Egypt was the focus. Then Arrian, probably the source of Eusebius’s notice of Quietus, was concerned with the Parthian war rather than Judaea in particular. Eusebius’s silence on Judaean unrest then simply indicates the preoccupations of his sources; his notice of Quietus’s Judaean appointment may indeed, as suggested below, imply such unrest.

To return then to the Mishnah, here the ‘war of Quietus’ can in fact most naturally be referred to Judaea, where the ‘war of Vespasian’ and ‘the last war’ both took place, and where the moves to change custom mentioned in the Mishnah were remembered. It can then be aligned with the remark in the *Historia Augusta* quoted already on the ‘rebellious spirit’ being evinced by Libya and Palestine at the beginning of Hadrian’s reign (‘Libya denique

Scripta Hierosolymitana xxiii (1972), 79–84 (the name ‘Qitos’ in the Mishnah here corresponds rather to Quintus, i.e. Q. Marcius Turbo in Egypt).

³⁵⁰ So Stemberger, *Die römische Herrschaft im Urteil der Juden*, 78.

³⁵¹ Note especially Appian, *Historia Romana* xi (Syriaca), I 252–3, on destructions of Jerusalem from Pompey to Hadrian and on the heavy tribute currently paid by Jews (comment in Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, ii, no. 343).

ac Palaestina rebelles animos efferebant', *HA* Hadrian v 2). The phrase means something less than full revolt, but still something other than 'all quiet' (*quies*).³⁵²

These two attestations of Judaeen unrest would then in turn fit the general remark in Eusebius's *Chronicle*, Hadrian i, that Hadrian mastered the Jews who were 'rebelling a second time against the Romans', but this annal is ambiguous. It does not mention Judaea, and can be understood simply of the diaspora, in the light of the earlier annals on Libya, Egypt, Mesopotamia and Cyprus discussed above.

On the other hand, the Mesopotamian annal does include, as just noted, a reference to Judaea: 'Quietus slew countless thousands of them' (the Jews rebelling in Mesopotamia) 'and on this account was appointed governor of Judaea by the emperor' (Eusebius, *Chronicle*, Trajan xviii, in Jerome's translation).

This promotion of Quietus is also noted by Cassius Dio as the upshot of his valour and good fortune in the eastern campaign (lxviii 32, 4, discussed in the previous section). It suggests independently that Judaeen unrest existed or was feared.

Inscriptions supply information – inconclusive in itself but sometimes suggestive – on Roman troops in Judaea at the time of Quietus. He was a man of consular rank, as noted already from Cassius Dio (lxviii 32, 5), and he possibly attained it in conjunction with his Judaeen appointment. Restoration of the text of a Caesarean inscription shows that his likely successor, Lucius Cossonius Gallus, was also of consular rank.³⁵³ Judaea was therefore in their time a consular province qualifying for two legions, and a second legion, in addition to X Fretensis, would be expected.

After Quietus's departure, a milestone of 120 indeed attests, on a probable reading, the presence of II Traiana.³⁵⁴ This legion, raised in the early years of the century, served in the Second Dacian War (105–6) and then from 113 in the Parthian war. Disturbance in Judaea may perhaps be suggested if it was first brought in during the Parthian campaign (when, however, X Fretensis was itself probably engaged in the east); but, given doubt on the

³⁵² That full revolt is not indicated was stressed by Liebmann-Frankfort, 'Les juifs dans l'*Histoire Auguste*', 541–2; but revolt is thought probable by Fündling, *Kommentar zur Vita Hadriani der Historia Augusta*, i, 410 (K 136, on v 2).

³⁵³ AE 2003, no. 1801 = CIIP ii, no. 1227, from a column which will have formed part of a monument in honour of Cossonius Gallus; the entry revises earlier discussion by Eck, *Rom und Judaea*, 114; see also H. Cotton and W. Eck, 'Governors and Their Personnel in Latin Inscriptions from Caesarea Maritima', *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, xii (2001), 215–38 (219).

³⁵⁴ B. Isaac and I. Roll, 'Legio II Traiana in Judaea', *ZPE* xxxiii (1979), 149–55, and their 'Legio II Traiana in Judaea – a Reply', *ZPE* xlvii (1982), 131–2, reprinted in Isaac, *The Near East under Roman Rule*, 198–207, 208–10.

time when Judaea became a consular province, it might already have been stationed there after the Second Dacian War.³⁵⁵

No firm conclusion on Judaeans unrest at the time of the Parthian war can be drawn from this witness to the presence of II Traiana, but the road building in 120 which is also evident from this milestone and another of the same year (jointly attesting a road from the camp at Caparcotna (Legio) via Diocaesarea (Sepphoris) to Ptolemais) is consistent with concern for security not long after the departure of Quietus.³⁵⁶

Comparably inconclusive yet suggestive is an attestation that a detachment of Legio III Cyrenaica was in Jerusalem in or near the time of Quietus's governorship. A Latin inscription, on a stone revealed as built into the Sion Gate of Jerusalem when a storm toppled the doors at the end of 1894, is a dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Serapis made by a *vexillatio* of III Cyrenaica 'for the salvation and victory' (*pro salute et victoria*) of Trajan, who is called *Parthicus*; this epithet dates it between spring 116 and Trajan's death in August 117.³⁵⁷ The corresponding altar or statue (Eck suggests a statue of Serapis or, as otherwise attested in Jerusalem and Caesarea, of his foot) seems likely to have stood in the Roman camp nearby.³⁵⁸ Given the eastern engagement of the Tenth Legion, the presence of this detachment of III Cyrenaica, a legion which also served in the Parthian war, need not represent troop movement out of the ordinary, although its stationing in Jerusalem at this period suggests concern for security and could have responded to unrest itself rather than the threat of it.³⁵⁹

Two further inscriptions, both found in 1929, were connected with Quietus by G. Alon.³⁶⁰ An undated Latin dedication of a 'temple to the

³⁵⁵ These alternative conjectures were left open, without express inclination towards either, by Hannah M. Cotton, 'Aspects of the Roman Administration of Judaea/Syria Palaestina', in W. Eck (ed.), *Lokale Autonomie und römische Ordnungsmacht in den kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen vom 1. bis 3. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1999), 75–89 (80–1, noting that two legions in a small province in any case suggest Roman recognition of special problems); Eck, *Rom und Judaea*, 114–15.

³⁵⁶ Isaac and Roll, 'Judaea in the Early Years of Hadrian's Reign', in Isaac, *The Near East under Roman Rule*, 184–6; Isaac and Roll, 'Legio II Traiana in Judaea', in Isaac, *The Near East under Roman Rule*, 199–203, 210.

³⁵⁷ CIL III Suppl. (1902) 13587 = Thomsen, *Die lateinischen und griechischen Inschriften der Stadt Jerusalem*, no. 1 = Bieberstein and Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem*, ii, 166–7, no. 1718.1311 = CIIP i.2, no. 705.

³⁵⁸ A position by the Bethesda pools, where the cult of Serapis is archaeologically attested, is suggested for example by Bieberstein and Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem*, i, 143; ii, 167, but seems less likely because of their distance from the site of the Sion Gate. On statues of Serapis and his foot (a suitable image for foot soldiers) see Eck at CIIP 705.

³⁵⁹ Lepper, *Trajan's Parthian War*, 175 suggests that it was either left in Jerusalem when III Cyrenaica was transferred from Egypt to the Parthian front in 115, or sent back from the east to Jerusalem when Jewish revolt broke out.

³⁶⁰ Alon, *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age (70–640CE)*, 417–18.

Genius of Africa', *templum geniu [sic] Africae*, for the *salus* of an unnamed emperor, found in the Armenian Quarter of Jerusalem in or near the site of the Roman camp, can be associated with the Mauretanians who served Quietus (*HA* Hadrian v 8), but has also been connected with other Mauretanian troops who are epigraphically attested in Judaea in 86, and, through a more recent find, in 90; alternatively, the association of imperial *salus* with the Genius of Africa can suggest the time of Septimius Severus, who was from Leptis Magna, at the end of the second century.³⁶¹ A link with Quietus in this instance is by no means clear.

Second, the Latin epitaph of L. Tettius Crescens, found at Cagliari in Sardinia, notes that he had taken part in the expeditions to Dacia, twice, to Armenia, to Parthia, and to Judaea.³⁶² Up to and including the Parthian expedition these are named following the order of events under Trajan; the Judaeian expedition, named immediately after the Parthian, might be that against Bar Kokhba under Hadrian, but Tettius would then have been unusually advanced in years for participation, and one would also expect that he might have taken part in Hadrian's British expedition of 122, which is unmentioned. This Judaeian expedition might therefore be one sent during Trajan's Parthian war to Judaea, described as an expedition in the same way as is the sending of troops to repress revolt in Cyprus in the inscription to C. Valerius Rufus quoted above.³⁶³ This interpretation attractively supplies the missing direct evidence for a 'war of Quietus' from the Roman side; it is a strong possibility, but remains conjectural.

The epigraphic attestation of troops in Judaea at this period then witnesses through milestones to Roman concern for security, but without clear signs of emergency reinforcement; to a military cultic manifestation under Trajan in 116 or 117, probably in the area of the army camp at Jerusalem, by a force which would have been under Quietus's command and could, but need not, have been transferred to quell unrest; and very possibly, last, to what was called a 'Judaeian expedition', *expeditio Iudaeae*, at the time of Quietus. The last instance would provide the only clear non-Jewish reference to repression, but without confirmation it remains speculative.

³⁶¹ Bieberstein and Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem*, ii, 127–8, no. 1717.131 = CIIP i.2 no. 706; Bieberstein and Bloedhorn and Belayche, *Iudaea-Palaestina*, 124 mention a possible link with Mauretanians in 86; for their attestation also on a diploma of 90 see Eck, *Rom und Judaea*, III. A link with Quietus was favoured by Alon, *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age (70–640CE)*, 417, and Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 302; Eck at CIIP 706 inclines to the reign of Septimius Severus.

³⁶² '[E]xpeditionib(us) interfui(t) | Daciae bis, Armeniae, | Parthiae et Iudaeae'; *AE* 1929, p. 45, no. 167 = Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, p. 4, no. 1.

³⁶³ So Alon, *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age (70–640CE)*, 417–18; Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 302; Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 244–7.

The Hadrianic road building in 120, however, would be consistent with a raising of security concerns through events in the time of Quietus, and an effort to deal with them when peace had been sufficiently restored.³⁶⁴

Even apart from these inscriptions, however, the *Historia Augusta*, taken together with the Mishnah and in the light of Dio and Eusebius on Quietus's appointment, independently suggests a considerable Judaeian disturbance, ruthlessly repressed. Both points emerge from the Mishnah. The event was called a war, *pulmus* (a transliteration of Greek *polemos*, 'war'), like the repressions led by Varus and Vespasian, and 'the last war'.³⁶⁵ The outcome for the Jews was grievous, being held to evoke measures of communal lament – the prohibition of bridal crowns – and withdrawal from communication with non-Jews – the ban on the teaching of Greek, the language which appears together with Aramaic and sometimes Hebrew in many surviving Jewish documents and ossuary inscriptions from Judaea in this period, and was regarded as a normal means of communication with Roman authorities.³⁶⁶ The inadequacy of Greek to convey the sense of one's ancestral tongue is common ground between Ben Sira's grandson, who migrated to Egypt, and the Egyptian writer of the Hermetic tract *Asclepius*.³⁶⁷ This Mishnaic text thus evinces also the threatening mood of communal self-insulation, *amixia*, such as is associated with unrest in the Ptolemaic official reports on the Egyptian populace cited above.

One specific action in Jerusalem, which will have particularly shocked Jews and Christians because it took place on the temple site, is attributed to Quietus in a relatively early source, the early third-century Roman Christian writer Hippolytus, cited above for his report of the oracles of Elchasai. Fragments of Hippolytus's *Chapters against Gaius* – Gaius maintained that the Apocalypse ascribed to Saint John was written by the heretic Cerinthus – are quoted in Syriac translation in the twelfth century by the Jacobite (Monophysite) bishop Dionysius bar Salibi, in his own commentary on the Apocalypse. They include a comment by Hippolytus on Matt. 24:15 'when therefore you see the abomination of desolation . . . standing in the holy place', a prophecy considered together with Rev. 11:2 on 'the holy city'. He argues that Matt. 24:15 was not fulfilled by the destruction

³⁶⁴ That road building was not except in special need a wartime activity in Roman Judaea is urged by B. Isaac and I. Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea*, i, *The Legio-Scythopolis Road* (BAR International Series 141, Oxford, 1982), 91–2.

³⁶⁵ For Seder Olam Rabbah, 30, 'from the war of Varus to the war of Vespasian, eighty years', see Chapter 3, n. 28, above.

³⁶⁶ Thus in this connection the Tosefta notes that the household of Rabban Gamaliel were still permitted to learn Greek 'because they were associated with the government' (Tos. Sotah xv 8).

³⁶⁷ Ecclesiasticus, Prologue; *Hermetica* xvi, discussed by Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, 37–8.

of Jerusalem in 70; 'Vespasian did not set up an idol in the temple, but the legion brought by Traianus Quintus, captain of the Romans, set up an idol which is called Koré'.³⁶⁸

Koré (Persephone) was well known in Palestine, as is suggested for the second century by Justin Martyr's view that the statues of Koré above springs are demonic imitations of the divine spirit borne over the face of the waters (Gen. 1:2), and confirmed by archaeological finds in Justin's native region at Samaria and Neapolis.³⁶⁹ A statue of Koré on the temple site in Jerusalem would be consistent with the association of Bethesda and its pools (John 5:2), north of the temple wall, with divine healing.³⁷⁰ Quietus's name has been confused and associated with that of the better-known Trajan.³⁷¹ Otherwise this tradition is commended by its individuality as compared with the common Christian emphasis on a statue of Caesar (see n. 368) and by its agreement with other information on Judaeon cults.³⁷² The attribution of the offensive deed to Quietus's troops is consistent with the negative view of him implied in the Mishnah, but does not of itself clearly illuminate the course of 'the war of Quietus'.

³⁶⁸ Extract from Dionysius bar Salibi on Rev. 11:2 'and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months', part of a passage from his commentary edited from a Trinity College, Dublin manuscript (Rich 7185) with English translation and discussion by J. Gwynn, 'Hippolytus on St. Matthew xxiv. 15–22', *Hermathena* vii (1890), 137–50, reprinted in N. Bonwetsch and H. Achelis (eds.), *Hippolytus Werke*, 1.2 (Leipzig, 1897), 244–5 and in Pucci, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, p. 83, no. 55; for the passage within a complete text of Dionysius on Revelation, see I. Sedlacek, *Dionysius Bar Salibi in Apocalypsim, Actus et Epistolas Catholicas* (CSCO Scriptores Syri Series Secunda ci, 2 parts, Paris and Rome, 1909–10), text (1909), 17, Latin translation (1910), 13. A Coptic gospel catena attributes to Hippolytus the alternative tradition that an image of Caesar was set up before the altar in Jerusalem; see Pucci, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, pp. 82–3, no. 54, from P. de Lagarde (ed.), *Catenae in Evangelia Aegyptiacae quae supersunt* (Göttingen, 1886), 65, noting that the same tradition is given from Ethiopic and Arabic versions in Bonwetsch and Achelis (eds.), *Hippolytus Werke*, 1.2, 197. This alternative accords with the view of Origen, the Bordeaux Pilgrim and Jerome that a statue or statues of an emperor (with, once in Jerome, a statue of Jupiter) stood on the temple site; see N. Belayche, *Judaea-Palaestina*, 140–1. The strikingly different and more circumstantial tradition on 'Traianus Quintus' and the statue of Koré seems likely to be independent.

³⁶⁹ Justin Martyr, *I Apol.* lxiv 1–4, cited as reflecting Palestinian cult by Gwynn, 'Hippolytus on St. Matthew xxiv. 15–22', 143; Belayche, *Judaea-Palaestina*, 212–14.

³⁷⁰ On archaeological finds indicating the third-century association of this site with divine healing under the patronage of Serapis (and perhaps Asclepius) see K. Bieberstein and H. Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem: Grundzüge der Baugeschichte vom Chalkolithicum bis zur Frühzeit der osmanischen Herrschaft* (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients, 100; 3 vols., Wiesbaden, 1994), iii, 162–7 (no. 1724.1320–21); M. Küchler, 'Zum "Probatischen Becken" und zu "Bethesda mit den fünf Stöen"', in Hengel, *Judaica, Hellenistica et Christiana: Kleine Schriften II*, 381–9 (385–8).

³⁷¹ Compare, in rabbinic tradition, Sifra, Emor, Perek 5, discussed below, in which what seems to be the story of the execution of Quietus has been transferred to the better-known Trajan.

³⁷² There is therefore no need to view 'Koré' as a corruption of 'Caesar', as suggested by Abel, *Histoire de la Palestine*, ii, 64 and n. 3; E. M. Smallwood, 'Palestine c. AD 115–118', *Historia* xi (1962), 500–10 (506); Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 423.

Did Judaeen unrest precede or follow Quietus's arrival? The question might perhaps have received differing answers at the time, and any answer now is speculative. A case for Quietus as provoking turbulence which first broke out after he came has been made by G. Firpo.³⁷³ He stresses that Palestine is first named as hostile after Hadrian's accession, despite relatively full attestation of Jewish unrest elsewhere under Trajan. Yet, as already noted, the focus of the main sources for this unrest is on Cyrene (Dio), Egypt (Eusebius) and Mesopotamia (Dio and Eusebius), and Dio and Eusebius both attest Quietus's Judaeen appointment, which in itself at least raises the question of unrest there. Firpo suggests too that the Trajanic dedication in Jerusalem in honour of Serapis was probably accompanied by the erection of some image in the temple, as suggested in general by the Hippolytan tradition on a statue and 'Traianus Quintus', and that this was gratuitous provocation by Quietus which in fact caused the outbreak of Jewish rebellion in Judaea. The dedication, however, hardly by itself implies provocation.³⁷⁴ The erection of a statue on the temple site is itself open to interpretation as following rather than preceding disturbance; both possibilities are now kept open by M. Pucci Ben Zeev, who originally held that rebellion was a response to Quietus.³⁷⁵ It seems likely, in any case, that there were signs of disturbance before Quietus's arrival. The legend of the Jewish martyrs Pappus and Lulianus points in this direction.

Pappus and Lulianus

The traditions in Talmud, midrash and synagogue poetry on these two brothers whom 'Trajan slew' attest their remembrance in late Roman and Byzantine Palestine. They were commemorated each spring on 12 Adar, just before Purim. The relevant texts belong in the main to works dated from the fourth century onwards.³⁷⁶ Yet the different elements of their story which appear therein, each in isolation, suggest the prior existence of

³⁷³ Firpo, 'La "guerra di Quietus" e l'ultima fase della rivolta giudaica del 115–117 d.C.', 105–9.

³⁷⁴ Eck, *Rom und Judaea*, 115, n. 18 is unconvinced by the proposal of it as the cause of revolt.

³⁷⁵ Pucci, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 257.

³⁷⁶ 'When Trajan slew Pappus and Lulianus his brother in Laodicaea . . .', Sifra, Emor, Pereq ix 5, on Lev. 22:32 'but I will be hallowed among the children of Israel', discussed with other sources in W. Horbury, 'Pappus and Lulianus in Jewish Resistance to Rome', in J. Targarona Borrás and A. Sáenz-Badillos (eds.), *Jewish Studies at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (2 vols., Leiden, 1999), i, 289–95. Sifra, supplying two important texts, began to be compiled in the third century, but the relevant material may belong to the later strata detected by G. Stemmerger, 'Historia de la redacción de Sifra', in M. Pérez Fernández, *Midras Sifra: El comentario rabínico al Levítico*, i (Biblioteca Midrásica 19, Estella, 1997), 17–65.

a connected narrative, no doubt current in various forms. Its themes often recall the contemporary Christian martyrology, and by analogy it can be termed a martyr legend.

To put together some of the scattered notices, Pappus and Lulianus were rich men, the pride of Israel, whose execution fulfilled the prophecy 'I will break the pride of your power' (Sifra, Behuqqothay, Pereq v 2, on Lev. 26:19 'and I will break the pride of your power'); they set up banks from Acco to Antioch to aid those coming into Judaea (Bereshith Rabbah lxiv 10); after their arrest they were offered water in a coloured glass, to make it appear that they had drunk idolatrous libation-wine, but they would not receive it (Talmud Yerushalmi, Sheb. iv 2, 35a; Sanh. iii 5, 21b); before Trajan slew them in Laodicea, they exchanged bitter repartee with him, and told him that their blood would be required at his hands – and 'it is said that Trajan had not moved from there before a despatch came from Rome, and they knocked out his brain with clubs' (Sifra, Emor, Pereq ix 5, on Lev. 22:32 'but I will be hallowed among the children of Israel'). Their commemorative day displaced an existing 'day of Tirion' (perhaps a Maccabaeen commemoration), according to the Talmud Yerushalmi (Ta'an. ii 13, 66a; Meg. i 6, 70c): 'the day of Tirion ceased on the day that Pappus and Lulianus were slain'. Instead of 'Tirion' a parallel passage in the Babylonian Talmud (Ta'an. 18b) has 'Turianus', Trajan. A 'day of Tirion' is placed on 12 Adar in an old list of commemorative days when fasting is not permitted (Megillath Taanith, xii).³⁷⁷ Within midrashic sources Pappus and Lulianus are indicated in different ways as early second-century figures, contemporary with R. Joshua ben Hananiah in Bereshith Rabbah lxiv 10, and put to death by Trajan in Sifra, as just cited. Their connection with Trajan will eventually have helped to bring their commemoration to the 'day of Tirion', now reinterpreted as Trajan's Day. A narrative of their activity and deaths had then probably begun to take shape well before the middle of the second century.

On the basis of these traditions Pappus and Lulianus have been viewed as leaders of revolt under Trajan or Hadrian.³⁷⁸ A more modest view

³⁷⁷ On these passages see Horbury, 'Pappus and Lulianus in Jewish Resistance to Rome', 290–1.

³⁷⁸ H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iv (2nd edn, Leipzig, 1866), 137–8, 141, 445–8; Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine*, 406–22; S. Krauss, 'La fête de Hanoucca', *RE*/xxx (1895), 24–43, 204–19 (210–12); Krauss, 'Pappus', *JE* ix (1905), 512b; A. Schlatter, 'Die Tage Trajans und Hadrians' (1897), repr. in A. Schlatter, *Synagoge und Kirche bis zum Bar Kochba-Aufstand* (Stuttgart, 1966), 90–1; Finkelstein, *Akiba*, 233–4; Finkelstein, 'The Ten Martyrs', in I. Davidson (ed.), *Essays and Studies in Memory of Linda R. Miller* (New York, 1938), 29–55 (53); Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 425–6.

makes them dignitaries executed during Roman repression of unrest.³⁷⁹ The limits of what can be learned are justly emphasized.³⁸⁰ Yet suggestions can be made about the time, place and activity of the martyrs, including a link with Quietus.

Thus the story of the prompt retribution which overtook Trajan (Sifra on Lev. 22:32, cited above) seems to be based on the elimination of Quietus at the beginning of Hadrian's reign. In 117 Quietus was dismissed from his command by Hadrian, 'being suspected of designs on the supreme power' (*HA* Hadrian v 8), and he was one of four men of consular rank then thought to have conspired to kill Hadrian. All were put to death, Quietus 'on a journey' (*HA* Hadrian vii 1–3, ix 3; cf. Cassius Dio lxxviii 32, 5 [*Excerpta Valesiana*]; lxxix 2, 5 [*Xiphilinus*]).³⁸¹ Trajan's death in Cilicia during his return from Mesopotamia in 117 has in the midrash been conflated with the execution of Quietus not long afterwards.

Here Pappus and Lulianus die in Syria, at Laodicaea, but in another strand of tradition they die in Judaea, having been associated with and eventually identified as (representatives of) the group of martyrs called 'the slain of Lydda'. Hence the textual tradition of the narrative of their death in Laodicaea, just quoted from Sifra, includes the variant 'arrested' for 'slew'. Historians including Derenbourg and Smallwood, cited above, have opted for Lydda as the place of death, but the claims of the more remote Laodicaea seem stronger; Lydda in Judaea itself was more celebrated both martyrologically and as a centre of rabbinic teaching, and a transfer of the death to the rival commemorative site in Lydda can be readily envisaged.³⁸²

Their death then was in Laodicaea, and this compares well with the story of their earlier activity in Syria. 'In the days of Joshua ben Hananiah, the empire decreed that the house of the sanctuary should be rebuilt.

³⁷⁹ Alon, *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age (70–640CE)*, 420–3; Pucci, *La rivolta ebraica al tempo di Traiano*, 108–12 (this view is not explicitly restated in Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*).

³⁸⁰ Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 425; Stemmerger, *Die römische Herrschaft im Urteil der Juden*, 76–8, 104–5; Ayaso Martínez, *Judaea Capta*, 56–61; Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 242.

³⁸¹ In these accounts Dio is more critical of Hadrian than the *Historia Augusta* (which records his own assertion that he was unwilling to put the four to death), as noted, with other differences, in the studies of them by von Premerstein, *Das Attentat der Konsulare auf Hadrian im Jahre 118 nach Chr.*, 25–34, 43–6; Galimberti, *Adriano e l'ideologia del principato*, 50–1. The elimination itself was notorious, however responsibility should be assigned; see discussions by Birley, *Hadrian*, 86–8; Galimberti, *Adriano e l'ideologia del principato*, 50–7.

³⁸² Horbury, 'Pappus and Lulianus in Jewish Resistance to Rome', 292, citing Sifra, Emor, Pereq ix 5, on Lev. 22:32 from L. Finkelstein (ed.), *Sifra or Torat Kohanim according to Codex Assemani lxvi* (New York, 1956), 442 ('slew') by contrast with I. H. Weiss (ed.), *Sifra* (Vienna, 1862), f. 99d ('arrested'), and the parallel text in the Babylonian Talmud, Taan. 18b ('arrested').

Pappus and Lulianus set up banks from Acco to Antioch, and supplied those who came up from the Exile . . . ' (Ber. R. lxiv 10, on Gen. 26:29). Here they facilitate Jewish entry into Judaea, along the Antioch–Acco (Ptolemais) road, a main route to Judaea which had been paved to aid Roman military access from Syria after the Jewish–Samaritan conflicts about the year 50.³⁸³ The likely Roman reaction to this is suggested by the prohibition of immigration to increase the Jewish population in Alexandria decreed in earlier times by Claudius: 'I bid the Jews . . . not to introduce or admit Jews who sail down from Syria or Egypt, acts which compel me to entertain graver suspicions; otherwise I shall take vengeance on them in every way, as instigating a general plague throughout the world' (P. Lond. 1912 = CPJ no. 153, lines 88–9, 96–100).

Any Roman permission for temple rebuilding, as recounted in the midrash here, would have come, if at all, at a time other than that of the Jewish revolts during Trajan's Parthian war. It can perhaps best be envisaged under Nerva and in the early years of Trajan (see the further discussion of this passage in [Chapter 5](#), below). Apart from this point, however, the reference to the temple is apt enough. Hope for a restored temple was, irrespective of any decree, part of the complex of aspirations for Jewish revival which was sketched from revolt coinage, the Eighteen Benedictions and other prayers in [Chapter 3](#), and it could indeed help to evoke the immigration described.

The wealth of Pappus and Lulianus is equally suggested by another tradition preserved in Sifra, in which 'the pride of your power' in Lev. 26:19 'I will break the pride of your power' signifies 'the eminent [*ge'im*, 'proud' or 'lordly'], who are the pride of Israel, like Pappus ben Judah and Lulianus the Alexandrian and his companions'.³⁸⁴ In Sifra here the 'pride' has already been interpreted as either the temple, in accord with 'my sanctuary, the pride of your power' in Ezek. 24:21 (so also Targums Neofiti and Ps.-Jonathan on Leviticus), or, second, in the name of Akiba, as great warriors in Israel, like Joab and his companions. Third, however, 'others say . . . these are the eminent . . . like Pappus . . . and Lulianus'.

It has been inferred from the preceding reference to Joab, given in the name of Akiba, who was remembered as a supporter of Bar Kokhba, that Pappus and Lulianus were indeed further figures like Joab, revolutionary war-leaders.³⁸⁵ Yet in view of their depiction as financiers in Ber. R. lxiv 10,

³⁸³ Isaac and Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea*, i, *The Legio–Scythopolis Road*, 8; Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 322–3.

³⁸⁴ Sifra, Behuqqothay, Pereq v 2, on Lev. 26:19, in I. H. Weiss (ed.), *Sifra* (Vienna, 1862), f. 111d.

³⁸⁵ Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 303–5.

discussed above, they are probably cited here in Sifra as rich or eminent rather than warlike. What would later be called the curial class, consisting of those wealthy enough to bear the financial burdens of councillors, was indeed at this time commonly known, by Greek and Latin words overlapping in range with *ge'im*, as 'the powerful' – *dynatoi*, *potentes*, *praevalidi*.³⁸⁶ The repute of Pappus and Lulianus then compares with that of the Jewish councillors of fabulous wealth who, it was said, could have victualled Jerusalem for three years at the time of Vespasian's siege.³⁸⁷ The execution of wealthy provincials typified endeavours to repress unrest, as when Gessius Florus put upper-class Jerusalemites to death, or in Libya the governor Catullus executed rich Cyrenaican Jews, as noted above (Josephus, *B.J.* ii 308, vii 442–8).

The eminence of Pappus and Lulianus is likewise suggested by the narrative, a martyrological commonplace, in which they are tempted to drink water from a coloured glass; they are thought by the narrator to be of high standing, for the point of the suggestion is to influence others (Jerusalem Talmud, Sheb. iv 2, 35a; Sanh. iii 5, 21b, cited above).

Lulianus is called Alexandrian. No place of origin is given for Pappus. Both names are attested in Egyptian Jewish inscriptions (in circumstances compatible with wealth), but were also used in Judaea.³⁸⁸ The Alexandrian background of Lulianus underlines the likelihood of links between areas where there was Jewish disturbance or unsettlement, in this case Alexandria, Judaea and Syria.

At the roots of the martyr legend, then, is a second-century tradition of the execution of eminent Jews under Trajan in Syrian Laodicaea, in connection with encouragement of Jewish entry from Syria into Judaea – the fomenting of disturbance, from the viewpoint of the ruling power. Here therefore, as in Josephus, martyrdom is part of the ethos of resistance to Rome. This particular martyr tradition was cherished in Judaea, the fate of Quietus marked its formation, and it coheres with interpretation of the 'war of Quietus' as affecting Judaea. It suggests likewise that, to the north and east of Judaea, Jewish unrest was found not only in Mesopotamia and Cyprus, as Dio and Eusebius attest; it was also present, if less manifest, in the intervening region of Syria. Through the name 'Lulianus the Alexandrian'

³⁸⁶ G. Alon, 'Ga'on, Ge'im', in Alon, *Jews, Judaism and the Classical World* (Jerusalem, 1977), 344–53. For passages using *potentes*, *praevalidi* and *dynatoi* in this sense (including Tacitus, *Ann.* xv 20 *praevalidi provincialium*) see de Ste Croix, *The Class-Struggle in the Ancient Greek World*, 383, n. 32; 658, n. 43; for wealthy Jews as *dynatoi* see Josephus, *B.J.* ii 265, 292, 301.

³⁸⁷ Lam. R. i 31, on i 5; cf. Eccl. R. vii 12; Babylonian Talmud, Gittin 56a.

³⁸⁸ See JIGRE nos. 21 and 126.

it also underlines the possibility of links of Jewish insurgency in Alexandria and Egypt with the Syrian and Judaeen Jewish populations.

Circumstances and intentions

Despite the likelihood that Judaea was affected, the risings just surveyed took place mainly in the diaspora. They occurred between two Jewish revolts in Judaea which adopted the catchwords 'liberty' and 'redemption', but no such internal attestation of ethos has survived from the diaspora revolts. There are, however, signs of hopes developed with reference to particular regions of the diaspora, and of their compatibility with the Judaeen interpretations of 'liberty' and 'redemption' outlined in the previous chapter. Such hopes were widespread, being rooted in interpretation of the law of Moses and the prophets, and their expression by no means implies rebellion, as the example of Philo shows. Yet the diffusion of an Israelite hope with firmly local diaspora connections gave imaginative preparation for war against the gentile kingdoms, and helps to explain the response of diaspora Jews to the call to arms.

This point was highlighted by Martin Hengel when he interpreted the western uprisings by reference to the Fifth Sibylline book, discussed above for its connections with Egypt, and the Septuagint rendering of Balaam's oracles of the victory of Israel in the book of Numbers, which constitutes a Greek interpretation made and studied in Egypt.³⁸⁹ In the treatment of Egypt above, interpretations of the Pentateuchal laws of warfare likely to have been known in Lucias's army were illustrated, similarly, from Philo of Alexandria. In what follows, however, emphasis is laid not only on the association of particular books or writers with a diaspora region, but also on oracles in the Pentateuch and prophets which name, or in interpretation were referred to, particular locations. These are considered first, then signs of the themes of 'liberty' and 'redemption' in the diaspora are reviewed, and finally it is asked, against the background of a long-standing debate, how far the Jewish wars which broke out under Trajan were messianic – a term taken here to imply the expectation of a coming Israelite ruler, who may indeed be very near, so that a present leader can be treated in a messianic way.

³⁸⁹ Hengel, 'Messianische Hoffnung und politischer "Radikalismus" in der "jüdisch-hellenistischen Diaspora"', 665, 668–83.

The diaspora in the hope for redemption

Almost at the end of the Pentateuch, the general ingathering of the diaspora is foretold to Moses. To translate the rendering of the Septuagint (LXX), used by Greek-speaking Jews in Egypt and elsewhere: 'Though your diaspora be from one border of the heaven to the other, from thence the Lord your God shall gather you together' (Deut. 30:4 LXX). This promise was repeatedly cited as given to Moses (Neh. 1:9, Jubilees 1:15, II Macc. 1:29), and its Hebrew closely resembles the clause 'who gathers the outcasts of Israel' found in prophecy, psalmody and later prayer.³⁹⁰ In the prophets this return from exile and captivity is sometimes connected with the reign of a coming Davidic king.³⁹¹ Thus at Isa. 11:10–11: 'the root of Jesse, who stands for an ensign of the peoples, to him shall the nations seek, and his resting place shall be glorious. In that day the Lord shall set his hand again a second time to recover the remnant of his people that shall remain, from Assyria and Egypt . . .'

'Assyria and Egypt' represent the two greatest diaspora communities, to the east and the south-west of Judaea respectively, and are paired in this sense elsewhere in the prophets (Isa. 27:13, Hos. 11:11, Zech. 10:8–12). The Jews in 'Assyria', beyond the Euphrates, were thought to include the Ten Tribes carried away by Shalmaneser, king of Assyria (II Kings 17:3–6), far exceeding in number the Jews of the tribes of Judah and Levi in Judaea and the west, as Josephus stresses: 'it has come about that two tribes, in Asia and Europe, are subject to the Romans, but until now the ten tribes are beyond the Euphrates, in countless myriads which cannot be numbered' (*Ant.* xi 133). II Esdras, also under the Flavians, pictures the multitudinous ten tribes, in the spirit of Isa. 11:10–11, as gathered from across a dried-up Euphrates (foretold in Isa. 11:15–16) to the messiah who takes his stand on the top of Mount Sion (II Esdras 13:12; 39–47).

Concern with Jews in yet other regions of the east is suggested by interpretation of the list of diaspora communities in Isa. 11:11, the first part of which was quoted above: 'from Assyria and Egypt, Pathros, Cush, Elam, and Shinar, and from Hamath, and from the isles of the sea . . .' The Hebrew text translated here covers all the diaspora communities considered in this chapter. Pathros and Cush are upper Egypt and Nubia with Ethiopia, and Elam and Shinar are districts in Babylonia; Hamath on the Orontes represents Syria, and the isles are those of the Mediterranean. In the Septuagint translation, however, the most famous place of exile,

³⁹⁰ Isa. 56:8, Ps. 147:2, Hebrew Sirach 51:26, eulogy of the Tenth of the Eighteen Benedictions.

³⁹¹ Examples are Isa. 11:10–16, Jer. 23:5–8, Ezek. 37:19–28, Amos 9:11–15.

'Babylonia', not named expressly in the Hebrew, takes the place of Pathros; Ethiopia and Elam remain, but the sequence from Shinar onwards is rendered 'from the sunrise and from Arabia', following the association of Shinar with the sunrise in Gen. 11:2. This interpretation will have been familiar among Jews in Egypt under Trajan, and its juxtaposition of Egypt and Babylonia, with a mention too of Egypt's eastern neighbour, Arabia, underlines the probable Jewish awareness of the value of links between the diaspora communities in east and west.

Under the Flavians, the region of the eastern diaspora was imagined by Jews as the refuge of Nero (Sib. iv 137–49). Expectation of his second advent could mingle with thoughts of the advance of 'kings from the east' against Rome, as seen in Sib. iv 138–9, in the later Flavian period, and in the roughly contemporary Rev. 16:12 – where (again following Isa. 11:15–16) the Euphrates is dried up 'that the way may be made ready for the kings from the sunrising' (perhaps echoing I Enoch 56:5–6 'they will stir up the kings' in the east 'and they will come out like lions', cited above). This advance might be into Judaea, as envisaged in I Enoch 56:6–7, perhaps inspired by the Parthian invasion of Judaea in 40 BC, and later on in the midrash, with reference to the victorious shepherd of Micah 5:4 (Lam. R. i 13, in the name of the second-century Simeon b. Yohai, to whom the tradition of Trajan's slaughter of Egyptian Jews is also attributed). On the other hand, it can be an advance from the east down to Egypt for conquest, as seems to be envisaged in Isa. 19:23, when the verse is taken in the sense 'Assyria shall come to Egypt, and Egypt to Assyria, and the Egyptians shall serve the Assyrians'; this rendering is followed in the Septuagint and also in the Targum.

On the other hand, a Roman advance into the east, against Parthia, could initiate the last battle foreseen by Balaam, when he was brought 'from Mesopotamia' to prophesy (Num. 23:7 LXX); the Kittim 'shall afflict Assyria and shall afflict the Hebrews, but they themselves shall perish together' (Num. 24:24 LXX). The interpretation of the biblical Kittim as the Romans, discussed in [Chapter 3](#), was current from the second century BC onwards. The significance of prophecy of this kind during Trajan's Parthian war is suggested by the oracle of Elchasai, quoted above. In this connection Greek and Roman speculation on the Roman destiny overlapped with Jewish hopes; Rome's doom was expected from the east, whereas victory there would confirm her divine mission to rule.³⁹²

³⁹² For example, Horace, *Epod.* xvi 1–14; Virgil, *Geo.* i 509, iv 560–2; on the overlap with Jewish prophecy, W. Weber, *Josephus und Vespasian* (Stuttgart, 1921), 34–40; Weber, *Der Prophet und sein Gott* (Leipzig, 1925), 55–60, 76–80, developed in connection with the Trajanic revolt by

Egypt and its Jewish population became almost as prominent as the eastern diaspora in prophetic interpretation. In the 'vision of Egypt' in the Septuagint of Isaiah, the prayer of Egyptian Jews will be answered by the sending of a deliverer, 'a man who shall save them' (Isa. 19:20 LXX); the solemn *anthropos*, 'man', here in the Greek serves to link this saviour with the messianic 'man' of Num. 24:7 and 17 LXX.³⁹³ This prophecy in Isaiah came to be associated with the Leontopolis temple service (Josephus, *Ant.* xiii 68), a point which may ultimately have contributed to the temple's closure.³⁹⁴ Earlier in the Septuagint of Isaiah, in the prophecy of return in 11:11–16 cited already, a highway will be made for 'my people left in Egypt', a 'thoroughfare' (*diodos*) across the Delta and the 'Egyptian sea'; 'and it shall be for Israel as the day when she came out of the land of Egypt' (Isa. 11:16 LXX).³⁹⁵

The hostile face of Egyptian Jewish hope appears in the updating of place names in biblical woes against Egypt, which in the Septuagint threaten Tanis and Memphis (Isa. 19:13 LXX), Tanis, Diospolis (Thebes), Sais, Memphis, Syene, Heliopolis Bubastis, and Taphnas (Daphnae) (Ezek. 30:13–18 LXX). A comparable list in Sib. v 86–8 ends with Alexandria, which in the Targum to the Prophets gains a suitably ill-omened place by identification as No (Targ. Jer. 46:25, Ezek. 30:13–14; and Targ. Nah. 3:8, discussed under 'Alexandria' above). These identifications make a threateningly detailed application of the general doom on Egypt (Joel 3:19, Zech. 10:11), which, as in the case of other gentile nations, could take the imagined form of defeat by the Jews in the war of the last days (Test. Sim. 6:4, 1QM ii 13–14).

The Kittim who sail to Egypt are 'Romans' in the Septuagint (Old Greek) version of Daniel 11:30, as noted in [Chapter 3](#), above. Their presence there is regarded with hostility in the War Scroll, where the children of light, after their first victory, march on the Kittim in Egypt (1QM i 4). Somewhat comparably, according to Sib. iii 46–60, when Rome reigns over Egypt, the kingdom of the immortal king will appear, a holy lord will rule the world for ever, and Rome itself will be devastated.

J. Gutmann, 'Milhamot ha-yehudim bime Traianus', reprinted from *Sepher Assaf* (1953) in D. Rokeah (ed.), *Jewish Rebellions in the Time of Trajan* (in Hebrew; Jerusalem, 1978), 33–68 (37–47); Hengel, 'Messianische Hoffnung und politischer "Radikalismus" in der "jüdisch-hellenistischen Diaspora"', 668–74; Horbury, 'Antichrist among Jews and Gentiles', 130–1; [Chapter 2](#), n. 36, above.

³⁹³ W. Horbury, 'Monarchy and Messianism in the Greek Pentateuch', in M. A. Knibb (ed.), *The Septuagint and Messianism* (BETL 195, Leuven, 2006), 79–128 (121–2).

³⁹⁴ See [Chapter 3](#) and n. 75, above.

³⁹⁵ The reflection in chapters 11 and 19 of special Egyptian Jewish expressions of hope for national deliverance was noted by I. L. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah* (Leiden, 1948), 116–17.

The fate of the diaspora communities was therefore the subject of a complex of biblical interpretation, attested especially but not only in the Septuagint. Calamities for the Jews dispersed to east and west were viewed as preliminaries to their return under messianic guidance. The Egyptian diaspora cherished special hopes. Trajan's Parthian war, and Jewish conflict in the west with Greeks and Egyptians as well as Romans, would have fitted readily into this topographically elaborated pattern of expectations.

The Fifth Sibylline book, with its Egyptian links, focuses this diaspora messianism in its Danielic oracle (lines 414–27) of the blessed man from the skies with a God-given sceptre who, in the last time of the saints, will burn up the enemy cities, but adorn the city beloved by God and rebuild the temple with a great tower, restoring to the righteous the longed-for vision of the divine.

Liberty and redemption in diaspora sources

In Judaea the catchwords 'liberty' and 'redemption', which reappear from the First Revolt in Bar Kokhba coins and documents, were clearly remembered after the capture of Jerusalem by Titus. They will have been carried into Egypt and Cyrene notably but probably not only by the refugee Sicarii mentioned by Josephus (*B.J.* vii 409–19, 437). Jewish coins of the First Revolt, whether brought by Judaeans refugees or in the course of trade and Roman military movements, have been found at the site of Memphis and near Cyrene, and might have helped to spread knowledge of the slogans.³⁹⁶ Are there any traces of the prominence of 'liberty' and 'redemption' in diaspora expressions of national hope, such as to facilitate a share in these Judaeans slogans in Egypt, Cyrene or Cyprus?

Such traces do seem to appear when the 'liberty' of the Jubilee, an occasion when the horn is sounded for the liberty of slaves (Lev. 25:9–10), is interpreted in Greek sources as the preliminary to the future return of the exiles and redemption of Israel. Jubilee liberty had long been associated with future deliverance, as seen in Hasmonaean Judaea in 11Q Melchizedek and Ps. Sol. 11:1, and as suggested before that by Isa. 27:13, cited above, on the sounding of the horn to bring back the exiles from Assyria and

³⁹⁶ J. F. Healy, 'The Cyrene Half-Shekel', *JSS* ii (1956), 377–9 (found near a tomb north of Cyrene on the road to Apollonia); Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies*, 270 (two coins found at Saqqara); cf. J. J. Price, *Jerusalem under Siege* (Leiden, 1992), 242 (coins found in Cyprus and Dura Europus).

Egypt, and Isa. 61:1, on deliverance to the captives, two passages which both probably allude to the Jubilee law.³⁹⁷

'Liberty' in Lev. 25:10 renders Hebrew *deror*, which was translated in the LXX by *aphesis* 'release', but in the Targums by *heruta*, 'liberty'; this Aramaic noun is cognate with the non-biblical Hebrew noun *herut*, 'liberty', which appears on the revolt coins and documents. Besides the Septuagintal rendering *aphesis*, however, the alternative translation *eleutheria*, 'liberty', starts to appear. It is recorded as an alternative in Septuagintal manuscripts at Lev. 25:10 and also at Jer. 34 (41):15, on the release of slaves, in this case with ascription to the second-century translator Aquila.³⁹⁸ The currency of this translation *eleutheria* already before the second century is suggested, however, by Philo and Josephus. Both use the word when they expound the Jubilee law of Lev. 25:10. Philo uses it together with *aphesis* in this context (*Sac.* 122, *Det.* 63, *Her.* 273, *Cong.* 108, *Mut.* 228). Josephus boldly says that 'Jubilee' means *eleutheria* (*Ant.* iii 283).

Interpretation of the Jubilee liberty as the preliminary to the future return can also be perceived in Philo's celebrated sketch of the ingathering (*Praem.* 164–5), picked out, as noted above (see p. 83), by Y. F. Baer to confirm the importance of return to the holy land in ancient hope. Here Philo broadly follows the Pentateuchal prediction that confession of sin by the exiles will lead to their return (Lev. 26:40–1, cf. Deut. 30:1–3). Before saying this, however, Philo inserts the statement that 'all shall be set free as by one signal on one day' (*Praem.* 164), and after it he goes on to say that 'when they have gained this unexpected liberty (*eleutheria*)' they will journey by one impulse from scattered spots worldwide to the one appointed place (*Praem.* 165). The quoted passages seem to reflect not Leviticus 26 but Lev. 25:9–10, on the sound of the horn and the proclamation of liberty, and Isa. 27:13, on the sound of the horn 'on that day' followed by return to Jerusalem.

The exodus is already a liberation in the Pentateuch, as indicated in texts such as Exod. 6:6 'I will deliver you from their bondage, and will redeem you', but this is not expressed with a noun which can be rendered 'liberty'. The Jubilee law in Leviticus, however, does provide such a noun, and its renderings with *heruta* or *eleutheria* helped to focus the hope for

³⁹⁷ For fuller discussion see W. Horbury, 'Liberty in the Coin-Legends of the Jewish Revolts', in J. K. Aitken, K. J. Dell and B. A. Mastin (eds.), *On Stone and Scroll: Essays in Honour of G. I. Davies* (BZAW 420, Berlin, 2011), 139–52; possible allusion to the Jubilee law of Lev. 25:9–10 is noted in both Isaianic passages by R. J. Coggins, 'Isaiah', in J. Barton and J. Muddiman (eds.), *The Oxford Bible Commentary* (Oxford, 2001), 457, 481.

³⁹⁸ F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt* (2 vols., Oxford, 1875), i, 211a; ii, 894a.

a new exodus on liberty, and formed part of the background of *herut* in revolt coins and documents. In interpretation of the exodus liberty and redemption come together, as seen already in the verbs of Exod. 6:6. This conjunction appears with Greek nouns, however, corresponding to the Hebrew catchwords of the Judaeen revolts, in Philo, who reads Abraham's movement from fifty to ten in prayer for Sodom as movement from *aphesis* (connected by Philo with the Jubilee and just interpreted with *eleutheria*) to *apolytroxis*, 'redemption' (*Cong.* 109, already cited). Similarly, a Pauline passage with an exodus background, representing Greek-speaking Jewish usage, uses first 'liberty' and then 'redemption' (Rom. 8:21; 23).

Hence it appears, especially but not only from Philo, that for Greek-speaking Jews in Egypt and elsewhere 'liberty' was associated with the final return of the diaspora at the 'redemption' of Israel in a second exodus. They shared the vocabulary of national hope which was drawn on in Judaea for the Hebrew catchwords of the First and Second Revolts. The uprisings under Trajan in Cyrene, Egypt and Cyprus will have had access to the same mottoes.

Origins of the revolts

In the near-silence of the sources on origins, attention can be directed, as in [Chapter 3](#), to Jewish resentment against Rome, especially in connection with the temple, mutual hostility between Jews and their gentile neighbours, and internal Jewish social and religious division, exacerbated by the weakening of constitutional authority. The Parthian war offered a favourable moment. Prior planning, including communication between Cyrene, Alexandria, Egypt and Cyprus, seems likely. V. Tcherikover, however, held that the outbreaks could not be sufficiently explained on these lines. They could only be understood as part of a messianic movement, perhaps arising in a clash between Jews and Greeks when 'a man appeared in Cyrene who was believed to be the Messiah'.³⁹⁹ Applebaum and Hengel follow Tcherikover so far as to set messianism at the heart of treatments which also emphasize socio-economic and political aspects.

An irrational element in the outbreaks was identified by Tcherikover as the Jews' failure to reckon with adverse odds. Yet Jewish strength in numbers and fighting tradition achieved a remarkably sustained measure of success. Jewish leaders could reasonably have reckoned with the consideration that

³⁹⁹ V. Tcherikover in CPJ i, pp. 90–2, and n. 84; quotation from Tcherikover, 'The Decline of the Jewish Diaspora in Egypt in the Roman Period', *JJS* xiv (1963), 1–32 (29).

the multitudinous diaspora communities, when brought together in a way which Romans were known to fear (Philo, *Leg.* 214–17), might be able to prevail. To adapt W. Weber's verdict on their predecessors in the First Revolt in Judaea, they may not have been politically adroit, but events show that they were not unpractical, by no means 'realpolitisch dumm'.⁴⁰⁰ The co-ordination of Cyrenaic and Egyptian Jewish forces is clear, their co-operation with Cyprus seems likely, and at least friendly contact with the Jews of Judaea, Syria and Mesopotamia seems probable. Yet the immediate diaspora settings of the risings will throughout have been of prime importance in any concerted planning there may have been.

None of the features of the revolts which have been taken as signs of their messianism is unambiguous. An example was the apparent destructiveness discussed above. Yet the situation evoked powerful fears and hopes. Jews were influenced by a national hope, with a series of strongly local interpretations, and a highly developed emphasis on the return of the diaspora and the coming of a messianic deliverer – envisaged, as the Fifth Sibylline shows, as the adorer of Jerusalem and the rebuilder of the temple.

Hence an uprising which had its own political and social motivations and aims would have been set by Jews within the frame of this messianism. What was the principal aim? The saving of Babylonian Jewry was proposed by Barnes, but it is not so clear that the westerners would have fought specifically for the sake of the easterners. It seems more likely that in Cyrene, Egypt and Cyprus they would have felt for Judaea and the ruins of Jerusalem, 'most holy to them as it is' (Appian). The Fourth and Fifth Sibylline books underline this point. The hope of regaining the city and temple would have come into view among the rebels, and may well have been important from the start.⁴⁰¹ It is hard to go beyond this point, but it seems likely that the combined Cyrenian and Egyptian forces, or some among them, aimed ultimately at Judaea. This view is favoured by the overlap between the instinct for return illustrated above from Philo and other sources, and the strategic consideration of the defensibility of those areas of southern Judaea which held out at the end of the First Revolt, and were soon to be central under Bar Kokhba.

Strategic considerations such as these would have been scarcely separable, in public opinion, from hopes for the return of the diaspora under the

⁴⁰⁰ Weber, *Josephus und Vespasian*, 34–5.

⁴⁰¹ An important part in the circumstances of the outbreak is attributed to the impact on Jewish self-awareness of the desolation of the temple, in conjunction with the Jewish tax, by M. D. Goodman, 'Diaspora Reactions to the Destruction of the Temple', in Dunn (ed.), *Jews and Christians: the Parting of the Ways*, AD 70 to 135, 27–38 (34).

guidance of a messianic deliverer who would redeem Jerusalem. Jewish victories in the revolts will have brought Andreas, Lucuas and Artemion into the aura of these expectations. 'As the seditious lighted upon any of their fellows to lead them, he became king', says Josephus, wearily but not without verisimilitude, speaking of rebel leaders in Judaea after the accession of Archelaus (*Ant.* xvii 3285). The three named leaders of the western revolts will have emerged in some such way, but as on other occasions Philo's interpretations of the exodus give a sense of how the development might have been perceived from the inside. Thus, in his paraphrase of Exod. 32:2–9, the Levites are looking for a leader, they take Moses for their general, and they wipe out the backsliders with a ruthlessness redolent of zeal and revolution (Philo, *Mos.* ii 273). The revolt leaders could hardly escape contact with messianic glory.

In this reconstruction emphasis falls not on the madness of the rebels – whose enterprise has seemed audacious but not irrational – nor on the charisma of an individual leader – although that may have been vital – but on the convergence of the movement as a whole with the national hope for return and redemption. The persistence of this hope and the possibility of its activist interpretation, throughout the first fifteen years of Hadrian – this despite the repression of Jewish insurgence with which he began – is perhaps the single most important key to the events described in the following chapter.⁴⁰²

⁴⁰² For the continuity of this hope from before Nero to Hadrian and later see [Chapter 3](#), above, under 'Hope for redemption and Jewish unrest'.

Hadrian and Pius

I UPRISING

Outbreak

Jewish revolt broke out again, now in Judaea, during the tour of the eastern provinces which Hadrian undertook from 128 onwards. Starting from Athens, he went from Syria to Egypt by way of Arabia and Judaea. To follow Cassius Dio as epitomized by Xiphilinus (lxix II, 1–12, 2), he provoked the Jews by building at Jerusalem a city which he named Aelia Capitolina; perhaps, as suggested below, at this stage he simply declared his intention of doing so. Hadrian passed down into Egypt; coinage shows that he reached Gaza in 130 and entered Alexandria by August in the same year.¹ He returned to Syria in 131. Meanwhile Judaeans had been secretly preparing for war, which became open, Dio says, after Hadrian had left Syria. This information gives an approximate date of 131–2 for the outbreak, when Hadrian was on his way back to Athens.

Hadrian's journey was framed by the planning and accomplishment of two projects which typified his Hellenism: to found an Athens-centred association of Greek cities, a Panhellenion, and to complete the Olympieion at Athens, the great temple of Zeus begun by Antiochus Epiphanes. On his return from Athens his public works in Rome included the founding of the Athenaeum, a school of Greek grammar and rhetoric.² Against the background of Greek expressions of discontent noted in earlier chapters

¹ G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine (Galilee, Samaria, and Judaea)* (part of *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*; London, 1914), lxiii (coins dated by years from Hadrian's visit in 130), and p. 146, no. 14 (example from 131–2); Poole, *Catalogue of the Coins of Alexandria and the Nomes*, p. 101, no. 867 (Alexandria, in elephant-skin headdress, welcomes the emperor; year 14 of Hadrian, ending 28 August 130); further attestations of Hadrian's presence in 130 (at Palmyra, Gerasa, and, on 21 November, at Thebes) in Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 541, n. 120.

² The foundation is dated after Hadrian's restoration of peace in the east by a late source, the fourth-century Aurelius Victor, *Caes.* xiv 1–4, discussed with other allusions to the Athenaeum including

these projects were, however, politically as well as culturally important.³ From the Greek point of view Hadrian could indeed now figure as (in Pausanias's words) an emperor 'who showed the utmost honour to the deity, and provided outstandingly for the happiness of his subjects'.⁴ From 129 onwards Hadrian's devotion to and association with Zeus was marked by his new title *Olympius* – 'no hollow phrase', as W. Weber emphasized, in its tendency to equate the emperor with 'the Father of men and gods', 'the Father of gods and King of men'.⁵ During the visit to Egypt his favourite Antinous died, and was commemorated in the name of the new Greek city of Antinoe (Antinoopolis), founded by Hadrian on the site of an existing settlement and temple on the east bank of the Nile, opposite Hermoupolis.⁶ The new star which was associated with the deification of Antinous (Cassius Dio, *Hist.* lxi 11, 4) probably also helped to impel the recognition of Simeon ben Kosiba as 'son of the star', Bar Kokhba.⁷

As Hadrian made his advent in each province he figured, still in Hellenic fashion, as a benefactor of cities. In Judaea these included Caesarea, Tiberias and Gaza (see [Map 4](#)). His advent in Judaea was probably also the occasion of development at Salumias (Salem), a place in fertile surroundings with a legionary camp seven miles south of Scythopolis, where a route across the Jordan from Gerasa meets the Jericho road. Foundations of buildings here were later shown to pilgrims as the city and palace of Melchizedek, king

Cassius Dio, *Hist.* li 22, 1; lxxiii 17, 4 by M. T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome* (Princeton, 1987), 202–8.

³ This point is underlined, with reference to Hadrian's arbitration in 134–5 between the claims by Cyrene and another city of the Cyrenaic Pentapolis to membership of the Panhellenion, by R. Preston, 'Roman Questions, Greek Answers: Plutarch and the Construction of Identity', in Goldhill (ed.), *Being Greek under Rome*, 86–119 (86–7), citing the text and discussion of Hadrian's inscribed letter to Cyrene (SEG xxviii 1566) in J. M. Reynolds, 'Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and the Cyrenaican Cities', *JRS* lxxviii (1978), 111–21.

⁴ Pausanias i 5, 5, on Athens; Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, ii, no. 353.

⁵ Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 208–9; the emperor was sometimes styled *Zeus Olympios*, as in the Mytilene inscriptions IG XII.2 184 and IG XII Supplementum 57. For Zeus as 'Father of men and gods' see Homer, *Il.* i 544; cf. Virgil, *Aen.* i 65 on Jupiter as *divom pater atque hominum rex* 'Father of gods and King of men'.

⁶ M. T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire* (Princeton, 2000), 190–6; Birley, *Hadrian*, 253–7.

⁷ H. Newman, 'The Star of Bar Kokhba', in H. Eshel and B. Zissu (eds.), *New Studies on the Bar Kokhba Revolt. Dr Leo Mildenberg – In Memoriam* (Hebrew: Ramat Gan, 2001), 95–9, also citing for Antinous's star Ptolemy, *Syntaxis Mathematica*, ed. J. L. Heiberg (2 vols., 1898, 1903), i, 74. Newman notes that Chinese records attest no nova or comet at the time of Antinous's death, at the end of 130, but do attest a comet in January 132, as shown by D. J. Schove and A. Fletcher, *Chronology of Eclipses and Comets, AD 1–1000* (Woodbridge, 1984), 286. Newman takes it that the two new appearances together helped to impel the designation Bar Kokhba, but even if Chinese and western sources relate to the same appearance his indication of the significance of a new star or comet for the origins of the title is valid.

of Salem (Gen. 14:18); and in modern times a bronze head of Hadrian and parts of a bronze torso, and fragments of a Hadrianic inscription from an arch, have been found here.⁸ Hadrian's own planned new foundation at Jerusalem, a place which had been the site of a legionary camp since its destruction, likewise had a Roman and military as well as Hellenic aspect.⁹ Eusebius calls it, by contrast with the old Jerusalem, 'the Roman city which afterwards came into being' (*H.E.* iv 6, 4).

It is unclear how far plans progressed between 130 and 132, and what the original full name of the new foundation was.¹⁰ Coins from the new city have not so far been clearly attested as in circulation before or during the revolt.¹¹ As the city is known, however, from coins mentioning its foundation, from milestones and from the writing of its distinguished son Julius Africanus, it was called *Colonia Aelia Capitolina*.¹² Hadrian thus brought Judaea another Roman colony. It could be set beside Ptolemais and Caesarea, made colonies by Claudius and Vespasian respectively. Unlike them, however, it was less clearly the continuation of the life of an existing city.

It seems likely that the title 'colony' was part of the original plan. If conferred on an existing city, it could be regarded as a privilege. As Aulus Gellius wrote, citing a speech of Hadrian, this title is coveted by cities, and colonies have their prestige 'because of the amplitude and majesty of the

⁸ Y. Tsafir, L. Di Segni and J. Green, *Tabula Imperii Romani: Iudaea. Palaestina* (Jerusalem, 1994), 219–20, s. Salem III; Peregrinatio Egeriae 13.2–14.6, translated with commentary in J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels* (London, 1971), 109–11; the fragmentary inscription has also been interpreted as a commemoration of Hadrian's victory over the rebels in 135. See W. Eck, 'Hadrian, the Bar Kokhba Revolt, and the Epigraphic Transmission', in Schäfer (ed.), *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, 153–70 (157–62, arguing for a victory arch built by authority of the senate); G. W. Bowersock, 'The Tel Shalem Arch and P. Nahal Hever / Seiyal 8', 171–7, arguing, on a slightly different restoration of the text, for erection of the arch by the legion to mark Hadrian's 130 visit). The latter reconstruction, which does not require the inscription to be understood as exceptional, seems preferable. On the bronze head and torso, see G. Foerster, 'A Cuirassed Bronze Statue of Hadrian', *Atiqot* xvii (1986), 139–60; R. A. Gergel, 'The Tel Shalem Hadrian Reconsidered', *American Journal of Archaeology* xcvi (1991), 231–51 (suggesting that a newly imported head of Hadrian may have been added, for display in the quarters of Legio VI Ferrata, to an older existing torso from another bronze, not of Hadrian).

⁹ Roman and Greek aspects of Aelia were identified in a comparison with Antioch by Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 241–4.

¹⁰ B. Isaac, 'Jerusalem – an Introduction', *CIIP* i, Part i, 1–37 (18–22).

¹¹ Y. Tsafir, 'Numismatics and the Foundation of Aelia Capitolina – a Critical Review', in Schäfer (ed.), *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, 31–6.

¹² Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, 199, n. 152 (varieties of Aelia coins, including those commemorating the foundation with the legend COL[ONIA] AEL[IA] KAPIT[OLINA] COND[ITA]); Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 553 and n. 182 (coins, milestones and literary texts), adding that writers usually call it just Aelia or Aelia Capitolina; but an exception is formed by Africanus, *Cesti* v 51 'the old fatherland (*patris*) Colonia Aelia Capitolina', interpreted by Wallraff in Africanus, *Chronographiae*, xv–xvi to mean that Africanus was born in Aelia.



4 Judaea (Palaestina)

Roman people, whereof they seem to be little images and likenesses'.¹³ In later Latin *colonia* could simply signify 'city'. Yet colonies created *de novo* in subject territory could also offend, as Camulodunum had been hated by the Iceni (Chapter 3, above), through the appropriation of land and the settlement of aliens when new colonies were peopled by ex-soldiers. This settlement of veterans did not necessarily occur when an existing city received the title; but in Aelia, where the old city had been overthrown apart from what was left for an army camp, and some city coins show the standard of Legio X Fretensis, it probably did.¹⁴ You might then meet in Aelia the 'huge offspring of huge centurions', as Horace remembered them from his boyhood in the Italian colony of Venusia.¹⁵ Yet for some Jews their presence would hardly have formed even a bad joke. It might rather have rubbed in an existing offence, for the new colony would adjoin the legionary quarters within the bounds of the old holy city.¹⁶

The full name Colonia Aelia Capitolina failed to perpetuate the celebrated old city name, although the forms Hierosolyma and Solyma were current in Latin ('Hierosolyma' was used on the lost Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus). It was an 'Aelian' colony, bearing the family name of Aelius Hadrianus; the further description 'Capitoline' showed that the colony was dedicated to Hadrian's Zeus in his Roman manifestation, Jupiter Capitolinus, the divine name to which the Jews' own temple levy had been diverted, and with which Hadrian himself was linked.¹⁷

¹³ Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* xvi 13, 9 (the status of 'colony' is esteemed *propter amplitudinem maiestatemque populi Romani, cuius istae coloniae quasi effigies parvae simulacraque esse quaedam videntur*), cited in this connection by Eck, *Rom und Judaea*, 61, n. 14; for other scholars who emphasize the Roman character of Aelia see S. Mortensen, *Hadrian. Eine Deutungsgeschichte* (Bonn, 2004), 147, n. 169; on Hadrian's speech on his Spanish home town of Italica, a *municipium* seeking the status of *colonia*, see Birley, *Hadrian*, 206–7.

¹⁴ For the likelihood that the nucleus of Aelia's first population was formed from the civilian settlements that had grown up near the camp, including discharged veterans of X Fretensis, see B. Isaac, 'Roman Colonies in Judaea: the Foundation of Aelia Capitolina', *Talanta* xii–xiii (1980–1), 31–53, reprinted in Isaac, *The Near East under Roman Rule*, 87–111 (101–2), endorsing a suggestion of A. H. M. Jones; Isaac, 'Jerusalem – an Introduction', 22–3.

¹⁵ Horace, *Sat.* i 6, 72–3 *magni . . . pueri magnis e centurionibus orti*; my English rendering is indebted to Peter Levi, *Horace: a Life* (London, 1997), 9.

¹⁶ Bieberstein and Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem*, i, 145 (Aelia situated in the northern part of the present Old City, the camp probably in the southern); similarly, Y. Z. Eliav, 'The Urban Layout of Aelia Capitolina', in Schäfer, *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, 241–77. For Josephus on the camp at Jerusalem see Chapter 3, above.

¹⁷ Thus in the tribal system of Antioch the 'Hadrianic' tribe (*phyle*) has two demes named respectively 'Capitoline' (*Kapitoleus*) and 'of the Saviour of the World' (*Sosikosmios*), as noted by Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 241–2. These implications of the name Aelia Capitolina are perhaps reflected in the saying on Jerusalem attributed to R. Levi (early fourth-century Galilee): 'It is good for a city that its name is as the name of its king, and the name of its king is as the name of its God, as it is written, And the name of the city from that day shall be, *The*

Comparably, the old city name Sepphoris disappeared under Hadrian or Antoninus Pius in favour of the similar new name Diocaesarea, 'city of Zeus and Caesar'.¹⁸ By contrast, however, Augustus had once called a colony founded in a place comparable with Jerusalem – the site of hostile Carthage – *Colonia Iulia Carthago*, still including the Latinized Semitic-language name.

It has then been suggested that the title *Colonia Aelia Capitolina*, underlining the Roman and Hadrianic loyalty of the inhabitants, came in with imperial approval only after the revolt.¹⁹ Yet before the revolt there were probably currents of Jewish opinion in favour of Hadrian and the benefactions of his advent. Hence it seems on balance a preferable reading of the evidence that *Colonia Aelia Capitolina* was the original title, heard by those in favour as bringing the honour of a Hadrianic colony. This title could then have deepened divisions between Jews, especially in the upper class, who were ready to accept it – as seems to have been the case later with Diocaesarea – and those for whom it was a fresh betrayal of the holiness of Jerusalem (p. 309, below). The punitive change in plans after the war would then have been constituted not by the title of the new city, but by the exclusion of Jews and their sanctuary from it.

Duration

Hadrian was in Athens again in 131–2, and had returned to Rome by April 133. He is still called 'proconsul' in a military diploma of December 132. It is, then, possible that he revisited Judaea before returning to Rome, perhaps at this time ordering the reinforcements mentioned by Dio and Eusebius.²⁰ Further signs of his personal presence, probably when he returned at a later stage, are Dio's account (lxix 14, 3) of his report to the senate on the state of the army, and, perhaps, the use of the term *expeditio* for the Judaeian campaign.²¹ An approximate date for the repression of the revolt in Judaea is

Lord is its name (Ezek. 48:14); and . . . And this is the name by which he shall be called, *The Lord our righteousness* (Jer. 23:6) (Lam. R. i 51, on 1:16, Because the comforter is far from me).

¹⁸ F. Millar in Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, ii, 176.

¹⁹ So Tsafir, 'Numismatics and the Foundation of Aelia Capitolina – a Critical Review', 36.

²⁰ W. Eck, P. Holder and A. Pangerl, 'A Diploma for the Army of Britain in 132 and Hadrian's Return to Rome from the East', *ZPE* clxxiv (2010), 189–200.

²¹ For examples see the discussion of Roman reinforcements and nn. 386, 389, below; but for uncertainty whether *expeditio* always implies the emperor's leadership see Fündling, *Kommentar zur Vita Hadriani der Historia Augusta*, ii, 676 (section K 305, on xiv 2 *moverunt ea tempestate et Iudaei bellum*).

given by his acceptance of a second acclamation as *Imperator*, with the title '*Imperator* for the second time'. On the basis of inscriptions this acceptance has long been placed in 135.²² Doubts on the reading of these inscriptions, and the absence of the title from some inscriptions of 135–6 where it might have been expected, have contributed, however, to the suggestion that the second acclamation occurred no earlier than the beginning of 136.²³ Thus it is questioned, for example, whether the title should be restored in two damaged inscriptions dated in Hadrian's nineteenth tribunician year (10 December 134 – 9 December 135).²⁴ A case then emerges for the year 136 as a date for a Roman judgment that repression was substantially complete.

Eusebius's *Chronicle* fits these indications gained from Dio, coinage and epigraphy when it records the revolt in the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth years of Hadrian; the long annal which begins by noting that the Jewish war in Palestine 'came to an end' is spread over the eighteenth and the nineteenth years. The whole period of revolt in the *Chronicle* then corresponds to the years from September 132 to August 136, for regnal years in the *Chronicle* are reckoned from the September following the emperor's accession, as noted already (Chapter 3, n. 12, above). Eusebius in his *History* (iv 6, 3) says that the war reached its peak in the long siege of Beththera (Bethar), discussed below, in Hadrian's eighteenth year (134–5). As already mentioned (Chapter 2, n. 42, above), the *Chronicle* will have drawn on Africanus's *Chronographiae*, compiled in the early 220s by an author probably born in Aelia Capitolina and resident not far away in Emmaus (Nicompolis); the ascription of the war to these years of Hadrian may then go back to Palestinian reports from the early third

²² P. von Rohden, 'Aelius (64): P. Aelius Hadrianus', *RE* i (Stuttgart, 1893), cols. 493–521 (514–15), followed by Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 553, n. 174; reviewing further inscriptions, J. M. C. Toynbee, 'Greek Imperial Medallions', *JRS* xxxiv (1944), 65–73 (67–8); F. M. Heichelheim, appendix in C. Seltman, 'Greek Sculpture and Some Festival Coins', *Hesperia* xvii (1948), 71–85 (85); Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 456, n. 111. S. Follet, at AE 2001 [2004], no. 1815, ascribes an undated Aegina inscription with the title to the period from 135 to Hadrian's death in 138.

²³ W. Eck in G. Foerster and W. Eck, 'Ein Triumphbogen für Hadrian im Tal von Beth Shean bei Tel Shalem', *JRA* xii (1999), 299–313 (301–2); W. Eck, 'Hadrian, the Bar Kokhba Revolt, and the Epigraphic Transmission', 159–60; Eck, *Rom herausfordern: Bar Kokhba im Kampf gegen das Imperium Romanum: das Bild des Bar Kokhba-Aufstandes im Spiegel der neuen epigraphischen Überlieferung* (Rome, 2007), 21, n. 9; 49–50.

²⁴ IG XII Supplementum 239, (the isle of Syros) and CIL II 478 (Merida), both quoted for attestation of the title in the nineteenth tribunician year by Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 456, n. 111, and Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on the Jews and Judaism*, ii, 400–1 (on no. 440), but questioned by Foerster and Eck, 'Ein Triumphbogen für Hadrian im Tal von Beth Shean bei Tel Shalem', 302; Eck, 'Hadrian, the Bar Kokhba Revolt, and the Epigraphic Transmission', 160.

century. At any rate, the *Chronicle* suggests a dating of the period of revolt from late 132 to late 135 or early 136, in agreement with the indications from Dio, on the time of outbreak, and from epigraphy, on the title 'Imperator for the second time'. In the light of Eusebius's *History*, autumn 135 might be taken as a turning point, after the reduction of Beththera and the death of Bar Kokhba. Mopping-up operations probably continued into 136.

To turn to internal evidence from the rebels themselves, their coins and documents are dated by three successive years of Jewish government, of course without reference to years of Hadrian but attesting a similar period of roughly three years for the revolt – probably 132–5, when these dates are viewed in conjunction with those discussed already.²⁵ Other documents come from refugees.

Thus the two archives of Babatha and Salome Komaïse, both from the Cave of Letters where letters of Bar Kokhba himself were also found, consist of documents dated by consular, provincial or regnal years from 94 to August 132, and from January 125 to August 131, respectively.²⁶ These dates are consistent with their having been brought to the cave by refugees during a period of revolt beginning in 132. Babatha was still in Arabia in August 132, as indicated by a receipt (P. Yadin 27).²⁷

Other Judaeian wilderness finds gave documents dated by the era of the revolt itself. The earliest, as H. Eshel has argued, is a deed (P. Yadin 42) of 1 Iyyar in Year 1, probably to be ascribed to May 133 since it presupposes a stable situation, in which Bar Kokhba has been in power in the locality for some time (a farmer who has come to Engaddi from elsewhere leases land from Bar Kokhba's administrators at a high price). Babatha was still in Arabia in August 132, as just noted; probably then in summer 132 the damage inflicted by rebels in Judaea was only just beginning to be regarded as serious.²⁸

The revolt era, which in principle might have begun from Nisan in the spring or from Tishri in the autumn, or from the date when Bar Kokhba came to power, would then have begun from Tishri 132 or from an accession day after Iyyar (May) 132.²⁹ The latest dated document of this era is of

²⁵ H. Eshel, 'The Dates Used during the Bar Kokhba Revolt', in Schäfer (ed.), *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, 93–105. A year 4 is attested in the documents Mur. 22 and 30, which were formerly assigned to Bar Kokhba's rule. They are now redated to the First Revolt, on the basis of carbon testing confirmed by the absence of the name Simeon from their wording; see Eshel, 'The Dates Used during the Bar Kokhba Revolt', 94–6.

²⁶ Chapter 2, n. 22, above; Cotton and Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites*, 158–9.

²⁷ Eshel, 'The Dates Used during the Bar Kokhba Revolt', 100. ²⁸ *Ibid.* ²⁹ *Ibid.*, 96–102.

20 Sivan in Year 3, probably May–June 135. What was sometimes formerly regarded as the latest dated document, P. Mur. 22, reread as belonging to Year 4 is one of those redated to the First Revolt.³⁰

A more recently discovered Aramaic and Hebrew deed, from the early years of Antoninus Pius, belongs to a further Jewish era. It bears the date 10 Chisleu (November–December), Year 4 ‘of the Destruction of the House of Israel’, *le-hurban beth yisra’el* (this phrase is discussed below). A receipt for all that was due to the wife under a marriage contract, the deed was written in Beth Amar south of Hebron, about two miles west of Juttah. The editors suggest that its date in Year 4 ‘of the Destruction of the House of Israel’ would have fallen in the year 140, which would imply that the era ‘of the Destruction’ was reckoned from 136, and thus attest a Jewish judgment that the revolt ended in that year.³¹ To judge by the Mishnah, however, years of ‘the destruction of the house of Israel’ might have been reckoned either from the fall of Beththera in 135, or from the foundation of Aelia, perhaps in 136, or from the first autumnal new year following either of these events; for the Mishnah (Ta’an. iv 6) notes that both these calamities took place on 9 Ab, and presumably assigns them to successive years. Reckoning on these lines would permit Chisleu of year 4 to be placed in late 139 as well as late 140. However that may be, it is not impossible that perceptions of an end to revolt with the capture of Beththera and the death of Simeon bar Kosiba should be matched by assignment of a full end only to the following year, when the main mopping-up operations were concluded and, as the Mishnah puts it, ‘the city was ploughed’.

Not too much independent weight should be given to the period of three and a half years assigned to the war as a whole in the early Jewish chronicle Seder Olam, and to the siege of Bethar in the Talmud and midrash; for this length of time probably corresponds to half the last week of years in the seventy weeks foretold by the angel Gabriel according to the book of Daniel (Dan. 9:27).³² As a reckoning for the duration of the war, however,

³⁰ N. 21, above; Eshel, ‘The Dates Used during the Bar Kokhba Revolt’, 94–5; P. Mur. 22 was dated to Year 4 of Bar Kokhba in H. M. Cotton, W. E. H. Cockle and F. G. B. Millar, ‘The Papyrology of the Roman Near East: a Survey’, *JRS* lxxxv (1995), 214–35 (229–30), and noted accordingly as the latest document of the revolt era by Birley, *Hadrian*, 269.

³¹ E. Eshel, H. Eshel and A. Yardeni, ‘A Document from “Year 4 of the Destruction of the House of Israel”’, *Dead Sea Discoveries* xviii (2011), 1–28.

³² Seder Olam Rabbah, in Ad. Neubauer, *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles* (2 vols., Oxford, 1895), ii, 36; Jerusalem Talmud, Ta’anith, iv, 68d; Lam. R. ii 4, on Lam. 2:2. Jewish interpretation applied the Danielic prophecy in this way, according to Jerome, *Comm. in Dan.*, on 9:27, quoted by Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 552, n. 172; the first half-week consisted of the three and a half years of revolt from 66 to 70, the second of the war of Bar Kokhba. ‘I dare say it could be made out that the recent Palestinian campaign [in the First World War] also lasted

this old Jewish estimate, perhaps from the second or third century, is also in general accord with the other indications of date. The uprising then probably began in late 132, and repression could be regarded in Rome as complete by the end of 135.

Sources

A broad spectrum of early reactions to the Bar Kokhba war appears from the brief second-century literary references mentioned in [Chapter 2](#), above. The peaceful Hadrian ‘never willingly went to war, but he put down the Hebrews dwelling beyond Syria when they rebelled’ (Pausanias); he suffered severe military losses from the Jews and from the Britons (Fronto, writing to his pupil Marcus Aurelius).³³ These are impressions made, respectively, on an admirer of Hadrian’s philhellenism in Greece, and a successful orator, much less favourable to Hadrian, at the imperial court. Their contemporary Appian of Alexandria, more interested in Jewish matters, as seen already, notes that Pompey, Vespasian ‘and Hadrian again in my time’ had demolished the Jews’ ‘greatest city, Jerusalem, most holy to them as it is’ – a phrase reflecting the intensity of second-century Jewish feeling (Appian, *Historia Romana*, xi (Syriaca), 50, 252).³⁴ Yet more circumstantial are contemporary Christian reports, with their lively awareness of Jewish developments; Bar Kokhba imposed a test of loyalty on Christians (Justin Martyr), and after the revolt Jews were banned from Jerusalem and its district (Aristo of Pella), while well-educated Jewish refugees from Judaea could be met in Greece and Asia Minor (Justin Martyr).³⁵

These scattered references, and the coins presenting Hadrian’s recreated Greek Judaea, already do much to complement the glimpses of rebel aims and organization gained from Bar Kokhba coins, documents and letters.³⁶ The Bar Kokhba coins are particularly notable in that some bear, instead of the name Simeon, the legend ‘Eleazar the priest’, discussed below. The second-century evidence remains fragmentary, however, and connected

exactly three-and-a-half years,’ wrote Israel Abrahams, *Campaigns in Palestine since Alexander the Great* (Schweich Lectures 1922; London, 1927), 39.

³³ Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, ii, nos. 342, 353.

³⁴ The phrase ‘most holy to them’ (*hagiotaté autois*) was used again of Jerusalem by Appian, *Historia Romana* xii 106, 498, on Pompey; see Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, ii, nos. 343–4.

³⁵ Justin Martyr, *I Apol.* xxxi 6; *Dial.* i 3; Aristo, cited in Eusebius, *H.E.* iv 6, 3.

³⁶ On Bar Kokhba coins, letters and documents see [Chapter 1](#), nn. 1–2 and [Chapter 2](#), nn. 1–2, 19–22, above.

narratives survive once again only from Cassius Dio in the third century and Eusebius at the beginning of the fourth.

They are complemented by rabbinic narratives of Bar Kokhba, sometimes echoed in Eusebius, Epiphanius and Jerome. The uncertainties of the body of rabbinic evidence were brought out in P. Schäfer's itemized analysis, but its contacts with the Judaeian source, Eusebius, suggest that it still deserves consideration.³⁷

On the Christian side, one Greek source of unknown origin, seemingly not used by Eusebius, provides a narrative of Hadrian, his punishment of Jews, and the building of Aelia under the direction of his nephew Aquila, all given in the context of an account of Greek biblical translations, including that ascribed to Aquila. The source is used in the fourth century in Epiphanius's treatise on *Weights and Measures* (and anecdotes included in the source appear in Jerome), and, independently of Epiphanius, in the sixth century in the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*, and in the seventh in the *Paschal Chronicle*.³⁸ With regard to Hadrian and Aquila it overlaps with rabbinic haggadah.³⁹ It may come from an author connected with the church of Aelia, perhaps in the third or early fourth century.⁴⁰

³⁷ Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*; see [Chapter 2](#), with n. 49, above.

³⁸ For discussion of its information on Hadrian's visit to Judaea and Egypt at the time of the founding of Aelia see [Chapter 4](#) and nn. 236–9, above.

³⁹ See especially Tanhuma Buber, Exodus, Mishpatim 3, on Exod. 21:1, pp. 81–2, reprinted and translated in A. E. Silverstone, *Aquila and Onkelos* (Manchester, 1931), 24–7 and translated with comment in Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 242–4.

⁴⁰ A third-century origin for the narrative is suggested by its account of biblical manuscript discoveries (the Greek translations known as Quinta and Sexta from their position in the columns of Origen's Hexapla) under Caracalla and Alexander Severus (Epiphanius, *De Mensuris et Ponderibus*, xviii) – an account which Origen seems to have known, as suggested by the report of Origen's statements on Quinta and Sexta in Eusebius, *H.E.* vi 16, 1–4. This report may well reflect lost notes by Origen in his Hexapla, as argued by G. Mercati and E. Schwartz (followed by Grafton and Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea*, 206–7); but it seems questionable whether, as Schwartz inferred, Origen wrote that he himself found a text at Nicopolis; rather, he will have known the claim of this source that it was found there. The Aelian link of the source is suggested by the strong interest of the narrative in the building of the city. The *Chronographies* of Julius Africanus, compiled c.221 (see [Chapter 1](#), n. 65, above) are attractively suggested as the unknown source by L. Lahey, 'Hebrew and Aramaic in the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*', in W. Horbury (ed.), *Hebrew Study from Ezra to Ben-Yehudah* (Edinburgh, 1999), 106–21 (118–19, noting that this source as represented in the *Dialogue* places the find of Sexta at Emmaus-Nicopolis, where Africanus probably lived); Lahey, 'Evidence for Jewish Believers in Christian-Jewish Dialogues through the Sixth Century (excluding Justin)', in Skarsaune and Hvalvik (eds.), *Jewish Believers in Jesus: the Early Centuries*, 581–639 (604, n. 105). Africanus, probably a native of Aelia, as noted above, and later resident at Emmaus-Nicopolis, was strongly interested in both scripture and architecture; see the accounts of him by Wallraff et al. in Africanus, *Chronographiae*, xiii–xvii; O. Skarsaune, 'Fragments of Jewish Christian Literature quoted in Some Greek and Latin Fathers', in Skarsaune and Hvalvik (eds.), *Jewish Believers in Jesus: the Early Centuries*, 325–78 (348–51). If his *Chronographies* were the source, however, one might

A synoptic view of Dio and Eusebius as sources for the war of Bar Kokhba shows that in range and complementarity they compare with second-century material. Eusebius once again differs markedly from Cassius Dio, but now comes close to rabbinic tradition; Dio represents the imperial administration, while Eusebius has an ecclesiastical but also Judaeen viewpoint, with local information shared in part by Christians and Jews.

Comparison of the persons and places named by Dio and Eusebius leads far towards this conclusion. Dio (lxix 12, 1–15, 1), as epitomized by Xiphilinus, names Hadrian's general Julius Severus, but not the provincial governor or the Jewish leader in Judaea; Eusebius does not mention the general, but names the governor Tineius Rufus and his adversary Chochebas (representing the Aramaic *Kokhba*), who are also the chief characters in the rabbinic accounts. Among the places, Jerusalem and Aelia are named by both historians; but Dio alone mentions Solomon's tomb, and unspecified underground passages, fortresses and villages of the Jews, and Eusebius alone mentions Beththera (representing in Greek the Aramaic form of the name current in Hebrew as Bethar). The siege of Bethar is the centre of a complex of rabbinic narrative.⁴¹

Cassius Dio combines military information with the story of a portent, the fall of Solomon's tomb before the revolt (lxix 14, 2). It therefore seems likely that he had a literary source, which may also have included material deriving ultimately from Hadrian's reports to the senate.⁴² His account may be summarized as follows.

- (i) When Hadrian founded Aelia and raised a new temple to Zeus, a war of considerable importance and length was stirred up, for the Jews found it a terrible thing that strangers and strange rites should be established in their city (lxix 12, 1).
- (ii) While Hadrian was near, the Jews confined themselves to accumulating weapons by making those that they had to supply of poor quality; but when he went further away, they arose openly. Not daring to venture against the Romans, they occupied and fortified strong points, and made underground refuges (lxix 12, 2–3).
- (iii) At first the Romans held them of no account, but soon all Judaea was stirred up, many non-Jews had joined the rebels for gain, and it

expect fuller reflection of this material in Eusebius. Can this source have been a writing of Africanus which Eusebius did not know (see *H.E.* vi 31 for his list of the known works), perhaps reworked and reissued by another during pilgrim-focused developments in fourth-century Aelia?

⁴¹ M. Taanith iv 6; Jerusalem Talmud, Taanith, iv 8, 68d–69b, cited above; Babylonian Talmud, Gittin 57a–58a; Lam. R. ii 4, on Lam. 2:2, cited above.

⁴² Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, ii, p. 394.

seemed that the whole world was disturbed. Then Hadrian sent his best generals against the Jews, and the first among them was Julius Severus, governor of Britain (lxix 13, 1–2).

- (iv) Severus did not attack the Jews in the open anywhere, because of their numbers and desperation, but used his own strong numbers to intercept groups of Jews, shutting them up and depriving them of food. In this way he succeeded in crushing them, slowly but with rather less danger, and few of them survived (lxix 13, 3).
- (v) Fifty of their most notable guard-posts and 985 of their most famous villages were overthrown. Some 580,000 men were slain in raids and battles, and the number who perished by famine, disease and fire could not be estimated. Nearly the whole of Judaea was made desolate, as had been foreshown to the Jews before the war by the collapse of the tomb of Solomon, which they held in veneration. So many Romans also perished in this war that Hadrian, when he wrote to the senate, did not begin as usual with the greeting including the words 'I and the legions are in health' (lxix 14, 1–3).
- (vi) He sent Severus as governor to Bithynia, where we still remember him for his good administration (lxix 14, 4).⁴³
- (vii) This was the end of the war against the Jews, but another war was stirred up by the Alani (lxix 15, 1).

Eusebius also had literary sources. As the foregoing comparison shows, Dio was not among them.⁴⁴ Eusebius cites Aristo and Justin by name (*H.E.* iv 6, 3; 8, 4). Aristo of Pella has sometimes been regarded as a source providing a relatively extended narrative, but Eusebius probably took from him simply the statement that Hadrian prohibited Jews from entering Jerusalem and its district. Aristo, a Christian of Jewish descent, is named by a sixth-century Palestinian author, John of Scythopolis, as the author of the Jewish-Christian dialogue *Jason and Papiscus*, which is mentioned by Celsus in the late second century and then by Origen in his answer to Celsus.⁴⁵ The mention of the prohibition in the same context of Jewish-Christian controversy, perhaps in direct or indirect dependence on *Jason*

⁴³ The Bithynian governor was in fact not Sex. Julius Severus, sent to Judaea from Britain, but C. Julius Severus; see Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, no. 215 (= IGR III 174) with her n. 2, referring to Dio (Ancyra inscription in honour of C. Julius Severus mentions him as legate in Bithynia, sent by Hadrian); Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 519.

⁴⁴ That Eusebius's account was mostly derived from Dio was affirmed by Goodman, 'Judaea' (2), 672, but the differences seem to me to rule this out.

⁴⁵ Origen, *c. Celsus* iv 52; L. Lahey, 'Evidence for Jewish Believers in Christian-Jewish Dialogues through the Sixth Century (excluding Justin)', 585–91.

and *Papiscus* (to show that a Jewish leader can no longer come forth from Bethlehem, as prophesied in Micah 5:2) can be seen at the beginning of the third century in Tertullian, *Adv. Iud.* xiii 3–4.⁴⁶ Eusebius probably drew on *Jason and Papiscus* rather than on an otherwise unknown historical work of Aristo.⁴⁷ From Justin, Eusebius took the notice on Bar Kokhba's terrible punishment of Christians who would not deny that Jesus was messiah (*I Apol.* xxxi 6, cited above). Eusebius used a Jerusalem episcopal list, drawn up in the church of Aelia and also used by Epiphanius. He will also have used another Christian Palestinian source, the *Chronographies* of Julius Africanus, discussed already, who was probably born in Aelia Capitolina; Eusebius describes them in his later notice of Africanus as a 'monument of labour and accuracy' (Eusebius, *H.E.* vi 31, 2, in J. E. L. Oulton's translation).⁴⁸

The *Chronicle* and *History* of Eusebius overlap without full agreement, as in the case of events under Trajan. Once again, appreciation of his evidence may be aided by translation of the relevant annals of the *Chronicle* from Jerome's Latin version (Olympiads 227–8, Hadrian xvi–xx, corresponding to 132–6; ed. Helm, pp. 200–1):

xvi. . . . The Jews, having taken up arms, laid Palestine waste, during Tineius Rufus's tenure of the province; Hadrian sent him an army to crush the rebels . . . (Helm, p. 200^h)

xvii. Chochebas, the leader of the Jewish faction, slaughters, with all kinds of torments, Christians who are unwilling to help him against the Roman army.

xviii–xviii. The Jewish war which was being waged in Palestine reached its conclusion, and the Jewish cause was utterly crushed. Thenceforth even the liberty of entering Jerusalem was taken away from the Jews, first of all at God's behest, as the prophets foretold, and then by Roman prohibitions.

At Jerusalem the first gentile bishop, Marcus, is appointed; and the former Jewish bishops ceased.

xx. Aelia was founded by Aelius Hadrianus, and on the face of the gate by which we go out to Bethlehem a pig was carved in marble, signifying that the

⁴⁶ H. Tränkle, *Q.S.F. Tertulliani Adversus Iudaeos* (Wiesbaden, 1964), lxxiv–lxxx, 33.

⁴⁷ That *Jason and Papiscus* was Eusebius's source is argued by H. J. Lawlor in Lawlor and Oulton, *Eusebius: the Ecclesiastical History and the Martyrs of Palestine*, ii, 122–3, on *H.E.* iv 6, 3; Tränkle, *Q.S.F. Tertulliani Adversus Iudaeos*, lxxiv–lxxv; Lahey, 'Evidence for Jewish Believers in Christian-Jewish Dialogues through the Sixth Century (excluding Justin)', 589, n. 30. This view seems to go back to Rufinus. At *H.E.* iv 6, 3 Rufinus renders Eusebius's 'Aristo of Pella recounts it' (*historei*) with 'Aristo of Pella the historian (*historiografus*) recounts these things'; but the Greek verb need not identify the narrator as a historian.

⁴⁸ Wallraff et al. in Africanus, *Chronographiae*, xv–xvi; [Chapter 2](#) n. 42, above.

Jews are subject to Roman power. Some hold that the city was constructed by Titus Aelius, Vespasian's son'. (Helm, p. 201^{b-c})

As in the narratives of Trajanic revolt, Eusebius's *History* varies somewhat from the *Chronicle*, and may be summarized as follows:

- (i) Jewish rebellion once again increased. Rufus, the governor of Judaea, moved against the Jews when military aid had been sent by the emperor. He treated their madness without mercy, destroying thousands of men, women, and children, and enslaving their landholdings. (*H.E.* iv 6, 1)
- (ii) Their general at that time was named Barchochebas, which means 'star'; he was murderous and banditlike, but on the strength of his name presented himself as a luminary come down from the sky to shine on those in trouble. (*H.E.* iv 6, 2)
- (iii) The war reached its peak in Hadrian's eighteenth year at Beththera, a very strong fort not far from Jerusalem, in a lengthy siege; but the rebels were driven to the utmost destruction by famine and thirst, and the author of their madness paid his due penalty. Hadrian by law prohibited the Jewish people thenceforth from entering even the area round about Jerusalem, so that they could not look upon their ancestral home even from a distance. Aristo of Pella recounts this. (*H.E.* iv 6, 3)
- (iv) The city being now left desolate and bereft of the Jewish people, its old inhabitants having perished, it was colonized by foreigners, and the Roman city which afterwards arose changed its name to Aelia, in honour of the reigning emperor Aelius Hadrianus. The church therein also being made up of gentiles, the first bishop appointed after the Jewish bishops was Marcus. (*H.E.* iv 6, 4)

To compare the annals of the *Chronicle* in order with the *History*: the opening report of Jewish devastation is not reproduced in the *History*; the quotation from Justin's *Apology* which underlies the first part of the annal on Chochebas (Hadrian xvii) is moved to the later section of the *History* which deals with Justin, and is now given there in his own words as an attributed quotation (*H.E.* iv 8, 4), while the later part of this annal (on Christians not joining the rebel army) is not reproduced; its place is taken, in the revolt narrative of the *History*, by a new report of Rufus's punitive measures, Bar Kokhba's claims and character, and the siege of Beththera, not mentioned in the *Chronicle*. The annal for Hadrian xviii–xix then finds general correspondence in the *History*, but there the reference to Aristo is introduced, the notice of Marcus's appointment is postponed to a mention

of Aelia, and a reference to the destruction of the city's former inhabitants is brought in. The Aelian details of the marble pig and Vespasian's architect son do not appear in the *History*, but these are not attested in the Armenian version of the *Chronicle*, and were probably added by Jerome.⁴⁹

Thus, just as in Eusebius's accounts of the Trajanic risings, the *History* does not exhaust the information in the *Chronicle*, but it introduces fresh data – in this case on Rufus's acts of repression, Bar Kokhba and his claims, and Beththera. The source behind the fresh material on Bar Kokhba and Beththera in the *History* had perhaps also earlier provided the second part of the annal in the *Chronicle* (Hadrian xvii) on Chochebas and the Christians who do not join him against the Romans. Here Eusebius departed considerably from the relevant passage in Justin's *Apology*, which he had followed to start with and which he later quotes separately in his *History* in the form known from the surviving text of the *Apology*. This information on Bar Kokhba's claims, his treatment of Christians and the siege of Beththera probably reflects a Judean Christian narrative, itself showing some contact, in its focus on Bar Kokhba and Beththera (both ignored in Dio), with the Jewish narratives which were developed in rabbinic tradition. This Judean source used by Eusebius here may tentatively be identified once again as Africanus's *Chronographies*, which included considerable narrative sections.⁵⁰ Africanus's interest in such stories is confirmed by an anecdote in his *Cesti* which has itself been connected, uncertainly, with Jewish revolt under Hadrian; the Pharisees plume themselves, he says, on having slain a Roman force with poisoned wine, which they guilefully left behind when they fled at the Roman approach.⁵¹

Dio and Eusebius, therefore, presenting in the main an imperial and a provincial viewpoint, respectively, both probably draw on earlier sources

⁴⁹ Helm, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, 201, 418, on the annal for Hadrian xx.

⁵⁰ For this aspect of the *Chronographies* see Wallraff et al. in Africanus, *Chronographiae*, xix–xx.

⁵¹ Julius Africanus, *Cesti* vii, Fragment 12.2, lines 94–7 in M. Wallraff, C. Scardino, L. Mecella and C. Guignard (eds.), *Iulius Africanus, Cesti: the Extant Fragments*, tr. W. Adler (GCS N.F. 18, Berlin, 2012), 50–1; noted by A. Harnack, *Medicinisches aus der ältesten Kirchengeschichte* (TU viii.4 (second part, pages doubly numbered), Leipzig, 1892), 8=44; connected by Abel, *Histoire de la Palestine*, ii, 92–3 with the disappearance of Legio XXII Deiotariana, which he attributes to annihilation in the Bar Kokhba war. Pharisees are spoken of as still contemporary by Justin Martyr in the second century and Hippolytus in the third; in Africanus's context, on making poisoned food and drink into allies in war, the reference to them is faintly mocking but not uncomplimentary. It is possible then that he relates a story of the war under Hadrian which was current in Palestine, but 'Pharisees' do not figure in the Eusebian material on Bar Kokhba which might derive from Africanus, and it is perhaps more likely that Africanus took the anecdote from a literary source relating to earlier hostilities, such as he employed to give information not in Josephus on Herod's father Antipater (Africanus to Aristides, in Eusebius, *H.E.* i 6, 2–3; 7, 11–13). M. Gelzer (cited by Wallraff et al. in Africanus, *Cesti*, 51 n.) suggested Justus of Tiberias.

of some value, and Eusebius's information overlaps with that transmitted in rabbinic literature.⁵²

Causes

By contrast with accounts of the Trajanic uprisings, ancient narratives of Jewish rebellion under Hadrian suggest special causes for the outbreak. For the earlier risings the only suggestion of a cause in the historians from the later Roman empire was implicit, the depiction of escalating Jewish–gentile *stasis* and a maddening spirit of revolt preserved in Eusebius and echoed in Orosius. Eusebius likewise treats the outbreak under Hadrian simply as a further eruption of the existing rebelliousness of the Jews (*H.E.* iv 6, 1). This comment has a polemical side, as noted already in chapters 1–2, but its suggestion of ongoing unrest deserves further attention.

Prior unrest under Hadrian has indeed been suggested as part of the immediate background of revolt.⁵³ The war of Quietus, discussed in Chapter 4, presented unrest at the time of Hadrian's accession; the road building of 120 probably reflects the security concerns which that disturbance had underlined, and it coheres with the continued stationing of two legions in Judaea at least from 117. Similarly, a papyrus of 128 attests the supply from Egypt of clothing 'for the military needs of those on service in Judaea', perhaps indicating a strengthening of the military presence.⁵⁴ The ban on learning Greek associated in the Mishnah with the aftermath of the war indicates, as noted in Chapter 4, an attitude of dissociation from non-Jews and non-cooperation with Roman authorities.

⁵² The view that Christian sources for the revolt are late, expressed by Isaac and Oppenheimer, 'The Revolt of Bar Kokhba: Ideology and Modern Scholarship', 33–60 (38–9) should therefore be qualified with regard to Eusebius.

⁵³ Alon, *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age (70–640CE)*, 570–82; Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 436–8, noting that Eusebius may support this view; A. Oppenheimer, 'Die jüdische Bewohnerschaft Galiläas zur Zeit von Jawne und während des Bar-Kochba-Aufstands', translated from *Kathedra* iv (1977), 53–66; 88 in Oppenheimer, *Between Rome and Babylon*, 225–42 (235–6); B. Isaac and I. Roll, 'Judaea in the Early Years of Hadrian's Reign', *Latomus* xxxviii (1979), 54–66, repr. with Postscript in Isaac, *The Near East under Roman Rule*, 182–97; Isaac and Oppenheimer, 'The Revolt of Bar Kokhba: Ideology and Modern Scholarship', 50–1 (repr. by Isaac, 239–42; repr. by Oppenheimer, 213–15); Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 83–5.

⁵⁴ P. Rylands 189, a receipt from Soknopaiou Nesos for 'public clothing' supplied, dated 9 December 128, in J. de M. Johnson, V. Martin and A. S. Hunt, *Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, ii, Documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods* (Manchester, 1915), 236–7; interpreted as showing a strengthening of the army in Judaea by Alon, *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age (70–640CE)*, 579–81; Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 437, ingeniously links it with the petition of Alexandrian marines transferred from the Misenum fleet to Legio X Fretensis, discussed below.

An emergency filling of gaps in the ranks of X Fretensis, stationed in Jerusalem, is indeed suggested, as G. Vitelli argued, by a Latin petition from twenty-two veterans, all Alexandrians, to the governor of Judaea, Velius Fidus, requesting his certification of their legionary service; it was countersigned in Caesarea on 22 January 150.⁵⁵ The petitioners note that by the indulgence of Hadrian they were transferred from duty as marines in the fleet of Misenum – considered a lowly form of military service – into the Legio Fretensis, and had served for over twenty years ('annos super xx') as good soldiers. Vitelli judged that 'over twenty years' is an exaggerated round figure compatible with transfer about 131–2, near the beginning of the rising itself and on account of it, because the petitioners are stressing their service as legionaries rather than marines. Yet, as E. M. Smallwood argued, it seems preferable to follow the given figure.⁵⁶ This would place the transfer before 130. The elevation of marines (*classiarii*) into a legion was unusual. Perhaps in this case it can be ascribed to the urgent additional security needs, for policing and for construction work on roads and aqueducts, which were associated with preparation for Hadrian's advent in the province.

Apparent shifts a little earlier towards 'pagan' as opposed to 'Jewish' emblems on coinage, notably from Tiberias in 119–20, have been taken to show that local administration was then handed over to non-Jews, in view of Jewish unrest.⁵⁷ Such definite iconographical shifts are not perceptible, however, when the coinage with its varying motifs is viewed over a number of years; and the prevalence among Jews of aversion from 'pagan' coins in Hadrian's reign has probably been over-estimated.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ PSI ix 102 = R. Cavenaile, *Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum* (Wiesbaden, 1958), no. 117 = Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, no. 330; see text (based on two papyrus copies bought from a dealer in Cairo) with G. Vitelli's interpretative introduction in *Papiri greci e latini ix* (Florence, 1929, repr. Rome, 2004), 36–45, no. 1,026; he notes that the position of the phrase 'super annos xx' as well as the general emphasis of the petition makes it unlikely that the period was meant to include marine duty. The petition is similarly linked with Bar Kokhba by Eck, *Rom und Judaea*, 125–6, but with the proviso that the time of the transfer is uncertain, and now in association with later diplomas of veterans from the fleet of Misenum itself, as noted below. Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 130–1 discusses the petition not with regard to Roman losses but in criticism of the view that it attests involvement of the fleet, advanced by P. Thomsen, 'Die römische Flotte in Palästina-Syrien', *ZDPV* lxviii (1946–51), 73–89; as Schäfer notes, the petitioners were in legionary rather than marine service during the revolt. For the governor's name Velius Fidus see Rea, 'Two Legates and a Procurator of Syria Palaestina', 217–18, based on a fresh inspection of the originals.

⁵⁶ Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 437.

⁵⁷ Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 277–8; Oppenheimer, 'Die jüdische Bewohnerschaft Galiläas zur Zeit von Jawne und während des Bar-Kochba-Aufstands', 237; Isaac and Roll, 'Judaea in the Early Years of Hadrian's Reign', in Isaac, *The Near East under Roman Rule*, 192–4.

⁵⁸ Seth Schwartz, *Imperialism and Jewish Society, 200 BCE to 640 CE*, 138–42.

Rabbinic texts, on the other hand, as Alon and others emphasize, suggest, through anecdotes concerning teachers from this period, that banditry with an anti-Roman aspect was then familiar in both Judaea and Galilee.⁵⁹ Thus when the son of R. Hananiah ben Teradion is killed by robbers who have accepted him into their band for betraying their secrets, Hananiah his father and his mother and sister are all said to have dispraised him in cutting sentences from Proverbs (Lam. R. iii 6, on 3:16). The fact that he was not from a poor background has been taken, questionably, as indicating a political motive for his joining the band. The family disapproval might still after his death be directed simply towards his having joined; compare the deep disapproval incurred by a comparably well-off Christian youth in second-century Asia Minor who became a bandit chief, according to Clement of Alexandria.⁶⁰ The family may, however, alternatively be envisaged as disapproving of his betrayal of the robbers, regarded as fellow Jews and patriots – their attitude being that ascribed after Bar Kokhba to R. Joshua b. Karha, who rebuked Eleazar, son of Simeon b. Yohai, for procuring the arrest of a thief or for presiding over executions of those sentenced to death.⁶¹ Although hints of political motivation in these anecdotes are often debatable, banditry clearly continued in second-century Judaea and Galilee, no doubt with its familiar anti-governmental aspect, and with part of its background in the poverty and social conflict discussed in Chapter 2, above.⁶² It will have formed an abiding preoccupation for administrators and the army. Yet it is not clear that, apart from the ‘war of Quietus’, there was really grave disturbance under Hadrian before the

⁵⁹ Alon, *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age (70–640CE)*, 570–5; Applebaum, *Prolegomena to the Study of the Second Jewish Revolt*, 19; Oppenheimer, ‘Die jüdische Bewohnerschaft Galiläas zur Zeit von Jawne und während des Bar-Kochba-Aufstands’, 235–6; Isaac and Roll, ‘Judaea in the Early Years of Hadrian’s Reign’, in Isaac, *The Near East under Roman Rule*, 193–4, n. 56, with acknowledgement to Oppenheimer; Isaac, ‘Bandits in Judaea and Arabia’, *HSCP* lxxxviii (1984), 171–203, repr. with Postscript in Isaac, *The Near East under Roman Rule*, 122–58 (132–4); Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 83–5.

⁶⁰ Clement of Alexandria, *Quis Dives Salvetur*, xlii 9, quoted in Eusebius, *H.E.* iii 23, 5–19 (13 ‘wicked, abandoned, and, to crown it all, a robber’).

⁶¹ Interpretation of the banditry in Lam. R. iii 6 as political is rejected by Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 108; but for the prevalence of condemnation of betrayal see D. Daube, *Collaboration with Tyranny in Rabbinic Law* (London, 1965). On the story of Joshua’s rebuke to Eleazar b. R. Simeon (different forms in Pesikta deRab Kahana 11.19, Jerusalem Talmud Maas. iii 4, 50d, Babylonian Talmud B.M. 83b) see S. Krauss, ‘R. Eleasar ben R. Simeon als römischer Befehlshaber’, *MGWJ* xxxviii (1894), 151–6 (finding Latin *rufilus* ‘military tribune’ behind Hebrew *luparin* in the Pesikta deRab Kahana version).

⁶² For its continuity with that described by Josephus see Goodman, *State and Society in Roman Galilee*, 40; Isaac, ‘Bandits in Judaea and Arabia’, in Isaac, *The Near East under Roman Rule*, 132.

outbreak in 132.⁶³ The Roman background of Hadrian's visit in 130 will however have included an element of concern for security, not of course peculiar to Judaea but heightened there by the proximity of the province to recently tamed Arabia, the links of Judaea with recent Jewish revolt, and continuing banditry. In this setting the military aspect of the colony of Aelia seems unsurprising.

Unsettlement in Judaea under Hadrian then indeed seems likely, especially when the 'war of Quietus', discussed in [Chapter 4](#), is set against the background of the earlier Roman anxiety about security which is reflected in the stories of the arrest of the 'Lord's relatives' under Domitian, and the long series of disturbances over the whole period since Pompey (see [Chapter 2](#), above). All this might then correspond to Eusebius on rebelliousness breaking out 'again'. The main intention of his 'again' is probably to recall the two earlier revolts under Trajan and Titus which he has already described, but it can also point to the unrest of even longer standing just noted. This ongoing tradition of unrest, accompanied and maintained, as noted above, by the ideology of national liberty and redemption expressed in revolt coinage and documents, should probably figure as a principal 'cause'.

Special causes of the Bar Kokhba war are named, however, in other ancient writers. Cassius Dio, as already noted, points (lxix 12, 1) to Hadrian's foundation of Aelia. The life of Hadrian in the *Historia Augusta* assigns a different cause in the one (satirical) sentence it gives to this war: 'at this time the Jews too began war, because they were forbidden to mutilate their genitals' (*HA* Hadrian xiv 2).⁶⁴ A third cause is suggested by the midrashic narrative of Joshua b. Hananiah already considered in connection with Pappus and Lulianus: Jews turned rebellious on learning that a Roman order for the rebuilding of their temple would be (effectively) withdrawn (*Ber. R.* lxiv 10). All three of these special causes have been amply discussed.⁶⁵

⁶³ See the caution expressed by M. Mor, 'The Roman Army in Eretz-Israel in the Years 70–132', in P. Freeman and D. Kennedy (eds.), *The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East (Proceedings of a Colloquium Held at the University of Sheffield in April 1986)* (BAR International Series 197, 2 continuously paginated vols., Oxford, 1986), 575–602.

⁶⁴ The mockery implicit here is brought out by B. Isaac, 'Orientals and Jews in the *Historia Augusta*: Fourth-century Prejudice and Stereotypes', in Isaac, *The Near East under Roman Rule*, 268–83 (277–8); Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity*, 473–4.

⁶⁵ Surveys include H. Mantel, 'The Causes of the Bar Kokba Revolt', *JQR* N.S. lvi (1967–8), 224–42, 274–96; Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 535–43; Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 428–38; Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, ii, 401–2, on no. 440 (Dio); 619–21, on no. 511 (*HA* Hadrian); Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 29–50; Isaac

Approval and prohibition of temple-building

The temple of the Jews at Jerusalem can conveniently be considered first. Its continued desolation is clearly likely to be at the heart of resentment in the Jewish population of the Roman empire. Grief at its loss in 70 and hope for its rebuilding were noted in [Chapter 2](#), above. They mark Jewish literary sources of the period after 70. So, probably in Judaea, the apocalypse of Ezra depicts Sion in present mourning and future glory (II Esdras 9:19–59), and in it Ezra seeks divine mercy for the low estate of the sanctuary (12:48). Likewise, probably in the diaspora, the Fifth Sibylline book prophesies, as noted already, that the messiah shall build the holy house in purity and beauty, and bring the righteous the vision of God (lines 386–433). In [Chapter 4](#), anger over the temple was taken to be an important motive for Jewish rebellion in Cyrene, Egypt and Cyprus.

The belief that rebuilding has indeed received Roman approval is attested not only in the midrash concerning Joshua ben Hananiah, but also in a Greek Christian text of the period between 70 and the early second century, the Epistle of Barnabas.⁶⁶ Both sources have frequently been connected with Hadrian and the Jewish temple, although their indications of date and ambiguities of content permit other datings and interpretations.

The unknown author of Barnabas holds that the prophecy ‘they who destroyed this temple shall themselves build it’, a paraphrase of the divine promise of rebuilding addressed to Jerusalem in Isa. 49:17 ‘thy builders [or, thy children], thy destroyers, make haste’, is now being fulfilled – ‘it is happening’ (*ginetai*; see Barn. xvi 3–4). Wide dissemination among Jews of this understanding of Isa. 49:17 as a prophecy of rebuilding by the destroyers is suggested by the Septuagint translation ‘and quickly shalt thou be built by those by whom thou wast destroyed’, coupled with the fact that the Aramaic Targum can be rendered in a similar way, ‘thy destroyers shall quickly build up thy desolations’.⁶⁷ In Barnabas, however, it is applied

and Oppenheimer, ‘The Revolt of Bar Kokhba: Ideology and Modern Scholarship’, 33–60 (233–8); Eshel, ‘The Bar Kochba Revolt, 132–135’, 106–8.

⁶⁶ It alludes (xvi 4) to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70, and was quoted towards the end of the second century by Clement of Alexandria as an apostolic writing, for instance at *Strom.* ii 20, 116–17, quoting Barn. xvi 7–9.

⁶⁷ In these translations the first three words of the Hebrew are taken as one sense unit and understood as ‘thy builders, thy destroyers, make haste’. For the consonantal Hebrew rendered ‘thy builders’ (*bonayikh*) the vocalization *banayikh*, ‘thy children’ in the end prevailed in the reading tradition of the Hebrew preserved in the Massoretic Text, and is reflected in the English Authorized Version of 1611. This vocalization also encouraged division of the line at an earlier point in it (‘thy children make haste; thy destroyers . . .’). The vocalization which gives ‘thy builders’ rather than ‘thy children’ is however already attested by an additional vowel letter in the Great Isaiah Scroll from Qumran Cave

not generally to Jerusalem but specifically to the temple and to a present situation brought about by warfare: 'because they [the Jews] went to war, it was destroyed by the enemies; now even they themselves [*kai autoi*], the servants of the enemies, will build it up again' (Barn. xvi 4).⁶⁸

The interpretation of this passage in Barnabas as a reference to the Jews and their earthly Jewish temple destroyed by Titus is disputed. Yet the two most widespread alternative interpretations raise difficulties of their own. Thus, if Hadrian's pagan sacred buildings in Aelia are judged to be in view, the language becomes harshly paradoxical to an improbable degree; the writer does indeed think that the Jews 'hallowed the deity in the temple almost like the gentiles' (xvi 2), but further explanation and polemic would be expected if it is being claimed here that a new pagan sanctuary is in fact the prophetically foretold rebuilding of the temple.⁶⁹ If, on the other hand, the building in fulfilment of prophecy is judged to refer simply to the spiritual temple constituted by the church, in accord with the writer's overriding theme, the statement that the building is undertaken by 'them' (not 'us', the Christians) becomes unexpected and difficult.⁷⁰ To

1 (1QIsa^a), and is presupposed in the Septuagint and Targum and the Epistle of Barnabas here. Division of the line after the third word, as implied by the Septuagint rendering, is favoured as probably more original by the fact that it gives the line two parts of equivalent weight.

⁶⁸ In this translation 'they' (*autoi*) is taken to refer to Israel. Schürer and Harnack, as cited in the following footnote, held that, without the second *kai*, *autoi* would refer to a rebuilding by the 'enemies', just as the prophecy suggests: 'now even the servants of the enemies themselves will build it up again'. This rendering is possible, and is adopted for example by F. R. Prostmeier, as cited in the following footnote, but it is not required. The prophecy can still be seen as fulfilled if Israel as servants of the destroyers are the builders; for Israel as serving their enemies see Deut. 28:47–8 'you did not serve God . . . therefore you shall serve your enemies', also taken up in rabbinic explanation of the fall of Jerusalem (n. 90, below). Codex Sinaiticus indeed emphasizes the rôle of Israel, for it presents Greek with an additional *kai*, 'and' (*kai autoi kai*): 'even they themselves and the servants of the enemies'. In this reading Israel's involvement is clearly assumed. Yet the more abrupt text without a second *kai* has some claim to originality, for, if 'they' (*autoi*) refers to Israel, it highlights the incongruity of Israel's service to their 'enemies'. The longer text is commended, indeed, by its echo of both 'they' and 'enemies' in the first part of xvi 4, as stressed by J. Carleton Paget, *The Epistle of Barnabas: Outlook and Background* (WUNT 2.64, Tübingen, 1994), 18–19, following W. Cunningham. May it however be better viewed as an explicative expansion of the abrupt shorter text?

⁶⁹ Sponsors of this interpretation include Harnack, *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*, i, 421–8, noting (425, n. 3) that he and Schürer had both originally taken the passage as a reference to rebuilding of a Jewish temple; Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 535–6, n. 96 (see Schürer, *History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i.2 (2nd edn, Edinburgh, 1890), 290, for his account of his change of mind); R. Hvalvik, *The Struggle for Scripture and Covenant. The Purpose of the Epistle of Barnabas and Jewish-Christian Competition in the Second Century* (WUNT 2.82, Tübingen, 1996), 18–23; F. R. Prostmeier, *Der Barnabasbrief* (Kommentar zu den Apostolischen Vätern, 8; Göttingen, 1999), 117–18, 509, 512–14; J. N. Rhodes, *The Epistle of Barnabas and the Deuteronomistic Tradition* (WUNT 2.188, Tübingen, 2004), 78–87. For fuller review of its difficulties, see Carleton Paget, *The Epistle of Barnabas*, 24–6.

⁷⁰ Sponsors of this interpretation include J. B. Lightfoot, ed. J. R. Harmer, *The Apostolic Fathers . . . Revised Texts, with Short Introductions and English Translations* (London, 1891), 241;

return then to the view that the Jews and their earthly temple are meant, this understanding finds internal support in the writer's anxiety lest the addressees assimilate themselves to Israel 'as followers (*epelytoi*) of their law' (Barn. iii 6).⁷¹ At the same time it is congruent, externally, with the suggestion of the midrash that in Judaea a rebuilding was thought by Jews to be under way.

For the Christians addressed in the Epistle of Barnabas the Romans are then 'the enemies', just as the messiah destroys the eagle signifying Rome in the Apocalypse of Ezra, which was valued by Christians (II Esdras 11:1–12:39); and what others might have termed revolt against Rome is here simply called 'going to war' (*polemein*). Thus author and addressees share the hostile Jewish view of Rome found in the Apocalypse of Ezra and the Fifth Sibylline book. They can be taken likewise to have shared Jewish belief in Roman-approved rebuilding of the temple, but the date when they did so remains problematic.

A clue to dating seems to appear when elsewhere Barnabas speaks of the imminent humiliation of Roman emperors by a 'little king' – as in Daniel's vision, 'three horns' out of 'ten horns' are to be humbled under one 'little horn', before the coming of the Beloved (Barn. iv 3–5, citing Dan. 7:7–8, 24; cf. Dan. 8:9–12, 23–5). This allusion is so veiled in Danielic language, however, that it cannot be confidently assigned to a particular reign, although much speaks for a setting of this particular interpretation under Vespasian, who humbled three predecessors in the 'year of the four emperors', and as destroyer of the temple suits the sinister character of the 'little horn' in Daniel, chapters 7–8.⁷² Yet the interpretation might still have been incorporated into a composition of later date.

P. Prigent and R. A. Kraft, *Épître de Barnabé* (SC 172, Paris, 1971), 191; J. A. T. Robinson, *Redating the New Testament* (London, 1976), 314–15. For fuller review of its difficulties see Carleton Paget, *The Epistle of Barnabas*, 19–20.

⁷¹ Against the view that flesh-and-blood contemporary Jews were unimportant to the writer, as urged by Harnack, *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius*, i, 415–16, see A. Schlatter, 'Die Tage Trajans und Hadrians', reprinted in Schlatter, *Synagoge und Kirche bis zum Bar Kochba-Aufstand*, 66–7; S. Lowy, 'The Confutation of Judaism in the Epistle of Barnabas', *JJS* xi (1960), 1–33; Carleton Paget, *The Epistle of Barnabas*; Horbury, 'Jewish-Christian Relations in Barnabas and Justin Martyr'; Hvalvik, *The Struggle for Scripture and Covenant*. The view that polemic against Israel is subordinate in the Epistle to exhortation of the Christian community, as argued by Rhodes, *The Epistle of Barnabas and the Deuteronomic Tradition*, need not rule out the importance of the contemporary Jewish community for the author and addressees.

⁷² Compare Sib. v 35–6 on 'three kings' followed by 'a great destroyer of the ungodly' (Vespasian). An old actualizing interpretation of the same kind as that in the Sibyl here is preserved in Rashi on Dan. 7:7 'ten horns': 'ten kings who would arise for Rome before Vespasian, who destroyed the temple', according to the text reprinted with corrections from *Miqraot Gedolot* (Warsaw, 1862–6) in *Miqraot Gedolot* (8 vols., Jerusalem and New York, 1937–46), viii, f. 314b. What appears to be a slightly different text of this passage was compared with Barn. iv 4–5 by M. Casey, *Son of Man: the Interpretation and Influence of Daniel 7* (London, 1979), 74.

Another possible indication of date in Barnabas is its claim that physical circumcision has been abolished (ix 1–9). The *Historia Augusta*, as noted above, makes a prohibition of circumcision under Hadrian the cause of Jewish revolt (*HA* Hadrian xiv 2). When Barnabas states that the circumcision in which Jews trusted has been abolished (ix 4), just as he also claims that the Lord abolished the sacrificial cult erroneously practised by them (ii 6) and the temple in which they hoped (xvi 2) – an abolition expressed each time by the verb *katargein* – may he not, as D. R. Schwartz argued, refer in each case to historical events under Hadrian: (implicitly) to the decree on circumcision and (more explicitly) to the building of Aelia?⁷³

In all these passages, however, the abolition – not of biblical commandments themselves, but of their Jewish interpretation by means of physical circumcision, material sacrifices and a built temple – seems to be considered in the Epistle as having been conveyed in the past by prophecy which is duly quoted: Isa. 1:13 on God's dislike of offerings, new moons and sabbaths (ii 5), Jer. 4:4 on the circumcision of the heart (ix 1), and Isa. 66:1 on heaven as God's throne and the earth as his footstool (xvi 2).⁷⁴

In the case of circumcision no hint at a current event is given to confirm the argument that the abolition of the physical Jewish interpretation of circumcision was conveyed by prophecy long ago. This contrasts with Barnabas itself on the temple ('it is happening', xvi 4) and with other Christian confirmations of prophecy from current events, such as Eusebius on the exclusion of Jews from Jerusalem (*Chronicle*, Hadrian xviii–xix, translated above).

Moreover, within Barnabas the three affirmations of abolition are consistent with the theory of the Epistle that the meaning of the law was always spiritual; it was never meant to be observed in the physical and material ways which Jews have in fact adopted, and its true spiritual meaning was continually indicated within the law and the prophets in passages – such as these abolitions of physical and material misinterpretations of circumcision, sacrifice and sanctuary – which were continually ignored or misunderstood by Jews.⁷⁵

The claim in Barnabas that physical circumcision was abolished by Jer. 4:4 then suits the outlook of Barnabas on scripture, the early and

⁷³ D. R. Schwartz, 'On Barnabas and Bar-Kokhba', in Schwartz, *Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity*, 147–53, followed in the main by Rhodes, *The Epistle of Barnabas and the Deuteronomic Tradition*, 85–7; for the similar suggestion by P. Haeuser in 1912 and a response to Schwartz's proposal see Carleton Paget, *The Epistle of Barnabas*, 29–30.

⁷⁴ The relation of abolition to prophecy in each case is brought out by Carleton Paget, *The Epistle of Barnabas*, 29.

⁷⁵ Horbury, 'Jewish-Christian Relations in Barnabas and Justin Martyr', 140–2.

continued importance of the topic of circumcision in Jewish-Christian and inner-Christian discussion, and its prominence likewise in Greek and Roman allusions to Judaism in the early Roman empire; but it lacks the claim to confirmation by a current decree which might have been expected if that was feasible, and provides no more precise indication of date.

In the midrash with which Barnabas as interpreted here shares the view that temple-rebuilding is under way, the time envisaged is also disputed. No emperor is mentioned by name. The Midrash Rabbah on Genesis which relates the story was probably compiled in the fifth century, but here as sometimes elsewhere it preserves legendarily developed narratives and sayings which deserve consideration for the history of early Roman Judaea.⁷⁶ This passage brings an anecdote of Pappus and Lulianus, discussed above, together with another, possibly originally separate, about R. Joshua b. Hananiah, who is depicted elsewhere in the midrash as an interlocutor of Hadrian.

To recall the opening of the story from [Chapter 4](#), 'In the days of Joshua ben Hananiah, the empire decreed that the house of the sanctuary should be rebuilt. Pappus and Lulianus set up banks from Acco to Antioch, and supplied those who came up from the Exile . . . ' (Ber. R. lxiv 10, on Gen. 26:29). Joshua ben Hananiah is the hero of the anecdote then retailed, for he calms Jews gathered in the valley of Beth Rimmon. They are angered by subsequent withdrawal of permission for rebuilding, after objections to the emperor by the Samaritans, echoing Ezra 4:13, from their letter to Artaxerxes against the rebuilding of Jerusalem long ago; but Joshua tells the assembled Jews the story of the heron who with his beak pulled out a bone stuck in a lion's throat, but was sufficiently rewarded (said the lion) by having put his head into a lion's mouth, and drawn it out again safely.

Joshua b. Hananiah's name leaves open the period from the Flavians to Hadrian. Pappus and Lulianus, however, as noted already, are elsewhere attested as executed under Trajan (Sifra, Emor, Pereq ix 5, on Lev. 22:32 'but I will be hallowed among the children of Israel'). Yet the story in Ber. R. lxiv 10 has often been associated rather with Hadrian, for the valley of Beth Rimmon is the place, probably near Beth-el, where Hadrian is said in another midrash to have slaughtered Jews who came out from their hiding places (Lam. R. i 45, on Lam. 1:16, discussed below); and Joshua b. Hananiah is presented in other rabbinic texts in dialogue with Hadrian

⁷⁶ Thus Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 29–32, stresses that the narrative presents no clear connection with the revolt itself, but surmises that Joshua b. Hananiah's parable of the lion with a bone in its throat may genuinely reflect early second-century Roman preoccupation with the Parthian threat.

(e.g. Ber. R. x 3, on Gen. 2:1; Ber. R. xxviii 3, on Gen. 6:7, parallel with Lev. R. xviii 1, on Lev. 15:1–2).⁷⁷

Jewish belief in officially approved rebuilding was explosive enough to require attempted defusing in Barnabas from a Christian angle, and a douche of cold water from the communal leadership according to the midrash. Historians have then often been ready to envisage such belief (well or badly founded), and, sometimes, Roman approval of rebuilding – the striking feature common to both sources; but they have differed over the suggested date. Barnabas and the midrash seem to permit any date from Vespasian to Hadrian, although the link in the midrash with Pappus and Lulianus would point to Trajan, and the names Beth Rimmon and Joshua ben Hananiah can suggest Hadrian. Given the wide range of years left open, attempts at a closer dating have depended on assessments of the political climate. The highlighting of Roman hostility to the Jews under Trajan and Hadrian which was considered in [Chapter 2](#), above, discourages the location of belief in approved rebuilding to their times; but it was argued above that opinion was complex and that the Roman measures attested between 70 and the earlier years of Trajan suggest the punishment of rebels and concern for security rather than general anti-Jewish hostility.

It may then tentatively be suggested that the time in question for the belief in rebuilding attested in Barnabas and the midrash is indeed under Trajan, in his earlier years of rule, and that Jewish conviction of Roman approval for rebuilding had begun just before this, under Nerva. Nerva's reform of the Jewish tax, publicized by coinage, was part of a dramatic reversal of Domitian's policies. It may well have convinced many Jews, perhaps not without cause, that Roman objections to temple-rebuilding had been lifted. Barn. xvi 3–4 arises from the effect of these Jewish convictions on the Christian communities, towards the end of Nerva's short principate and for a time thereafter. The Danielic interpretation in Barn. iv 3–5 will have been re-applied to Nerva, who (unlike Vespasian) hardly suits the sinister character of the little horn, but (like Vespasian) can appear as a new 'offshoot' humbling 'three' (the Flavian emperors, cf. II Esdras 12:23–8) under 'one'.

When Nerva died, Trajan sought to perpetuate the sense of a new era which had been associated with his predecessor (see Pliny's *Panegyric*, and [Chapter 2](#), above). A back-handed tribute to his success in this respect as regards the Jews is the surprising claim of the Acts of Hermaiscus

⁷⁷ M. D. Herr, 'The Historical Significance of the Dialogues between Jewish Sages and Roman Dignitaries', *Scripta Hierosolymitana* xxii (1971), 121–150 (142–4); Stemberger, *Die römische Herrschaft im Urteil der Juden*, 81; Ayaso Martínez, *Iudaea Capta*, 71.

(discussed in [Chapter 4](#), with nn. 184–5) that his council was filled with Jews.⁷⁸ No doubt that is wild, but it will exaggerate a sympathy with Jews and Judaism genuinely found among some associated with senatorial circles. This would be consistent with the upper-class attraction to Judaism which was criticized by Persius under Nero and again by Juvenal under Trajan or Hadrian, and is suggested under Domitian by Cassius Dio on T. Flavius Clemens and by Epictetus (see [Chapter 3](#) with nn. 92–7, above).⁷⁹ It was probably in the early years of Trajan that Josephus issued his apology for Judaism, *contra Apionem*, and reissued his own autobiography in response to the accusations of Justus of Tiberias. These were circulated, according to Josephus (*V.* 359–60), after the death of Agrippa II, which, following Justus of Tiberias as summarized by Photius, can be placed in the year 100.⁸⁰

Later in Trajan's reign, however, fears of unrest in the eastern provinces could have begun to rule temple-rebuilding out. It may be suggested that the move towards prohibition took place in the period 106–11, when Arabia, hitherto the client kingdom of Nabataea, was being reduced to the form of a province – a change in status first advertised in 111, although the annexation was five years earlier.⁸¹ This reduction, begun probably on the death of king Rabbel II, was indeed called the 'acquisition' rather than the 'capture' of Arabia; coin legends of the year 111 onwards run *Arabia adquisita*, not *Arabia capta*, and the image of Arabia on these coins as a standing woman with a camel in the background betokens peace and prosperity rather than subjugation.⁸² Correspondingly, Trajan never took the title *Arabicus*. There cannot then have been full-scale war, yet annexation was probably not accomplished without some repression of resistance. Safaitic inscriptions which mention what can be taken with fair probability as Rome (*rm*) include a reference to 'the year of the revolt of the Nabataeans against Rome', and a Nabataean inscription might indicate a king Malichus after

⁷⁸ The claim about Trajan was linked with Nerva's coin legend, as noted in [Chapter 3](#), above, by Weber, 'Eine Gerichtshandlung vor Kaiser Traian', 64–5.

⁷⁹ A similar view is taken by Alvar, 'Trajano y las religiones del Imperio', in J. Alvar and José M. a Blázquez (eds.), *Traiano* (Madrid, 2003), 189–212 (2004, at this point following R. Paribeni).

⁸⁰ Photius, *Bibliotheca*, no. 33, on Justus of Tiberias, as discussed in [Chapter 3](#) n. 118, above.

⁸¹ Bowersock, *Roman Arabia*, 79–85; P. Freeman, 'The Annexation of Arabia and Imperial Grand Strategy', in D. L. Kennedy (ed.), *The Roman Army in the East* (JRA Supplement Series 18, Ann Arbor, MI, 1996), 91–118 (it was originally local Roman intervention in reaction to disturbance); M. Sartre, *The Middle East under Rome* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 2005), 133–5; U. Hackl, H. Jenni, and C. Schneider, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Nabatäer: Textsammlung mit Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus 51, Freiburg, Schweiz and Göttingen, 2003), 52–4.

⁸² D. Keller, discussing a large number of examples, in Hackl, Jenni, and Schneider, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Nabatäer*, 114–16, on item A.001.05.

Rabbel II.⁸³ Struggles at the time of annexation are indeed suggested by Cassius Dio as epitomized by Xiphilinus (lxviii 14, 5): 'Palma the governor of Syria tamed [*echeirosato*] Arabia which is in the neighbourhood of Petra, and made it subject to the Romans'.⁸⁴ Similarly, in the fourth century Ammianus Marcellinus wrote that Trajan made Arabia obey the Roman laws 'when the upswelling of the inhabitants had been often repressed', *incolarum tumore saepe contunso*.⁸⁵ The coins noted above do not rule all resistance out, for five years after the annexation the presentation of a peaceful province would have formed the best publicity.⁸⁶

This unrest was occurring in a province closely linked with Judaea. Two populous Jewish regions bordered on Arabia: Idumaea west and south of the Dead Sea, and further north Peraea, projecting into Arabia east of the northern end of the Dead Sea and the river Jordan, from Machaerus northwards to the border of Pella (Josephus, *B.J.* iii 47). In the Nabataean kingdom of Arabia, relatively settled inhabitants mingled with tribes given to banditry.⁸⁷

Arab-Jewish relations were inevitably close but often strained, as already emerges with regard to the Nabataeans in I Maccabees (contrast the friendship of 5:24–5 with the enmity of 9:35–42). Other Jewish literature of the Hasmonaean age, notably the influential book of Jubilees, can stress the kinship between Israelites and Arabs, as at 20:1–13 (Abraham blesses Isaac, son of his first wife Sarah, together with the forefathers of the Arabs – Ishmael, his son by Sarah's handmaid Hagar, and the sons of his second wife Keturah); but final war against Ishmael and the sons of Keturah, like other foreign nations, is expected in the Qumran War Scroll (1QS ii 13).⁸⁸ Arabian wars, against the Nabataean kingdom, were conducted by Alexander Jannaeus and Herod the Great; Jews held that Varus's Arab allies had pursued their own private hatreds in ravaging the district of

⁸³ Hackl, Jenni, and Schneider, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Nabatäer*, 52–3, 417, with the presentation of these inscriptions at 154–9 (D.b.01–2, D.c.01, D.d.01, and, on 'the revolt of the Nabataeans . . .', D.d.02), 163–4 (D.g.02), 343–5 (Q.047.21, on king Malichus).

⁸⁴ So Bowersock, *Roman Arabia*, 79–82. The Greek verb *cheiráo* used in Dio can have the sense of 'tame' and seems to correspond here to the use of Latin *domo* for the subjugation of alien nations, exemplified in connection with the Jews in Tacitus, *Hist.* v 9, on Pompey, and in the inscription on the lost Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus, on Titus, both quoted in Chapter 3, above.

⁸⁵ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* xiv 8, 13, discussed in Hackl, Jenni, and Schneider, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Nabatäer*, 416–18.

⁸⁶ So Keller in Hackl, Jenni, and Schneider, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Nabatäer*, item A.001.05, p. 116; similarly Schneider, *ibid.*, 417.

⁸⁷ Bowersock, *Roman Arabia*, 19–20.

⁸⁸ These works are discussed with others by D. Mendels, 'The Attitude of Hasmonaean Literature towards the Arabs', Appendix B in Mendels, *The Land of Israel as a Political Concept in Hasmonaean Literature* (Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum, 15, Tübingen, 1987), 145–54.

Sappho (in the Shephelah, north of Beth-horon and about eight miles north-east of Emmaus-Nicopolis); and the Nabataean king Aretas IV of Arabia made war on his former son-in-law Herod Antipas over the repudiation of his daughter and territorial disputes (Josephus, *Ant.* xiii 375, 392; xv 147–60; *B.J.* ii 69–70; *Ant.* xviii 109–115). Under Claudius, Peraean Jews made incursions into territory claimed by Philadelphia (Amman), and the Judaeen arch-brigand Tholomaeus harassed both ‘Idumaea and the Arabs’ (Josephus, *Ant.* xx 2–5).⁸⁹ In Vespasian’s siege of Jerusalem, atrocity charges were levelled at Arab as well as Syrian soldiers (Josephus, *B.J.* v 551–6), and maltreatment by Arabs, ‘the most blemished of the gentiles’, figures again in versions of rabbinic anecdotes of the aftermath.⁹⁰

There was, however, a considerable Jewish population in Arabia itself, attested at the time of the early Roman empire through inscriptions and, in the regions to the east and south of the Dead Sea, through deeds in the archives of Babatha and Salome Komäise.⁹¹ St Paul’s sojourn in Arabia (Gal. 1:17) can best be understood with this Jewish population and its Nabataean connections in view, and co-operation against him between Aretas IV and Jewish authorities may form the background of his escape from Damascus (II Cor. 11:32–3, cf. Acts 9:23–5).⁹² Yet the tensions already noted between the two communities will have been recurrent. The midrashic story of the heron and the bone might then suit the time of annexation under Trajan if Jews in Arabia and the neighbouring parts of Judaea, including Peraea, had proved unwilling to join in unrest and showed their support for direct Roman rule – thus helping to withdraw the bone of Arab resistance from the lion’s throat.

There may therefore be a setting in the early years of Trajan for the situation presupposed in Barnabas and the midrash.⁹³ The activity of

⁸⁹ The dispute with Philadelphia (then a city of the Decapolis) was over the boundaries of Zia, a village ‘full of warriors’ which, it has been suggested, formed part of a line of fortresses and strong points constructed by Herod on his Nabataean frontier; see A. Kasher, *Jews, Idumaeans and Ancient Arabs* (Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 18, Tübingen, 1988), 154–5, with map.

⁹⁰ Mekhilta, Bahodesh, i, on Exod. 19:1 (as foretold in Deut. 28:47–8 (n. 68, above) Israel, who would not be subject to God, are now subject to the ‘blemished’ Arabs) and Lam. R. i 47, on 1:16 (widow of High Priest tied by the hair to the tails of Arabs’ horses), discussed by Kasher, *Jews, Idumaeans and Ancient Arabs*, 203–5.

⁹¹ S. Noja, ‘Testimonie antiche epigrafiche di Giudei nell’ Arabia settentrionale’, *Bibbia e Oriente* xxi (1979), 283–316; on the deeds see further this chapter, below, with n. 194.

⁹² Aretas’s ethnarch (only) is mentioned in II Corinthians, the Jews (only) are mentioned in Acts; Arab-Jewish co-operation is often rejected as too facile a reconciliation of the sources, but its possibility is justly affirmed, with Paul’s Arabian sojourn immediately beforehand in view, by M. Hengel and A. M. Schwemer, *Paul between Damascus and Antioch* (London, 1997), 128–32.

⁹³ For past datings under Trajan see Joel, *Blicke in die Religionsgeschichte zu Anfang des zweiten christlichen Jahrhunderts*, i, 10–42; Finkelstein, *Akiba*, 216–34.

Pappus and Lulianus which is connected in this story with temple-building may however have supported slightly later immigration which formed part of the background of the 'war of Quietus' at the end of Trajan's reign, as suggested in [Chapter 4](#).

To summarize, Barn. xvi 3–4 and Ber. R. lxiv 10 reflect genuine expectation of officially approved rebuilding. This point is common to scholars who relate the sources to various times, whether the beginning of Hadrian's reign or the reigns of Nerva or Trajan. This Jewish expectation can be ascribed, with a modest degree of probability, to the period between Nerva's reform of the Jewish tax and Trajan's reduction of Arabia to the form of a province.

A comparably concessive Roman mood is unlikely after the Trajanic revolt. The matter may have been differently assessed, however, by some Jews at the beginning of Hadrian's reign. They will have welcomed the dismissal of Quietus and the end of the Roman attack on Parthia. The Sibyl's acclamation of Hadrian as 'an excellent (*panaristos*) man who understands all things' (Sib. v 48), discussed in the previous chapter in connection with Alexandria, combines with rabbinic anecdotes favourable to Hadrian to strengthen the likelihood that he would have been welcomed with hope by many in the divided Jewish community – for both in the diaspora and in Judaea a positive tradition on Hadrian could still circulate after the repression of Bar Kokhba.⁹⁴ In this extended Sibylline oracle on the Caesars he compares with the 'venerable' Nerva, but contrasts with Vespasian, called a destroyer of the godly, and the bellicose Trajan, who cannot escape an unseemly doom (Sib. v 36, 41, 44). Yet, given the recent Jewish revolts in Egypt, Cyrene, Cyprus and elsewhere, it seems unlikely that he or his advisers would have wished to allow the rebuilding of the temple.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ So Stemberger, *Die römische Herrschaft im Urteil der Juden*, 80–1, in the course of a survey of both positive and negative texts (considered more fully by Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 194–244); Hengel, 'Hadrians Politik gegenüber Juden und Christen', 360–7. The double aspect of the rabbinic portrait of Hadrian broadly corresponds to his two-sided Roman depiction, as brought out in the literary and historical study of Hadrian in the midrash by Galit Hasan-Rokem, *Tales of the Neighborhood: Jewish Narrative Dialogues in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 2003), 86–137 (126); but the survival of a positive side in a tradition which also cursed him as a persecutor perhaps remains easier to understand if there had been a positive response to his rule in part of the community.

⁹⁵ For datings of a concession early in Hadrian's reign see Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden vom Untergang des jüdischen Staates bis zum Abschluss des Talmud* (1853), 148–52, 510–13; Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine*, 412–20; M. D. Herr, 'Persecution and Martyrdom in Hadrian's Days', *Scripta Hierosolymitana* xxiii (1972), 85–125 (91–3); Herr, 'The Causes of the Bar-Kokhba War', *Zion* xliii (1978), 1–11 (4–5), and further authors cited by Isaac and Oppenheimer, 'The Revolt of Bar Kokhba: Ideology and Modern Scholarship', 235–6.

The founding of Aelia

Cassius Dio, as noted already, explains the revolt as caused by the founding of Aelia (Dio lxix 12, 1–2). In combination with the indications of date from Dio and other sources discussed above, this suggests that the foundation took place before 132, probably during Hadrian's visit in 130. Yet it is not clear that the plans were already being implemented before the revolt broke out.

As noted already, a source used by Epiphanius and the Paschal Chronicle puts the foundation over a decade earlier, at the beginning of Hadrian's reign – in the case of the Paschal Chronicle, also after the Bar Kokhba war.⁹⁶ This very early date for the foundation seems unlikely, but two finds of Aelia Capitolina coins together with Bar Kokhba coins in deposits believed to have been made during the Bar Kokhba war have suggested that pre-war building had gone so far that coins were already being minted in Aelia when war broke out in 132.⁹⁷ In the case of both finds, however, there remains some doubt whether the relevant coins were indeed deposited at the same time.⁹⁸

At any rate, a foundation date of 130, or at least planning for it, would be consistent with other events dated to the time of Hadrian's advent. Thus a series of Roman milestones in Judaea are dated to 129–30, indicating new road construction.⁹⁹ These include milestones on the road from Jerusalem to Beth Gubrin which passed immediately below the hill of Khirbet el-Yahud at Beththera, the site of Bar Kokhba's last defence in 135. Planning for a foundation would also be consistent with the unusual transfer of marines into Legio X Fretensis before 130 noted above. Many Jews, for their part, will have hoped for a positive result from Hadrian's visit, as suggested by the Jewish sources favourable to Hadrian noted already. Expectations will have centred on Jerusalem and the temple.

⁹⁶ See Chapter 3, above, with nn. 235–9; this chapter, above, with nn. 38–40.

⁹⁷ Y. Meshorer, *The Coinage of Aelia Capitolina* (Jerusalem, 1989), 19, on a find near Hebron noted from an earlier reference by Meshorer in Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 541, n. 118; H. Eshel, 'The Date of the Founding of Aelia Capitolina', in L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov and J. V. VanderKam (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after Their Discovery* (Jerusalem, 2000), 636–43, on coins discovered north-east of Jerusalem in a cave in the Wadi Suweinit, the gorge of biblical Michmash, which runs down eastwards towards Jericho via the Wadi Qelt.

⁹⁸ Y. Tsafir, 'Numismatics and the Foundation of Aelia Capitolina – a Critical Review', in Schäfer (ed.), *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, 31–6.

⁹⁹ B. Isaac, 'Milestones in Judaea: from Vespasian to Constantine', *PEQ* cx (1978), 47–60, repr. with Postscript in Isaac, *The Roman Near East*, 48–75 (49–50); Isaac, 'Roman Colonies in Judaea: the Foundation of Aelia Capitolina', 100–1; Isaac and I. Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea*, i, *The Legio-Scythopolis Road* (BAR International Series 141, Oxford, 1982), 91–2; Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, III.

Cassius Dio explains the revolt as caused by the settlement of a city named Aelia 'instead of the city which had been overthrown', and the raising, 'into the place of the temple of the god, of another temple to Zeus'. The Jews were appalled 'that foreigners should be settled in their city, and alien religious rites (*hiera*) set up in it' (Dio lxix 12, 1–2); *hiera*, 'sacred things', probably here means 'rites', but can also signify sacred objects like cult statues which would indeed have been envisaged in Jewish objections. This explanation does not mention that foreigners and their rites had had a place in Jerusalem since 70, through the camp of X Freten-sis and the dedications associated with the army presence, as noted in [Chapter 4](#). The Jewish sense of grievance is no doubt rightly reflected in Dio, but it will have been an old grievance now aggravated by plans which brought no remedy for it, above all, as other sources show, by a failure to allow for rebuilding of the Jewish temple.

Eusebius, by contrast with Dio, mentions the founding of Aelia only after he has described the suppression of the revolt (*Chronicle*, Hadrian xx; *History*, iv 6, 4). The same impression is conveyed by the Mishnah, in its list of the lamentable events which took place on 9 Ab: 'On 9 Ab it was decreed against our fathers that they should not enter into the land [in the time of Moses, Num. 14:26–35, Ps. 95:10–11], and the house of the sanctuary was destroyed the first and the second time, and Bethther was taken, and the city was ploughed' – the 'ploughing' of the city for the new foundation being set after the fall of Beththera. The combination of these two local sources, Eusebius and the Mishnah, makes it hard to accept Dio's account simply as it stands.

Strikingly, Eusebius is also silent about the temple of Zeus, not only in his historical works, but also elsewhere when he gives local information to show that the prophecies of the desolation of Jerusalem were fulfilled (*Dem. Ev.* viii 3–4). This silence in Eusebius is consistent, however, with the emphasis of the Christian source on Aelia used by Epiphanius and others and discussed above. As represented in the Paschal Chronicle it states that Hadrian, 'pulling down the temple of the Jews', founded baths and other public buildings, named in a list, but it does not explicitly mention a temple of Zeus, although the threefold Capitoline temple may be hidden under the name 'the Trikamaron'.¹⁰⁰ Its emphasis falls rather on Hadrian's failure to rebuild the temple of the Lord. Hadrian planned 'to found the city, but not the temple' (Epiphanius); similarly, 'he began to found the city and its

¹⁰⁰ Dindorf (ed.), *Chronicon Paschale*, i, 474 (Olympiad 224, year 3); Isaac, 'Jerusalem – an Introduction', 20.

walls, but not the temple' (*Timothy and Aquila*).¹⁰¹ This omission will have weighed heavily with many contemporary Jews, as noted already, but it was also important for Christian polemic, as the erection of a pagan temple on the same spot would likewise have been. The silence of both Eusebius and the source connected with the church of Aelia on a temple of Zeus on the site of the former holy place suggests that there was no replacement of the old temple by a temple of Zeus on the same site. This, however, is the subject of ongoing debate.

The sparse archaeological and numismatic evidence seems to indicate that a Capitol was built elsewhere in the city. Statues, as noted above, rather than a temple of Zeus, are mentioned on the site of the Jewish temple. Yet the vast temple site was probably at least in part used as a public space, as is suggested by the statues. The attribution to the period of Aelia Capitolina of stonework in Wilson's Arch, which carries a road from the city on the high ground to the west, near the present Jaffa Gate, over the road down the Tyropoeon Valley and on to the Herodian esplanade, independently indicates access to the temple site. The Capitol is accordingly sometimes located there.¹⁰² Yet the bridge might have been needed for other purposes, including legionary access, if part of the site was used as a fort. There is also a case for holding that the site, though accessible, was effectively just outside Hadrian's Aelia, as might be suggested for the Byzantine age by the Madaba mosaic map of Jerusalem.¹⁰³

Cassius Dio's account was probably not simply wrong on the temple of Zeus, although that is possible.¹⁰⁴ The phrase 'into the place of' in Xiphilinus's epitome here (*es topon*, lxix 12, 1) should probably be understood to mean that a temple of Zeus was to be built 'instead of', rather than 'on the site of', the old temple.¹⁰⁵ This interpretation also seems preferable to the view that Xiphilinus alone was responsible for this phrase and that it was

¹⁰¹ Epiphanius, *Mens. et Pond.*, xiv, PG xliii 261; *Timothy and Aquila* f. 118^r, in Conybeare (ed.), *The Dialogues of Athanasius and Zacchaeus and of Timothy and Aquila*, 91.

¹⁰² So J. Magness, *The Archaeology of the Holy Land from the Destruction of Solomon's Temple to the Muslim Conquest* (Cambridge, 2012), 284.

¹⁰³ J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem as Jesus Knew It* (London, 1978), 178–9; Bieberstein and Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem*, i, 144–6; J. Murphy O'Connor, 'The Location of the Capitol in Aelia Capitolina', *RB* ci (1994), 407–15; Y. Z. Eliav, 'The Urban Layout of Aelia Capitolina', in Schäfer, *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, 241–77.

¹⁰⁴ On the value of Dio's report see Isaac, 'Cassius Dio on the Revolt of Bar Kokhba'.

¹⁰⁵ G. W. Bowersock, 'A Roman Perspective on the Bar Kochba War', in W. S. Green (ed.), *Approaches to Ancient Judaism*, ii (Chico, CA, 1980), 131–41 (137), noting attestation in E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (New York, 1887), s. *topos*, of *es topon* as 'instead of' in Greek authors of the early Roman empire.

meant, on an erroneous impression of what had happened in Jerusalem, to be understood as ‘on the site of’.¹⁰⁶

In any case, however, Dio together with Eusebius and the source used by Epiphanius and others suggest that the plans for Aelia Capitolina would have offended not specifically through the erection of a temple of Zeus on the old temple site, but rather through an increased intrusion of alien settlers and rites (including Hadrian’s favoured cult of Zeus) into the old holy city, in addition to the body of gentile soldiery and their observances already found in the army camp, with a concomitant failure to rebuild the temple of the Lord. In the event Aelia will have been built after the repression of Bar Kokhba, as Eusebius and the Mishnah suggest, and perhaps only at that point would the punitive exclusion of Jews from the new city have been added to the plans; but the original plans to admit new aliens and their cults, and perhaps at the same time to omit any reconstruction of the Jewish temple, would have been made known about the year 130 and would have constituted a provocation to many Jews and to some in the now fairly significant Judaeen Christian community.

Circumcision

The prohibition of circumcision is named as cause in the Life of Hadrian in the *Historia Augusta* (‘because they were forbidden to mutilate their genitals’, *HA* Hadrian xiv 2). The mockery with which this is related may make it suspect.¹⁰⁷ Yet this particular Life is often informative, and here too it probably has some connection with events.¹⁰⁸

As it stands, however, this statement would imply hostility to the Jews before the outbreak of war. The ancestral practice of circumcision by ‘the curtailed Jews’ (‘curti Iudaei’, Horace, *Sat.* i 9, 70) was so well known

¹⁰⁶ Boissevain, *Cassii Dionis Cocceiani historiarum romanarum quae supersunt*, iii, 102, recognizing the hand of Xiphilinus here; Murphy O’Connor, ‘The Location of the Capitol in Aelia Capitolina’, 414–5; Y. Z. Eliav, ‘Hadrian’s Actions in the Jerusalem Temple Mount according to Cassius Dio and Xiphilini Manus’, *JSQ* iv (1997), 125–44, finding a (debatable) discontinuity between the words he attributes to Xiphilinus in lxix 12, 1 and the sequel in 12, 2 which he attributes to Dio, and taking ‘the temple of the god’ as a Christian phrase, as in II Thess. 2:4, whereas it seems compatible with Cassius Dio, who (as Eliav also notes) in the part of his work surviving as a whole calls the Jerusalem temple ‘the *temenos* of the god’ (xlix 22, 4).

¹⁰⁷ Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity*, 473–4.

¹⁰⁸ For its relatively sober and informative character and its debt to a good Latin source earlier than 250 see T. D. Barnes, as cited in [Chapter 2](#), n. 28, above; for discussion of interpretative possibilities, Fündling, *Kommentar zur Vita Hadriani der Historia Augusta*, ii, 671–3 (K 304, on xiv 2).

that even if a general Roman measure which applied also to non-Jews who practised circumcision were in question here, the absence of a saving clause for Jews would imply anti-Jewish hostility. Yet it remains a question whether such hostility can be envisaged before the outbreak of revolt.

Probably, therefore, as has often been suggested, this passing reference in the life of Hadrian arises from a punitive ban imposed in Judaea after rebellion had begun. A striking attempt to combine this view with the notice almost as it stands was M. Hengel's suggestion that the first news of revolt reached Hadrian while he was still finishing the temple of Zeus begun by Antiochus Epiphanes; he responded by ordering this ban, at the very beginning of the revolt, on the pattern of Antiochus's own endeavour to 'take away superstition and bestow Greek customs' in Judaea, as Tacitus had put it.¹⁰⁹ In any case, a ban imposed now or later during the revolt is probably reflected in the *Historia Augusta* here.

Material on circumcision in Roman legal texts and rabbinic literature seems not to settle the question whether the ban came before or after the rebellion began. Hadrian indeed issued a rescript of unknown date forbidding castration on pain of death and confiscation of goods;

the divine Hadrian responded: it is laid down already that none should be made eunuchs, but those who are convicted on this charge should incur the penalty of the Lex Cornelia [concerning murderers and poisoners], and their goods should rightly be claimed for my exchequer . . . but if anyone acts in contravention of my edict, for the doctor who performs the excision it shall be a capital offence, and so also for anyone who of his own free will has presented himself for the excision.¹¹⁰

Thereby Hadrian strengthened existing prohibitions of castration by Domitian and Nerva, to be viewed in connection with the importance of trade in castrated slaves.¹¹¹ These laws seem, however, not to have affected

¹⁰⁹ Hengel, 'Hadrians Politik gegenüber Juden und Christen', repr. in Hengel, *Judaica et Hellenistica: Kleine Schriften I*, 381–4 (quoting Tacitus, *Hist.* v 8, 2, on the effort of Antiochus *demere superstitionem et mores Graecorum dare*).

¹¹⁰ Ulpian, *De Officio Proconsulis*, 7, quoted in *Digest* xlviii 8.4, 2, 'Divus Hadrianus rescripsit: constitutum quidem est, ne spadones fierent, eos autem, qui hoc crimine arguerentur, Corneliae legis poena teneri eorumque bona merito fisco meo vindicare debere . . . At si quis adversus edictum meum fecerit, medico quidem, qui exciderit, capitale erit, item ipsi qui se sponte excidendum praebuit', discussed by Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 538–9, n. 107; A. M. Rabello, 'The Ban on Circumcision as a Cause of Bar Kokhba's Rebellion', *Israel Law Review* xxix (1995), 176–214, reprinted with the same pagination in A. M. Rabello, *The Jews in The Roman Empire: Legal Problems, from Herod to Justinian* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT, 2000); Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 39; Schäfer, *Judeophobia*, 104–5.

¹¹¹ For Domitian see Suetonius, *Domitian*, vii 4 'he forbade males to be castrated', *castrari mares vetuit*, and Cassius Dio lxxii 2, 3; for Nerva, Cassius Dio lxxiii 2, 4 'among his laws was one forbidding

Jewish circumcision, for thereafter Tacitus names it among those Jewish institutions which are ‘perverted and foul’, *instituta sinistra foeda*, still without calling it unlawful; and he and Juvenal still complain about Romans who accept it.¹¹²

Yet polemic could treat circumcision as castration, as Horace on *curti Iudaei* together with famous Pauline invective shows; both were forms of cutting off.¹¹³ Now in a legal context circumcision is expressly mentioned in connection with castration, in a rescript of Hadrian’s successor Antoninus Pius: ‘by a rescript of the divine Pius it is permitted to Jews to circumcise their sons, only; any who circumcises someone not of the same religion incurs the penalty due to a castrator’.¹¹⁴ Pius’s rescript is therefore widely understood as a mitigation of the Hadrianic decree on castration, which (as its vocabulary of ‘excision’ or ‘cutting off’ might suggest) could, it is thought, have been understood to prohibit circumcision also.¹¹⁵

Yet, as has appeared, this understanding of Hadrian’s rescript is open to question from Roman comment on circumcision. Again, polemic took various forms, and circumcision could be seen as a sign not of emasculation but of unrestrained lust.¹¹⁶ In any case, it is doubtful whether, in the administration of law, castration would have been taken without further discussion to include circumcision. Thus an edict of Hadrian makes it

anyone to be made a eunuch’, with a *senatusconsultum* from the consulship of Neratius Priscus and Annius Verus, during Nerva’s principate, quoted in *Digest* xlviii 8.6 (anyone who has a slave castrated is fined half his property); see R. Abusch, ‘Negotiating Difference: Genital Mutilation in Roman Slave Law and the History of the Bar Kokhba Revolt’, in Schäfer (ed.), *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, 71–91 (74–5).

¹¹² Tacitus, *Hist.* v 5, 1–2; Juvenal, xiv 96–104; see [Chapter 3](#), nn. 114, 127, above.

¹¹³ Gal. 5:12 ‘I wish those who unsettle you [by demanding circumcision] would castrate themselves’; Phil. 3:2 ‘beware of [those who claim to belong to “the circumcision”, but are better called] the “concision”, *katatomé* [cutting off] – for it is we who are the circumcision’.

¹¹⁴ *Digest* xlviii 8.11, 1 (from Modestinus, *Regulae*, book vi) ‘Circumcidere Iudaeis filios suos tantum rescripto divi Pii permittitur: in non eiusdem religionis qui hoc fecerit, castrantis poena irrogatur’, discussed by Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 539, n. 108; Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 40–3; Schäfer, *Judeophobia*, 104–5.

¹¹⁵ Sponsors include Münter, *Der jüdische Krieg unter den Kaisern Trajan und Hadrian*, 36–7; Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 538–40; Alon, *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age (70–640CE)*, 583; F. Stummer, ‘Beschneidung’, *RAC* ii (1954), cols. 159–69; Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 429; Bowersock, ‘A Roman Perspective on the Bar Kokhba War’, 135; Mildenberg, *The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War*, 106–9; Rabello, ‘The Ban on Circumcision as a Cause of Bar Kokhba’s Rebellion’, 185–95 (with emphasis on the Hadrianic use of *excido*, ‘cut off’, in *Digest* xlviii 8.4, 2 (n. 72, above) as probably covering both castration and circumcision).

¹¹⁶ P. Cordier, ‘Les Romains et la Circoncision’, *REJ* clx (2001), 337–55 urges that circumcision was viewed by Romans in this way, rather than as mutilation, until the end of the second century; but note the Pauline passages cited above.

explicit that crushing of the testicles does come within the scope of the law against castration, and shows thereby that this scope could be narrowly construed.¹¹⁷

Pius's rescript can then better be taken as an answer specifically on circumcision, not necessarily in the context of an extended understanding of Hadrian's rescript on castration. It would have been elicited, possibly by a Jew of standing, in the context of Roman concern over the spread of alien cults, its emphasis now being seen to fall on the phrases 'their sons, only' and 'not of the same religion', or in connection still with the treatment of slaves, perhaps with regard to the position of non-Jewish slaves in a Jewish household.¹¹⁸ The situation of diaspora as well as Judaeans Jews amid these abiding Roman concerns, expressed by Tacitus and Juvenal, was now exacerbated by widespread knowledge of the punitive prohibition of circumcision in Judaea during and after rebellion. Pius's rescript can perhaps most plausibly be set at a time when it had been decided to relax that prohibition.

This attestation of measures of Hadrian and Pius concerning castration and circumcision thus still leaves open the question whether the ban mentioned in the *Historia Augusta* on Hadrian came before or during the war. Second, however, some rabbinic texts likely to bear on the period before rebellion broke out have been taken to suggest that the ban was indeed then already in force. Thus in the Mishnah 'he who breaks the covenant of Abraham our father' stands in a list of those who have no portion in the world to come (Aboth iii 11 [12, 15]). This saying is in the name of Eleazar of Modin, who according to a rabbinic tradition was Bar Kokhba's uncle and was killed by him in Bethar on a false suspicion of treason.¹¹⁹ The covenant-breaking in view here is probably the operation known as epispasm, the drawing forward of the foreskin to give the appearance of uncircumcision.¹²⁰ In the early Roman period it could be associated in

¹¹⁷ Abusch, 'Negotiating Difference', 77–8, quoting *Digest* xlviii 8.5 'hi quoque, qui thlibias faciunt, ex constitutione divi Hadriani ad Ninnium Hastam in eadem causa sunt, qua hi qui castrant'.

¹¹⁸ J. Geiger, 'The Ban on Circumcision and the Bar-Kokhba Revolt', *Zion* xli (1976), 139–47 (in Hebrew; alien cults); Cordier, 'Les Romains et la Circoncision' (alien cults); Abusch, 'Negotiating Difference', 84–9 (mutilation of slaves).

¹¹⁹ Talmud Yerushalmi, Taanith iv 8, 68d–69a, parallel with Lam. R. ii 4, on Lam. 2:2; Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 173–4, allows that Eleazar could have still been alive during the revolt, but otherwise finds no historical value in the narrative.

¹²⁰ 'He who breaks the covenant' is interpreted as 'he who draws forward his foreskin' in discussion of lists of those who have no portion in the world to come in Talmud Yerushalmi, Peah i 1, 16b; Sanh. x 1, 27c. See A. Oppenheimer, 'The Ban on Circumcision as a Cause of the Revolt: a Reconsideration', in Schäfer (ed.), *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, 55–69, reprinted in Oppenheimer, *Between Rome and Babylon*, 243–55 (251–2).

Jewish thought with persecution, as prophecy in the Assumption of Moses shows (8:1–2, on epispasm practised under threat or compulsion); the occasion for it is, however, as likely to be the non-violent pressure of assimilation as that of a Roman ban (compare I Macc. 3:15, I Cor. 7:18 for epispasm in peacetime).

Again, notable among references to circumcision under persecution is a ruling in the Mishnah to the effect that, in the time of ‘danger’ (the application of this word to persecution is discussed below), on the sabbath the circumcision knife may be carried covered (Shabb. xix 1). This ruling continues and qualifies a saying in the name of Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, who flourished in the late Flavian period, prescribing that a circumcision knife carried on the sabbath should be uncovered – in order to show that the object being carried is one that can legitimately be carried on the sabbath. The qualification concerning a time of danger has also been ascribed to Eliezer ben Hyrcanus and has therefore been taken to indicate Hadrianic persecution before the revolt.¹²¹ It need not do so, however, for in the Babylonian Talmud the qualification is ascribed not simply to Eliezer but to Judah ben Ilai in his name; Judah, who probably was responsible for it, was active after Bar Kokhba.¹²²

In any case, the idea of times when it was dangerous to perform the rite of circumcision had long been familiar (see the narrative of persecution at the time of the Maccabean revolt in I Macc. 1:48–64, and the prophecy of crucifixion on account of circumcision in the Assumption of Moses 8:1). Persecution for the sake of the Law was a theme of II Esdras and Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, doubtless strengthened by experience of the suppression of revolt under Vespasian; ‘they endured danger every hour, that they might keep the law of the Lawgiver perfectly’ (II Esdras 7:89).¹²³ There is no need to align the qualification exactly with a particular contemporary time of danger.

¹²¹ A. Büchler, ‘Die Schauplätze des Bar-Kochbakrieges und die auf diesen bezogenen jüdischen Nachrichten’, *JQR* xvi (1904), 143–205 (157–8) (long before 135); Alon, *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age (70–640 CE)*, 423–4 (inclining against the view taken below that the qualification relates to Judah ben Ilai’s knowledge of the Bar Kokhba war); Mantel, ‘The Causes of the Bar Kokhba Revolt’, 292 (also taking it, however, to indicate the outbreak of guerrilla war some years before 132); S. Lieberman, ‘Rediphat dat yisra’el’, in S. Lieberman and A. Hyman (eds.), *Salomon Wittmayer Baron Jubilee Volume* (Jerusalem, 1974–5), iii, 213–45 (222, n. 4; 228) (associating it with HA Hadrian xiv 2 as evidence for a general Roman measure which was not specifically aimed at Jews, but was the earliest Hadrianic persecution in its effects).

¹²² Babylonian Talmud, Shabbath 130a, discussed by Oppenheimer, ‘The Ban on Circumcision as a Cause of the Revolt: a Reconsideration’, *Between Rome and Babylon*, 247–9.

¹²³ ‘Omni hora sustinuerunt periculum, uti perfecte custodirent legislatoris legem’, II Esdras 7:89; cf. Josephus, *B.J.* ii 152–3 (Essene sufferings for Judaism in the war against the Romans); *Ap.* i 191–3; ii 219, 232–5, 277, 283 (torments [*anangkai*, for this sense cf. II Cor. 12:10] on behalf of the laws).

Thus neither rabbinic texts nor evidences for Roman legislation settle the question whether circumcision was banned before the revolt, as the *Historia Augusta* asserts. Probably, as suggested already, a punitive ban introduced during the suppression of the revolt, on the pattern known already in Judaea from the First Revolt against Rome, has been transmuted here into a cause – perhaps after revolt had flared up again in the early years of Antoninus Pius, as suggested below, when it might indeed seem to an outside observer that revolt was occasioned by a ban on circumcision.

The announcement of the foundation of Aelia seems, therefore, to have the best claim to be considered the immediate occasion of the revolt. A Roman colony with ‘Greek’ (gentile) inhabitants and Graeco-Roman cult was to be imposed on the site of the Jews ‘most holy city’, as Appian called it. Dio’s indications of the stumbling blocks – foreign colonists and strange rites – are complemented by that given in patristic tradition – failure to rebuild the temple. This will have been momentous, in view of the lively hope for a concession here attested jointly by Jewish and Christian writings.

The likely effect of the announcement on Jews attached to their ancestral traditions can be gauged from the prayers for the final rebuilding of city and sanctuary preserved in the biblical psalter and later texts. Thus the urgent Ps. 102:14–17 ‘thou shalt arise, thou shalt have mercy upon Zion; for it is time to show grace to her, for the appointed time has come – for her stones are dear to thy servants, and it pitieth them to see her dust’ is taken up in Ben Sira’s prayer for mercy on the holy city and for the appearance of divine glory in the temple (Ecclus. 36:13–14). The thought of the ‘appointed time’ will have come to the fore again in the 130s, the last decade of seventy years since the destruction by Titus, since the seventy years’ desolation prophesied by Jeremiah (25:12, 29:10) after the destruction of the first temple was held to have ended with the rebuilding of the house of God under Cyrus, as is stated in II Chron. 36:21–3, and the same pattern could be expected to recur.¹²⁴

Moreover, Jerusalem and the sanctuary are interconnected in thought with Davidic kingship and messianic hope, as seen for example in Psalms 2, 122 and 132, and this threefold link recurred near the time of Pompey in the prayer of Ps. Sol. 17:32–5, where the son of David shall renew the holiness of Jerusalem, and again, after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, in the

¹²⁴ This point is brought out, with reference also to elaborations of Jeremiah in Daniel 9 and elsewhere, by R. Deines, ‘How Long? God’s Revealed Schedule for Salvation and the Outbreak of the Bar Kokhba Revolt’.

hopes of the Apocalypse of Ezra and the Fifth Sibylline book.¹²⁵ Near the time of Bar Kokhba the link between hopes for city, temple and messianic king recurs again in prayer, with echoes of Ps. 102 and Ecclesiasticus 36, in the Fourteenth of the Eighteen Benedictions: 'Be merciful . . . to Jerusalem, thy city . . . and to thy temple . . . and to the kingship of the house of David, thy righteous Anointed.'¹²⁶

The plans for the new city will then have provoked the formidable zeal which dwelt on the law and promise that 'Jerusalem shall be holy'.¹²⁷ They will likewise have reactivated in some the hope for messianic redemption from the hurtful talons of the Roman eagle (II Esdras 11:45–6).

Bar Kosiba and the preparations for revolt

The founding of Aelia initiated, according to Dio, a period of secret preparation for revolt. His description of the outbreak as surviving in epitome (Ixi 12, 2–3) implies that, when Hadrian arrived in Judaea, Jewish unrest already had the elements of organization – perhaps a legacy of the 'war of Quietus'. One focus for the association of potential rebels was the banditry noted already. Another could have been the network of communications between Jewish teachers; a measure of sympathy for revolt coexisted in the nascent rabbinic movement with marked opposition to rebel aspirations. Thus Akiba, remembered as an outstanding supporter of Bar Kokhba, visited Babylonia, had Alexandrian pupils, and became famous for his journeys. One need not connect his recorded travels with the revolt in order to affirm the significance of intercommunication between teachers for the rebels.

In any case, the organization implied by Dio is easier to understand if a leader was already playing a part in it. Eusebius uncomplimentarily describes Bar Kokhba as *lestrikos*, 'banditlike'. Was he already hidden in the hills, co-operating or competing with leading bandits? The question presents itself, but earlier stages in his rise to power remain unknown.

¹²⁵ II Esdras 9:38–10:59 (Zion and the temple), followed by 11:1–12:39 (Roman rule to be ended by the anointed one); Sib. v 414–33 (man from heaven builds up Jerusalem and the temple).

¹²⁶ On the Eighteen Benedictions in relation with other literature expressing hopes for redemption, and the revolt coinage, see further [Chapter 3](#), above.

¹²⁷ Joel 4:17 (3:17) 'Jerusalem shall be holy'; cf. Deut. 23:15 (14) 'The Lord your God walks in the midst of your camp . . . therefore shall your camp be holy'; 4QMMT (Halakhic Letter) 59–60 (4Q394 8 iv) 'for Jerusalem is the holy camp'; Isa. 52:1 'O Jerusalem, the holy city, for henceforth there shall no more come into you the uncircumcised and the unclean'; Ps. Sol. 17:30 (33) '[the son of David] shall purify Jerusalem in holiness, as it was from the beginning'; Rev. 21:2; 27 'the holy city, new Jerusalem . . . nothing unclean shall enter into it'; 'Jerusalem the holy' on Bar Kokhba coins, years 1–3, in Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 606.

His name might be a clue to his origin, but its explanation is itself unclear. Kosiba in the Bar Kokhba letters might conceivably be a form of a personal name Kaseba, found in the phrase ‘the sons of Chaseba’ in I Esdras (III Ezra) 5:31 (Greek without Hebrew parallel here), in a list of returned Judaeans exiles broadly corresponding to that in Ezra [chapter 2](#) and Neh. 7:6–73. In vocalization Kaseba has the form of a Pe’al participle of the verb *kzb* in Aramaic, and the first syllable of Kosiba recalls the corresponding participial form in Hebrew. This phrase in I Esdras 5:31 might itself derive, however, from the phrase ‘the men of Cozeba’ (a place) in I Chron. 4:22 (compare I Esdras 5:17 ‘the sons of Baiterus’, probably reflecting the place name Bethther).¹²⁸ Bar Kokhba’s name Kosiba, and Koziba in rabbinic literature, are both close to this Judaeans place name Kozeba or Koziba, ‘deceiving’, signifying an intermittent spring.¹²⁹ It is attested as a place name in I Chronicles 4:22, referring either to Achzib near Lachish (see below) or to the modern Kh. Kuweizibe near Ain Arrub, south of Bethlehem and a little north of the ancient Bethsura (I Macc. 4:29) or Beth-zur (II Chron. 11:7), on the Hebron road.¹³⁰ The name also appears near Jericho as Choziba in the Wadi Qelt, attested after Constantine but perhaps already mentioned in the Copper Scroll from Qumran Cave 3.¹³¹ The place name Achzib or Chezib (Gen. 38:5, Jos. 15:44), perhaps to be located near Lachish, and noted by Hayyim Vital for its assonance with bar Koziba ([Chapter 2](#), above), probably has the same meaning (cf. Jer. 15:18). In Greek transliteration, probably reflecting varied pronunciation, -z- (Zayin) in Hebrew or Aramaic can be represented by -s- (Sigma) as well as -z- (Zeta).¹³²

¹²⁸ I Esdras 5:31 is not mentioned in the discussions of the name Kosiba by J. T. Milik, ‘Une lettre de Siméon bar Kokeba’, *RB* lx (1953), 276–94 (277–82); T. Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity, Part I, Palestine 330 BCE–200 CE* (Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 91, Tübingen, 2002), 386. On I Esdras 5:17 and Beththera see n. 468, below.

¹²⁹ The place name is explained in this way by J. T. Milik in M. Baillet, J. T. Milik and R. de Vaux, *Les ‘Petites Grottes’ de Qumran* (DJD iii, Oxford, 1962), 242, on no. C 52, the name Koziba in the Copper Scroll (3Q15) vii 14–15; for the verb *kzb* used of ‘deceiving’ (intermittent) waters see Isa. 58:11 ‘a spring . . . whose waters fail not’, 1QSB i 3–4 ‘a perpetual spring that shall not fail’, M. Parah viii 9 ‘intermittent waters’ (not valid for immersion in ‘living water’).

¹³⁰ Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* (2 vols., Paris, 1938), ii, 300; Tsafir et al., *Iudaea. Palaestina*, 169. In I Chron. 4:22 an identification with Achzib is sometimes preferred because the group described are the family of Shelah (Gen. 38:1–5), but the Chronicler’s statement that the men of Cozeba were among those who returned to Bethlehem leaves open the possibility of identification with Kh. Kuweizibe; see n. 240, below.

¹³¹ 3Q15 vii 14–15, with the comment by Milik, *Les ‘Petites Grottes’ de Qumran*, 242.

¹³² Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity, Part I, Palestine 330 BCE–200CE*, 19, no. 2.1.2.5; LXX witnesses at I Chron. 4:22 attest both Chozeba with Zeta and Choseba (represented by the corrupt form Sochetha) with Sigma. A sharp distinction between forms with -s- and with -z- in Hebrew and Aramaic is drawn by Milik, ‘Une lettre de Siméon bar Kokeba’, 277–82, ruling out association of Kosiba with place names with Zayin, including Kozeba; but he does not discuss the Greek transliterations of these names, which implicitly question a sharp distinction.

The place name is not necessarily, however, a clue to bar Kosiba's origin, for in personal names from this period place is usually indicated by 'man of . . .', 'from . . .', or a toponymic adjective (as with Eleazar of Modin, 'Eleazar *ha-Moda'i*', 'the Modiite'). Kosiba might then have been not a toponym but Simeon's father's nickname, conceivably derived from an Aramaic equivalent of Hebrew *keseb*, 'lamb'.¹³³

Alternatively, however, and perhaps better, it represents an old name Kaseba/Kosiba, itself of uncertain explanation. There seems a possibility, however, that the understanding of place names as personal names exemplified in I Esdras [chapter 5](#) had in past times occurred in life as well as literature. In that case Kosiba might indeed be originally a toponym, perhaps deriving from Cozeba (Kh. Kuweizibe) south of Bethlehem.¹³⁴ Through its use as a personal name its origin would have been forgotten. In that case the early ancestry of bar Kosiba would have been rooted in the village life of Judaea, and it might have been particularly easy for him to adopt a 'banditlike' way of life in the Judean hills.

At any rate, the continuation of public affairs as usual during this time of preparation is underlined by documents such as a Greek marriage contract of the year 130 written in 'Aristobulias of Zeiphene', south-east of Hebron near the biblical Ziph, where David hid in the wilderness (I Sam. 23:14–24), in the heart of the Judean area most affected by the revolt.¹³⁵

The secret preparation particularly mentioned by Dio was the arming of the rebels. They made the weapons requisitioned from them of poor quality, 'so that they might use those rejected by the Romans' (Dio lxix 12, 2).¹³⁶ This report bears the marks of a good story.¹³⁷ It touches, however, a Roman imposition which also figures in a rabbinic narrative of the First Revolt; Vespasian says to the rebel leaders (and his words are confirmed to the Jerusalemites by Johanan b. Zaccai) that 'all he is asking for is one bow

¹³³ In Hebrew *keseb* -ס- represents the letter Sin, in sound perhaps indistinguishable from Samekh.

¹³⁴ This suggestion is exemplified in C. R. Conder, *Tent-Work in Palestine* (2 vols., London, 1879), ii, 76; that bar Koziba signified 'of Chozebe' was then a widespread view, exemplified in Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden vom Untergang des jüdischen Staates bis zum Abschluss des Talmud*, 159; Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, i (2nd edn), 284.

¹³⁵ Cotton and Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites*, 251–5, on XHev/Se papCancelled Marriage Contract gr. A similar conclusion is drawn from other documents of the years 124 to 131 by Millar, *The Roman Near East*, 371–2.

¹³⁶ HA Hadrian xi 1, on the special care taken by Hadrian not to tolerate any unserviceable item of military equipment, is cited to illustrate Dio here by M. Gichon and Michaela Vitale, 'Arrow-Heads from Horvat Eqed', *IEJ* xli (1991), 242–57 (254, n. 57).

¹³⁷ 'Singularity unconvincing': Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 439; less dismissively, Münter, *Der jüdische Krieg unter den Kaisern Trajan und Hadrian*, 43–4 (a legend, but with the truth behind it that Jews found ways and means to make and conceal weapons).

or arrow'.¹³⁸ Like other elements in Dio's narrative, therefore, this detail, although the story may be exaggerated, probably reflects a genuine feature of the Judaeian situation. The success of the rebels a little later implies that they had armed themselves adequately, doubtless by this means among others. Spears judged to have been made by the rebels, and Roman spears which were in their possession, have been found in caves used by refugees.¹³⁹

The rising and the occupation of strongholds

When Hadrian had moved away, the Jewish rebels are said not to have dared to risk themselves against the Romans in battle in the open (Cassius Dio, *Hist.* lxi 12, 3). This information corresponds to the likely distribution of Roman forces before the revolt. Archaeological investigations have tended to suggest that in Judaea they were concentrated in large units and occupied only a limited number of city camps and other essential sites (for example Engaddi and perhaps also Emmaus-Nicopolis, discussed below). Their strength would therefore be kept together, and there would be relatively few smaller detachments which might more easily be overwhelmed.¹⁴⁰

Instead, the rebels occupied the strong points in the countryside. They strengthened them with underground passages (*hyponomoi*) and walls, so as to have refuges connected by passages with shafts pierced for air and light (Cassius Dio, *Hist.* lxi 12, 3). This further step would have involved guerrilla attacks on points of vantage. Many strongholds in which fortifications had been destroyed in or after the war of 66–70 and in which settlement had been forbidden thereafter might have been unguarded in Hadrian's time, as the likely distribution of forces noted above suggests, but the surprise overwhelming of garrisoned forts can also be envisaged.¹⁴¹ This process roughly corresponds to an early stage in the First Revolt, when the strongholds of Masada, Cypros and Machaerus were occupied, and Josephus fortified strong points in Galilee (Josephus, *B.J.* ii 408, 484–6, 573).

¹³⁸ Aboth de-Rabbi Nathan, First Recension, iv; Second Recension, vi, in S. Schechter (ed.), *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan* (Vienna, 1887), pp. 19, 22; reprinted with the same pagination and with Prolegomenon by M. Kister (New York and Jerusalem, 1997).

¹³⁹ B. Zissu, R. Porat, B. Langford and A. Frumkin, 'Archaeological Remains of the Bar Kokhba Revolt in the Te'omim Cave (*Mugharet Umm et Tueimin*), Western Jerusalem Hills', *JJS* lxi (2011), 262–83 (269).

¹⁴⁰ Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 107, 430.

¹⁴¹ For the likelihood of destruction in the First Revolt followed by a ban on reoccupation, as may have happened with the fortified Herodian palace of Horvat Eleq (Khirbet Umm el-Aleq) near Caesarea, see Y. Hirschfeld, 'General Discussion: Ramat Hanadiv in Context' in Y. Hirschfeld, with contributions by A. Boas and others, *Ramat Hanadiv Excavations: Final Report of the 1984–1998 Seasons* (Jerusalem, 2000), 679–735 (720).

Further back, in the time of Gabinius, the revolt of Alexander son of Aristobulus (also a civil war against the high priest Hyrcanus II) comparably broke out in earnest when Alexander went round the country arming Jews sympathetic to him and fortifying Alexandrium, Hyrcania and Machaerus, seized from Hyrcanus (Josephus, *B.J.* i 161, *Ant.* xiv 83).

In the uprising against Hadrian, the wall-building and preparation of strongholds and underground refuges continued long-established practice.¹⁴² The vantage points and associated refuges recall the 'strongholds' and 'caves' which are mentioned together in biblical narratives. Thus the Israelites made artificial 'caves' and 'strongholds', as in Dio, at the time of Midianite invasions (Judges 6:2). Compare too I Sam. 22:1-4, on David's band in the 'cave' of Adullam and the 'stronghold', and I Sam. 23:23, just cited in connection with Ziph, where David is expected to hide himself in a series of 'hiding places'; the word *mahabo* 'used for them here recurs with a cognate, from the second century onwards, in rabbinic texts on the plight of women who are sheltering in hiding places'.¹⁴³

David in I Sam. 23:23 represents the inevitable overlap between two exploitations of the *souterrain* which can be distinguished in principle: the use and adaptation of caves for the shelter of refugees, on the one hand, and the adaptation and fortification of caves and other underground chambers and passages in relation to strongholds for offensive as well as defensive warfare, as in Dio, on the other. Refuge is mainly in view when the flight of the population in general into 'caves' and 'holes' to hide is described in I Sam. 13:6, 14:11 and Isa. 2:10-21. Under Antiochus IV, similarly, Israel fled to 'the places of refuge' in each district (I Macc. 1:53), and some of the pious in Judaea went with their families and cattle to 'the secret places in the wilderness' (I Macc. 2:31), 'the caves' (II Macc. 6:11); attacked on the sabbath, they refused even to stop up the entrances (I Macc. 2:36).

Nearer to the time of Bar Kokhba, however, military preparation for warfare, as in Dio, is recalled when Josephus relates how, as part of the

¹⁴² Wall-building is regarded as a later stage than underground construction, and mistaken conflation of the two stages is ascribed to Dio or Xiphilinus, by M. Gichon, 'New Insight into the Bar Kokhba War and a Reappraisal of Dio Cassius 69.12-13', *JQR* N.S. lxxvii (1986-7), 15-43 (30-1); but both are reasonably placed by Dio (lxix 12, 2-3) as operations undertaken after open revolt had begun, that is, when the rebels had occupied the points of vantage which they now strengthened with walls and underground passages.

¹⁴³ See for example M. Niddah iv 7 (R. Meir notes that, for a woman in a hiding place, menstruation may be delayed by fear); Tos. Yeb. xii 4-5, Bekh. vi 2 (two children born to two mothers in a hiding place may be confused); Talmud Yerushalmi, Ket. ii 10, 26d (hiding places used during a siege); further texts in A. Kloner and B. Zissu, 'Hiding Complexes in Judaea: an Archaeological and Geographical Update on the Area of the Bar Kokhba Revolt', in Schäfer (ed.), *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, 181-216 (190).

fortification of Galilee, he built walls for the caves of Arbela (*B.J.* ii 573). Similar activity under towns appears when he strengthens Gamala with underground passages (*hyponomoi*) and excavations (*B.J.* iv 9) and himself, at Jotapata, takes refuge by descending into a pit on one side of which a broad cavern opens, invisibly from above (*B.J.* iii 341); forty eminent citizens still shelter here, when the Romans have already searched the bolt-holes and slain those hiding in *hyponomoi* and caves (*B.J.* iii 336). To return to the wilderness, Simon bar Giora enlarges existing caves in Pheretae, near Ain Farah about seven miles north-east of Jerusalem, beyond ancient Anathoth, in a wadi running eventually down to Jericho, in order to store his plunder and quarter his troops (*B.J.* iv 512–3).¹⁴⁴ Then the rabbinic narrative of the siege of Bethar envisages entry being made from outside through an underground passage, in the way Dio might lead one to expect.¹⁴⁵ Münter and Graetz already noted the consonance between Dio's report and the caves and underground passages still to be seen in modern Palestine.¹⁴⁶

Against this background it is unsurprising that investigation has uncovered many underground refuges and caves probably used by combatants and refugees during the Bar Kokhba war, as finds of coins and other objects dated to this period indicate.¹⁴⁷ Often existing natural and artificial caves will have been reused or extended. Attestation of the use of caves by refugees during the repression of the revolt will be noticed below. Refuges of the kind mentioned by Dio, however, made with warfare as well as shelter in view, have been still more amply attested archaeologically since the 1970s, commonly but not always underneath settlements, as in the village of Ethri (Kh. Umm es-Suweid), perhaps the Caphethra (Caphar Ethra) of Josephus (*B.J.* ii 552), in the Shephelah north-east of Beth Gubrin; a half-exception for example is the system of underground passages, with former cisterns adapted as junctions, in the fortress-hill of Herodium, although here an associated township can be envisaged.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ For the identification see Tsafir et al., *Judaea. Palaestina*, 202–3, s. Pharan II. In the late third century Saint Chariton established his first monastery here; see D. J. Chitty, *The Desert a City* (Oxford, 1966), 15.

¹⁴⁵ Aramaic *biba*, 'duct', in Talmud Yerushalmi, Taan. iv 8, 68d, foot, compared with Dio on underground passages by Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden vom Untergang des jüdischen Staates bis zum Abschluss des Talmud*, 522 (n. 22).

¹⁴⁶ Münter, *Der jüdische Krieg unter den Kaisern Trajan und Hadrian*, 68; Graetz, as cited in the previous note.

¹⁴⁷ The continuity of cave-based warfare from Herod's days onwards (biblical antecedents are still earlier) is shown by A. Oppenheimer, 'Subterranean Hideouts in the Judean Shephelah: the Evidence of the Sources', translated from *Cathedra* xxvi (1982) 24–9, in Oppenheimer, *Between Rome and Babylon*, 256–62.

¹⁴⁸ Kloner and Zissu, 'Hiding Complexes in Judaea: an Archaeological and Geographical Update on the Area of the Bar Kokhba Revolt', 183–6 (analysis of different types of hiding complex); B. Zissu

By 2003 125 such sites in Judaea had been identified, and also (but without finds of Bar Kokhba coins) 27 in Galilee.¹⁴⁹ Rock-cuttings which earlier archaeologists had noted as needing further elucidation were now identified as refuges.¹⁵⁰ They will have been a familiar feature beneath and near settlements, as is also suggested by the rabbinic rulings noted above, dealing with what had been common experience. In the context of Dio's description of the Bar Kokhba war, they can then be associated with his reference to the final Roman capture not only of 'fifty forts' (*phrouria*) but also of 'nine-hundred and eighty-five villages' (Cassius Dio, *Hist.* lxi 14, 1).

The example of Emmaus

An example suggesting speculations about the revolt is near Emmaus (Nicomolis), modern Amwas, a key site for approaches to Jerusalem and the Judaeian highlands from the west in much the same way as Jericho is for those from the east. Its strategic position 'where the mountains of the province of Judaea start to rise', as Saint Jerome put it, was underlined in 1967, after West Bank territory had been occupied, by the razing of the village of Amwas and the deportation of the villagers.¹⁵¹ The refuge in question is at Khirbet el-Aqd, about a mile and a quarter east of Emmaus, beneath a settlement with walls and towers from the Greek period on one of the highest hills in the area.¹⁵² Occupied from Seleucid times to at least the

and A. Ganor, 'Horvath 'Ethri – a Jewish Village from the Second Temple Period and the Bar Kokhba Revolt in the Judean Foothills', *JJS* lx (2009), 90–136; for Herodium 'with the noted town of the same name' see Pliny, *N.H.* v 14, 70.

¹⁴⁹ Kloner and Zissu, 'Hiding Complexes in Judaea: an Archaeological and Geographical Update on the Area of the Bar Kokhba Revolt', 182; Y. Shahar, 'The Underground Hideouts in Galilee and their Historical Meaning', in Schäfer, *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, 217–40.

¹⁵⁰ R. A. S. Macalister, *A Century of Excavation in Palestine* (2nd edn, London, 1930), 56–60, on rock-cuttings at Tell Zakariya (Azekah) and elsewhere examined by him c.1900, which deserve to be more than a mere side-study; E. Brandenburg, *Die Felsarchitektur bei Jerusalem* (Kirchhain, 1926), 73–4, on an artificial cave of uncertain purpose at Khirbet Almit, identified with Almon (Jos. 21:18), just over a mile north-north-east of Anata (Anathoth) and near Ain Farah (n. 144, above); see Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, ii, 242; Kloner and Zissu, 'Hiding Complexes in Judaea', 191, 195; Shahar, 'The Underground Hideouts in Galilee and Their Historical Meaning', 219, n. 9; 223.

¹⁵¹ Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, ii, 246 s. Apedno, 314–16 s. Emmaus, quoting Jerome, *Comm. in Dan.*, on Dan. 11:45 (Jerome notes that the Jewish Greek translations of Theodotion and Aquila give here the name Apedno for the place where the enemy in this prophecy encamps on his way from the seacoast to Jerusalem, and that Christian interpreters locate it near Emmaus-Nicomolis); J. Murphy O'Connor, *The Holy Land: an Archaeological Guide from Earliest Times to 1700* (3rd edn, Oxford and New York, 1992), 328–33; Tsafirir et al., *Judaea. Palaestina*, 119–20.

¹⁵² M. Gichon, 'Military Aspects of the Bar-Kokhba Revolt and the Subterranean Hideaways', *Cathedra* xxvi (1982), 30–42 (in Hebrew); Gichon, 'New Insight into the Bar Kokhba War and a

late Herodian period, and then under Bar Kokhba, and probably the site of the fortress built at Emmaus by Bacchides (I Macc. 9:50), it commands Emmaus itself and routes from Joppa via Lydda to Jerusalem. Immediately to the north of the site a steep slope drops into a ravine with the spring Ain el-Aqd, from which an aqueduct constructed after the time of Bar Kokhba supplied water to Emmaus.¹⁵³ Under the site of the settlement is a network of low passages, cisterns, and chambers, including a large hall, with concealed exits. Bar Kokhba coins were found here, and a mobile rebel mint may have functioned here.¹⁵⁴ Walls were rebuilt for defence in the fashion noted by Dio, and the underground complex was reused as a refuge during the repression of the revolt.¹⁵⁵

Did the rebels for a time control Emmaus itself? Emmaus had been a centre of the revolt of Athrongaeus in the time of Varus (Josephus, *B.J.* ii 63; 71); a centurion and forty men were killed nearby when the rebels attacked troops conveying corn and arms to the legion. In the war of 66–70 a camp of V Macedonica was established there, and two epitaphs of serving soldiers found in Emmaus are ascribed to the period after 70; it possibly became a permanent base for army units.¹⁵⁶ At this period the Emmaus market could attract members of the incipient rabbinic movement from Jamnia, Lydda or Bene Berak, including Akiba (Mishnah, Kerithoth iii 7).

It is not impossible that in the first phase of the uprising Jewish forces, with their considerable numbers, were able to come down from the hills and take the Roman camp. If so, Emmaus will have posed a difficulty for Roman communications between Jerusalem, Lydda and Joppa. Presumably during the repression of revolt, however, a unit of Arab auxiliary soldiers from the Petra region was stationed in Emmaus, as a cartouche engraved *Cohors VI Ulpia Petraeorum* attests; a military diploma of 139 comparably shows this unit as serving in Syria Palaestina.¹⁵⁷ This is consistent with the fair probability, on other grounds, that Emmaus is the Hammetha

Reappraisal of Dio Cassius 69.12–13', 23–32, 39; Gichon and Vitale, 'Arrow-Heads from Horvat Eqed'; Fischer, Isaac and Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea*, ii, *The Jaffa–Jerusalem Roads*, 86, fig. 12 (the Emmaus district), 87–8, 122–3, 274, 284–8, with 315, fig. 14 (roads in the Roman period) and 398, pl. 27; 410, pl. 52 (aerial photographs).

¹⁵³ Y. Hirschfeld, 'The aqueducts of Emmaus-Nicopolis', in D. Amit, J. Patrich and Y. Hirschfeld (eds.), *The Aqueducts of Israel* (JRA Supplementary Series 46, Portsmouth, RI, 2002), 187–98.

¹⁵⁴ E. Damati, 'Four Bar Kokhba Coins from Khirbet el 'Aqd', *Israel Numismatic Journal* iv (1980), 27–9; A. Kindler, 'Coins and Remains from a Mobile Mint of Bar Kokhba at Khirbet el-'Aqd', *Israel Numismatic Journal* ix (1986–7), 46–50; Fischer, Isaac and Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea*, ii, *The Jaffa–Jerusalem Roads*, 122–3.

¹⁵⁵ Gichon, 'New Insight into the Bar Kokhba War and a Reappraisal of Dio Cassius 69.12–13', 38–9.

¹⁵⁶ So Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 428–9.

¹⁵⁷ L.-H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Emmaüs, sa basilique et son histoire* (Paris, 1932), 325, 427 (no. 4); Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 429.

mentioned in Lamentations Rabbah as one of three guard-posts set up by Hadrian to catch Jews as they came out of hiding towards the end of the revolt.¹⁵⁸ The other two are at 'Beth-el of Judah', north of Jerusalem in the hills east of the Neapolis road, and Kefar Leqitaia. This is plausibly identified with Kh. el-Qatt, about twelve miles south of Jerusalem on the Hebron road, with the ruins of a fort and not far from Ain el Arrub – a likely site for the Kiriath Arbaia of the Bar Kokhba letters, P. Yadin 57–8 (n. 239, below). The three places are then west, north and south of Jerusalem, respectively, and each of them, including Emmaus, is in an area connected with the revolt by coin-finds and refugees, as noted below in discussion of the territory controlled by Bar Kokhba.¹⁵⁹

A second and minor but still intriguing question is raised by the discoveries at Khirbet el-Aqd. After refugee occupation of the underground complex during Hadrianic repression, could it have been specifically beneath Khirbet el-Aqd that the copy of the Greek biblical translation known as Sexta was found at Emmaus in the third century (n. 40, above), on the analogy of the modern find of a Greek translation of the Minor Prophets in the refuge-cave known as the Cave of Horror in Nahal Hever (Wadi Habra)?¹⁶⁰ In this case, two important discoveries of Greek biblical texts in Judaea would derive ultimately from refugees at the time of Bar Kokhba, and the currency of Greek among Judaeans residents at this period would be further underlined.

Rebel success

Beginning open war with the occupation and strengthening of these vantage points and refugees, the rebels continued the tradition of David and

¹⁵⁸ Lam. R. i 45, on 1:16, discussed by Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 113–15. Emmaus-Nicopolis often figures in rabbinic texts in the Graecized forms Ammaus or Amwas, as in M. Arakhin ii 4, so that the Aramaic Hammetha from which these forms arose may not have been a common name for it, as was stressed by Büchler, 'Die Schauplätze des Barcochbakrieges und die auf diesen bezogenen jüdischen Nachrichten', 202–4; but he notes that 'Hamath which is in Judah' is mentioned in Midrash Zutta on Song of Sol. 6:9, also quoted in connection with Emmaus-Nicopolis by S. Klein, *Sepher ha-Yishuv*, i (Jerusalem, 1939), 48a, no. 3. Here 'the entering in of Hamath' reached by the spies sent to explore the land in Num. 13:21 is taken to be the district of Emmaus; the spies were pursued by the children of Anak who lived in Hebron (Num. 13:22) until they reached 'the valley of Hamath which is in Judah', interpreted by Klein as the valley of Ajalon near Emmaus (Josh. 10:12). This midrashic understanding of the Hebrew name Hamath suggests that the cognate Aramaic Hammetha was probably also in use for Emmaus-Nicopolis.

¹⁵⁹ For Kefar Leqitaia see Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, ii, 292; Tsafir et al., *Iudaea. Palaestina*, 163–4.

¹⁶⁰ For the modern find of the Dodekapropheton see Y. Aharoni, 'Expedition B – the Cave of Horror', *IEJ* xii (1962), 186–99 (197–8).

Simon bar Giora. Their bands, like those of David and Simon, will have included the distressed, the debtors, and the discontented (I Sam. 22:2, cf. Josephus, *B.J.* iv 508). Agrarian hardship will have been part of the setting of the revolt, as noted already, even if not a principal cause.¹⁶¹ Peasant characters and rural settings typify rabbinic narratives of the revolt, just as its repression in Dio is a tale of the capture of villages.¹⁶² Comparably, rabbinic literature suggests that, up to the end of the second century, rabbinic teachers were to be encountered in villages (whereas urban settings predominate later).¹⁶³ The pride of poverty was perhaps part of the revolt ethos, as suggested by a saying attributed to R. Akiba, 'Even the poorest in Israel are looked on as freemen who have lost their possessions, for they are children of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.'¹⁶⁴ At the same time, as indicated long before in the narrative of David's dealings with Nabal, near Hebron, the support of the wealthy will have been essential. The documents of Bar Kokhba's rule soon attest an administration which continues land tenure and gathers tax and toll, building on the largely village-oriented administration of Roman Judaea under Trajan and Hadrian, and using the forms of a realm rather than a robber band.¹⁶⁵

The Romans at first held the rebel Jews of no account, Dio says (Cassius Dio, *Hist.* lxix 13, 1). The rebels had, however, succeeded, according to a modern commentator, in the tactic of infiltration, the occupation of territory around the Roman positions.¹⁶⁶ Presumably their attacks were treated as an intensified banditry, to be dealt with by policing measures. Slow response is often noted in accounts of revolt against Rome at this period.¹⁶⁷ The authorities will also, however, have been aware of Jews who wanted stability and showed some sympathy for Hadrian's patronage of the province. This factor too may have influenced official judgment of the situation.

¹⁶¹ This chapter, n. 62, above; [Chapter 3](#), nn. 197–200, above.

¹⁶² Applebaum, *Prolegomena to the Study of the Second Jewish Revolt*, 15–16; Applebaum, 'The Second Jewish Revolt (AD 131–35)', *PEQ* cxvi (1984), 35–41 (37).

¹⁶³ H. Lapin, 'Rabbis and Cities in Later Roman Palestine', *JJS* l (1999), 187–207.

¹⁶⁴ Mishnah, B. K. viii 6 (cf. John 8:33 'we are Abraham's seed, and have never yet been in bondage'); perhaps from the same period is the saying, also in some traditions of it ascribed to Akiba, 'Poverty is as becoming to the daughter of Jacob as a red band on the neck of a white horse' (Lev. R. xxxv 6, on Lev. 26:3 'if you walk in my statutes'). Both are related to the second-century Judaeian ethos of poverty by E. Bammel, '*Prochos*, B–E', in G. Friedrich (ed.), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* vi (Stuttgart, 1960), 888–915 (899), published in English as the *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vi (Grand Rapids, MI, 1968), 888–915 (899).

¹⁶⁵ For the village as the normal administrative unit in the toparchy system of Judaea at this time see Cotton, 'Aspects of the Roman Administration of Judaea/Syria Palaestina', 83–5.

¹⁶⁶ F. M. Heichelheim, 'New Light on the End of Bar Kokhba's War', *JQR* N.S. xxxiv (1943), 61–3 (63).

¹⁶⁷ Isaac, 'Cassius Dio on the Revolt of Bar Kokhba', 216.

Meanwhile, however, from the many vantage points they had obtained, the rebels now came down and 'laid Palestine waste', in Eusebius's strong phrase (*Chronicle*, Hadrian xvi). This annal may echo the prophecy 'your land shall be desolate' (Isa. 1:7), which Christians soon thought to be fulfilled by this war (Justin Martyr, *Dial.* xvi 2, discussed with parallels below in connection with the exclusion of Jews from the Jerusalem region). Nevertheless, it should be taken seriously as indicating one source of a devastation caused by both Jewish and Roman forces. Dio says that, as a result of the revolt, nearly the whole of Judaea was made desolate (Cassius Dio, *Hist.* lxi 14, 1–2). A little later in the third century it was said that, when R. Jose ha-Gelili in the second century ruled that olive trees are exempt from the law permitting gleaning (Deut. 24:20), his surprising judgment was occasioned by the fact that then 'no olive-trees were to be found, because the wicked Hadrian came and laid waste the whole land'.¹⁶⁸ Comparable devastation in the First Revolt is ascribed by Josephus to raids carried out by the Romans from Joppa, the Sicarii from Masada, and Simon bar Giora from Hebron (*B.J.* iii 430–I, iv 402–5, 534–7, vii 254–5). The rebel ravages under Hadrian will have aimed, like these earlier instances, at the gathering of supplies and booty, the desolation of land to hinder enemy revictualling or possession of valuable assets, and the punishment of those judged disloyal.¹⁶⁹ Rationales of this treatment of fellow Jews were at hand from earlier revolts. The Maccabees punished those 'sinners' in Israel who had not fled to the gentiles; the Sicarii likewise viewed Jews who had submitted to Rome as enemies, no different from gentiles, for they had thrown away hard-won liberty, openly showing that they preferred servitude to Rome.¹⁷⁰

For the speed and outreach of such raids compare Josephus on Athrongaeus and his brethren, who from the Emmaus district 'filled all Judaea with bandit-like (*lestrikos*) war' (*B.J.* ii 65). H. St J. Thackeray here rendered 'guerilla war', losing the author's negative overtones but conveying the sense of speed which 'bandit-like' also suggests; so Josephus on the First Revolt against Rome speaks of rebel companies decamping promptly with their spoils and captives 'like bandits' (*B.J.* iv 409). For the Roman forces, communications and victualling will now have been constantly under threat.

¹⁶⁸ Jerusalem Talmud, Peah vii 1, 20a, commenting on Yose's ruling in M. Peah vii 1.

¹⁶⁹ On a special instance, Jewish destruction of balsam groves in the First Revolt, see Pliny, *N.H.* xii 25, 113, discussed in connection with devastation by Alon, *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age (70–640 CE)*, 59.

¹⁷⁰ I Macc. 2:44; Josephus, *B.J.* vii 254–5.

With these successes the rebels had probably gained the support of some of the people of substance with urban connections, as happened in the past with Simon bar Giora (Josephus, *B.J.* iv 509–10). Josephus relates how Bar Giora first overran the hill villages, and then with increased numbers dared to go down to the lowlands, until he became formidable to the towns (*poleis*). People of substance were now won over by his successes, and he was joined by men from the population of the towns (*demotikoi*) and not simply by slaves and robbers; these more disciplined recruits rendered him obedience ‘as to a king’. The military consequences of wealthy support, as signalled by Josephus here, are likely to have occurred once again in Bar Kokhba’s favour; when eminent townspeople noted the success of the rebel movement, some of the lower-class urban populace would be attracted to it.

While the rising was gaining the willing or unwilling support of wealthier Jews, those who dissented will sometimes have left the country – ‘fleeing to the gentiles’, in Maccabaeian terms. Thus Justin Martyr’s imagined Jewish dialogue-partner Trypho, ‘having fled from the late war’, lived mostly in Corinth (Justin, *Dial.* i 3). He is envisaged, nevertheless, as a circumcised Jew and a defender of Judaism, combining like Josephus before him Jewish loyalty with detachment from rebellion.

Refugee movement in the opposite direction, into Judaea, probably reflects hostility to Jews in districts bordering on Judaea, such as had occurred in border regions when rebellion broke out in 66–7 (Josephus, *B.J.* ii 461–80). Such hostility could have combined with Roman pressure on Jews, but would have existed independently of it.¹⁷¹ Mary the daughter of Eleazar, who fled during the First Revolt from Peraea to Jerusalem, a woman ‘eminent for descent and fortune’ (Josephus, *B.J.* vi 201), has her counterparts under Bar Kokhba in Babatha and Salome Komaïse, probably humbler in status but likewise women of property. They travelled from Mahoza in Arabia, on the southern shore of the Dead Sea near Zoar, perhaps first by water to Engaddi, and then to the nearby Cave of Letters in Nahal Hever (Wadi Habra), where their family documents were found.¹⁷² They were only part of a bigger Jewish migration from Mahoza to Engaddi,

¹⁷¹ The departure of refugees after Roman repression of Jewish (and Nabataean) unrest in Arabia – on a view of the Nabataean situation discussed further below – is envisaged by Cotton, ‘The Bar Kokhba Revolt and the Documents from the Judaeian Desert: Nabataean Participation in the Revolt (P. Yadin 52)’, in Schäfer, *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, 133–52 (151); military operations likewise form the likely background of flight for Eck, *Rom und Judaea*, 136.

¹⁷² The possibility that Babatha’s documents had come into the hands of her co-wife Miriam, who took shelter in the Cave of Letters, is also envisaged by Tal, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity*, i, 365.

a move which was probably not unheard of in peacetime.¹⁷³ Family ties linked Jews in Engaddi and Mahoza.¹⁷⁴

The documents in these archives, with Nabataean witness-names and appeals to the court of the Roman governor, suggest that in normal times Arabian Jews had lived peacefully with the Nabataeans under Roman administration.¹⁷⁵ These women and their families will have had to make common cause with the rebels, and probably had some links of kinship with them.¹⁷⁶ They may well have left home, however, primarily for safety's sake.¹⁷⁷ This motive is still conceivable even if Nabataeans in their particular locality had remained friendly.¹⁷⁸

Now, in Dio's words (lxix 13, 1), all Judaea was in turbulence; Jews were disturbed and gathering together everywhere, and they inflicted many ills on the Romans both secretly and openly. This vivid description may reflect the alarming rumours that will have circulated among non-Jews in Judaea, not without basis – Jews throughout and just over the borders of Judaea will have been disturbed, and Roman military losses will have been real – but losing nothing in the telling.¹⁷⁹ It will have been at this stage too that

¹⁷³ T. Ilan, 'Witnesses in the Judaeian Desert Documents: Prosopographical Observations', *SCI* xx (2001), 169–78 (witness signatures show that some witnesses earlier attested in Mahoza were in Engaddi during the revolt, and in one case (n. 24) suggest such a move long before the revolt).

¹⁷⁴ H. M. Cotton, 'Ein Gedi between the Two Revolts', 152–4.

¹⁷⁵ Chapter 1, n. 11, above; for the assignment of both archives to the Cave of Letters, and for their historical and topographical setting, see Cotton and Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites*, 3–5, 158–65 (without discussion of the question of whether sometimes Jewish signatories to these documents may have borne Nabataean names).

¹⁷⁶ Thus the sister of Bar Kokhba's officer Jonathan son of Ba'ya (Beianus) was probably a co-wife of Babatha's former husband Eleazar (n. 173, above).

¹⁷⁷ Their participation is suggested by Cotton and Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites*, 159, on the basis of the presence of their archives in the Cave of Letters; but the main reason for their flight was probably, as suggested above, the expected hostility of their neighbours in Arabia after the outbreak of revolt nearby in Judaea. Compare Josephus on the sudden fear and hostility of non-Jews in border regions in 66–7, for example in Scythopolis (*B.J.* ii 466–8).

¹⁷⁸ Thus in 66–7 some Jews left Gerasa even though the Gerasenes remained friendly (Josephus, *B.J.* ii 480).

¹⁷⁹ Dio's report was not unjustly termed 'alarmist' by Sartre, *The Middle East under Rome*, 130. 'Everywhere' (*hapantachou ges*, 'in every place in the land', or, '... in the world') is understood as 'throughout the world' by Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 441–2, with earlier scholars including Büchler, 'Die Schauplätze des Bar-Kochbakrieges und die auf diesen bezogenen jüdischen Nachrichten', 145–6, and Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v, 545 ('Die gesammte Judenschaft des In- und des Auslandes gerieth in Bewegung'); noting, however, the lack of evidence for diaspora Jewish support, she takes the phrase, by contrast with Mommsen, as exaggeration aimed at enhancing the eventual Roman victory. This interpretation of the phrase in lxix 13, 1 can appeal to the subsequent 'the whole *oikoumene*, one might say, being stirred up' (lxix 13, 2; the two phrases are cited together by Mommsen, *ibid.*, 545, n. 1); but here in 13, 1 Judaea seems still to be primarily in view, and the later mention of the whole *oikoumene* probably arises, rather, from the reference

tales of omens and portents went round, one remnant from which Dio preserves near the end of his narrative with a retrospective interpretation suitable for Roman ears (at the time it may have seemed more ambiguous): the sepulchre of Solomon, venerated by Jews, collapsed, presaging the desolation of Judaea (Cassius Dio, *Hist.* lxix 14, 2).¹⁸⁰

Tradition put Solomon's burial 'in the city of David' (I Kings 11:43, II Chron. 9:31). David and Solomon were thought to be buried together, and Herod the Great built a monument (Josephus, *Ant.* viii 211, xvi 179–83) at their grave, which continued to be famous ('with us to this day', Acts 2:29). Its site was perhaps in 'the sepulchres of David', near Nehemiah's walls of Jerusalem, not far from the 'pool of Shelah', probably the pool of Siloam (Neh. 3:15–16). A phrase from II Chron. 32:33, 'the ascent of the sepulchres of the sons of David', suggests that they were above a steep slope, where the collapse of a monument might well be envisaged; compare the fall in the previous century of 'the tower in Siloam', perhaps somewhere nearby (Luke 13:4).¹⁸¹ It seems possible that the fallen tomb in Dio's story was what remained of the costly white marble monument erected by Herod at the entrance to the burial place of David and Solomon.¹⁸²

'Many Romans perished in this war,' Dio adds after noting the portent of the tomb, for Hadrian when writing to the senate did not use the usual opening formula 'If you and your children are well, that is good; I and the legions are well' (Cassius Dio, *Hist.* lxix 14, 3). Fronto had correspondingly

to 'foreigners' joining the rebels, discussed below, which immediately precedes it in 13, 2 – the understanding of the sentence followed by Abel, *Histoire de la Palestine*, ii, 88.

¹⁸⁰ Tales of portents and of gatherings of rebels are grouped together as a standard reaction to the news of insurgency – 'the usual thing in such circumstances', *id quod in tali re solet* – by Sallust, *Catilina*, xxx 2.

¹⁸¹ In excavations of 1913–14 these sepulchres were identified by R. Weill with rock-cuttings in the southern part of the 'city of David', the ancient city on the south-eastern ridge of Jerusalem, but his claim is debated (were they outside the 'city of David', on the opposite slope of the Kidron valley?); see H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah* (Word Biblical Commentary, Waco, 1985), 208; D. Ussishkin, *The Village of Silwan* (Jerusalem, 1993), 298–9; Bieberstein and Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem*, iii, 112–13.

¹⁸² Under Constantine, the Bordeaux Pilgrim saw a monument of Jesse, David, Solomon and others at the other 'city of David', Bethlehem; see *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, 598 Wesseling, translated with comment by Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, 162. This identification, probably accepted by both Jewish and Christian pilgrims (Dalman, *Sacred Sites and Ways* (English translation, with author's additions, of Dalman, *Orte und Wege Jesu*; London, 1934), 51), is discussed as an instance of mingled Jewish and Christian collective memory by Halbwachs, *La topographie légendaire des évangiles en Terre sainte*, 45–6. Its origins can perhaps be connected with a post-war eclipse of the Jerusalem burial place and an increase in Judaeo-Christianity, from the later second century onwards.

reminded Marcus Aurelius 'how many soldiers were slaughtered by the Jews' under Hadrian.¹⁸³ The 'ills' suffered by Roman forces in the opening stage of the uprising, to go back to Dio's earlier phrase, will indeed have been considerable. On the rebel side, foreigners were joining the insurgents through eagerness for gain, Dio adds in his narrative of the beginnings (*Hist.* lxi 13, 2), and it seemed that the whole world (*oikoumene*) was being disturbed over this matter. On the Roman side, a point was reached where military aid was sent to the governor, Tineius Rufus, by the emperor, as Eusebius notes (*H.E.* iv 6, 1). Dio likewise records, without mentioning the governor, that now Hadrian sent his best generals against the Jews, and the first among them was Julius Severus, governor of Britain (*Hist.* lxi 13, 2).

All this implies grave loss to the Roman forces which were initially available.¹⁸⁴ The two legions stationed in Judaea, X Fretensis and VI Ferrata, were based respectively at Jerusalem and at Legio (Caparcotna, Kephart Othnai, near ancient Megiddo), on the road from Caesarea to Scythopolis and Gerasa; parts of them, and also auxiliary troops, will have been stationed too at many points elsewhere in the province.¹⁸⁵ In the Judaeian and Idumaean area which came under immediate rebel control a Roman military presence is attested at Engaddi and Hebron, and on the western side at Emmaus (later Nicopolis), as noted above, and at points on the road through the hills from Emmaus up to Jerusalem, which was no doubt constantly under threat.¹⁸⁶ These relatively small bodies of troops will in many cases have been overwhelmed. Beyond this, however, descents in force from hill strongholds probably on one or more occasions overcame a large body of Roman troops, as had happened in the 'disaster of Cestius'

¹⁸³ Fronto, *De bello Parthico*, 2, in Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on the Jews and Judaism*, ii, no. 353; compared with other second-century reactions earlier in this chapter (n. 33, above). Fronto was critical of Hadrian, as is underlined in another connection by Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 24; but in this case the statement, if it was to be effective, could not have been far from the impression of losses in the Jewish war which was generally accepted soon afterwards.

¹⁸⁴ This point is brought out by Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 446, although her view that the camp of X Fretensis in Jerusalem was taken seems doubtful, as noted below. X Fretensis and VI Ferrata are well attested, with detachments from other legions, in work on the high-level aqueduct at Caesarea ascribed to the time of Hadrian's advent in Palestine, c.130; see C. M. Lehmann and K. G. Holum, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima* (The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima, Excavation Reports, V; Boston, 2000), 12–13 (preferring a date c.130 to the view that the work was carried out in intervals of quelling Bar Kokhba's revolt), 71–7, nos. 45, 48, 51–3 = CIIP 1200, 1203, 1206–1208 (X Fretensis), 49, 54 = CIIP 1204, 1209 (VI Ferrata), 47 = CIIP 1202 (II Traiana), 46 = CIIP 1201 (erased inscription, restored as from XXII Deiotariana).

¹⁸⁵ Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 427–8, 432–3; Isaac, 'Jerusalem – an Introduction', 13–14.

¹⁸⁶ Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 428–30.

in 66 (Josephus, *B.J.* ii 540–56). When ‘the best generals’ eventually came, therefore, led by Julius Severus, he avoided any direct attack on rebels gathered in large numbers (Cassius Dio, *Hist.* lxi 13, 3). No Roman defeat is described by Dio or Eusebius, but they imply large-scale Roman loss in the first stage of revolt. In X Fretensis one centurion is known to have been decorated by Hadrian for service in the Jewish war, *ob bellum iudaicum*.¹⁸⁷ Thus far, then, events in Judaea had borne out Gibbon’s summary: ‘the famous Barchochebas collected a formidable army’.¹⁸⁸

Foreigners in the uprising

Foreigners were joining the insurgents through eagerness for gain, Dio says (*Hist.* lxi 13, 2), and it seemed that the whole world (*oikoumene*) was being disturbed over this matter – the hyperbole may again convey an echo of the acute contemporary anxiety. ‘Eagerness for gain’ and criminality are regularly imputed to rebels, but this charge does correspond to the genuine overlap between rebellion and banditry.

The non-Jewish adherence to the rebel forces mentioned by Dio has been interpreted in different ways. It can be dismissed as an echo of alarmist rumour or an exaggeration to flatter Rome.¹⁸⁹ Yet, with allowance for hyperbole, Dio’s language still suits the banditry and the shifting attitudes of segments of the mixed population which Josephus depicts in early Roman Judaea, Syria and Arabia.

The ‘Palestinians alien to Judaism’ suggested by F.-M. Abel as the foreign recruits were defined more closely by B. Lifschitz, followed in the main by M. Mor, as ‘the proletariat of the Greek cities and runaway slaves’.¹⁹⁰ Thus if some *demotikoi* from the towns had joined Bar Kokhba, as suggested above through comparison with Bar Giora, they might have included foreigners. To continue comparison with the First Revolt, Josephus, in a passage which resembles Dio here in its polemical emphasis on the doubtful motives of rebels, says that the crowd of incomers who led rebellion in Tarichaea in

¹⁸⁷ ILS 2080 = Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, no. 329.

¹⁸⁸ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, i, 384 (citing Basnage).

¹⁸⁹ For alarmism here see Sartre (n. 179, above); Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 442 takes gentle support for the rebels as an implausible idea at the best, in the context of her view of the passage as an exaggeration aimed at flattering Rome (n. 179, above).

¹⁹⁰ Abel, *Histoire de la Palestine*, ii, 88; B. Lifschitz, ‘The Greek Documents from Nahal Seelim and Nahal Mishmar’, *IEJ* xi (1961), 53–62, repr. in *Judean Desert Caves: Survey and Explorations, 1960* (Jerusalem, n.d.), 53–62 (61); M. Mor, ‘The Bar-Kokhba Revolt and Non-Jewish Participants’, *JJS* xxxvi (1985), 200–9 (207–9).

Galilee in 67 consisted of rioters and fugitives and those whose shameful deeds in peace made war the better option; among them were people not only from the mountainous districts of Trachonitis and Gaulanitis but also from Hippos and Gadara – two cities with Jewish communities but a gentile predominance (Josephus, *B.J.* ii 532, 542).¹⁹¹ The groups from these cities might have included not only Jewish fugitives but also gentiles who could attract the aspersion of criminality.¹⁹²

Under Hadrian, towns in question in reach of the region affected by revolt might be those on or near the coast with a mixed Jewish–gentile population like Joppa and Jamnia, and perhaps also Beth Gubrin (later Eleutheropolis), to the south-west of the Judean hills; to the east possibilities include Livias (Julias) in Peraea, opposite Jericho – Babatha's son-in-law was from a village near Livias – and nearby Esbus (Heshbon), just over the Peraean border in Arabia, probably with a mainly gentile population (it was sacked by the Jewish rebels in 66 as a Syrian city, as noted by Josephus, *B.J.* ii 458).¹⁹³ The possible presence of rebellion in Peraea is underlined by Bar Kokhba documents dated in Year 3 of the liberty of Israel, concerning property in Kephbar Baru and executed there.¹⁹⁴ This place might be tentatively identified with Baaras, north of Machaerus (Josephus, *B.J.* vii 180–9), known in Latin as Baaru, not far from Callirhoe on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea.¹⁹⁵ If so – the identification is not completely straightforward – communication across the sea with Engaddi and other west-coast sites

¹⁹¹ Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, ii, 130–6; 'fugitives' may bear the negative sense of people expelled by their own communities; U. Rappaport, 'Jewish-Pagan Relations and the Revolt against Rome in 66–70 CE', *The Jerusalem Cathedra* i (1981), 81–95.

¹⁹² Attention was drawn to this passage as attesting gentile participation from Arabia by S. Abbadi and F. Zayadine, 'Nepos the Governor of the Provincia Arabia in a Safaitic Inscription', *Semitica* xlvii (1996), 155–64 (162); it may well refer (also) to Jews, but does raise the possibility of gentile involvement.

¹⁹³ Levine, *Caesarea under Roman Rule*, 34–45 (allowing for a small early second-century Jewish community as well as the large gentile population); Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, ii, 7, 109–14 (Jamnia and Joppa); 5, n. 8 end, 194, n. 39 (Beth Gubrin) (here I envisage some renewal of non-Jewish population after the destruction of Marisa in 40 BC and, later, Vespasian's repression of revolt in Idumaea); 165–6 (Esbu), 176–8 (Livias); Cotton and Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites*, 230 (XHv/Seiyal 65, Jeshua son of Menahem from Soffathe, a village in the district of Livias).

¹⁹⁴ XHv/Se 8 and 8a, deeds of sale in Aramaic and Hebrew and in Aramaic, respectively (Cotton and Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites*, 26–37); see Bowersock, 'The Tel Shalem Arch and P. Nahal Hever /Seiyal 8', 179; Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 325–6, n. 161.

¹⁹⁵ For the position see Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 325–6, n. 161, also citing the form Baaru from Jerome's translation of Eusebius's *Onomasticon*. The double alpha in the Greek transliteration might, however, lead one to expect a Hebrew or Aramaic name Ba'aru, *b'ru*, with a guttural letter after the initial Beth, rather than the forms *brw* and *bryw* found in the deeds.

held by Bar Kokhba, such as Ain Feshka and Khirbet Qumran, could be envisaged.¹⁹⁶

Dio's phrase 'eagerness for gain' suggests, however, not only needy city-dwellers but also bandit groups of non-Jewish background. Here Nabataean and other Arabs, whose encouragement and practice of banditry Herod the Great had tried to quell, might come into consideration.¹⁹⁷ The links just exemplified in Babatha's family between Jews in Peraea and in the neighbouring districts of Arabia east and south of the Dead Sea, against the background of Jewish-Arab relations sketched earlier in this chapter, help to indicate how Arabia might be affected by events in Judaea.

When Nabataean Aramaic texts appeared among Judaeian wilderness documents which became known in the 1950s it was indeed soon suggested that some Nabataean Arabs who were close to the Jewish community took part in Bar Kokhba's revolt.¹⁹⁸ More recently the combination of these texts with other sources has supported suggestions of a relatively large-scale Nabataean uprising alongside the Jewish one.¹⁹⁹ Three epigraphic references to T. Haterius Nepos, who is attested as governor of Arabia during 130–1 in documents from the Babatha archive, have been interpreted as signs of this revolt.²⁰⁰ First, as W. Eck emphasized, Nepos was awarded triumphal ornaments after the war, like Sextus Julius Severus (transferred from his governorship of Britain) and Publicius Marcellus (governor of Syria).²⁰¹ This on its own, however, may simply signify that Nepos led troops from Arabia to help repression in Judaea, just as Publicius Marcellus brought troops from Syria.²⁰² Second, the name of Nepos is erased

¹⁹⁶ For Bar Kokhba coins at Kh. Qumran and Ain Feshka see R. de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Schweich Lectures, 1959; rev. edn in English translation, London, 1973), 45, 67, 71.

¹⁹⁷ Josephus, *Ant.* xvi 292 (Nabataeans join inhabitants of Trachonitis in brigandage), discussed by Isaac, 'Bandits in Judaea and Arabia', in Isaac, *The Near East under Roman Rule*, 128–9.

¹⁹⁸ Milik in Benoit, Milik and de Vaux, *Les grottes de Murabba'at*, 67 (the principal actors in the Bar Kokhba upheaval were the Jews and the judaized Arabs of southern Palestine); cf. J. Starcky, 'Un contrat nabatéen sur papyrus', *RB* lxi (1954), 161–81 (181, on the historical significance of this text as showing that Jews lived mingled with the Nabataeans of the southern confines of Judaea).

¹⁹⁹ W. Eck, 'The Bar Kokhba Revolt: the Roman Point of View', *JRS* lxxxix (1999), 76–89; Eck, 'Hadrian, the Bar Kokhba Revolt and the Epigraphic Transmission', 164–5; Eck, *Rom und Judaea*, 133–8; Bowersock, 'The Tel Shalem Arch and P. Nahal Hever / Seiyal 8'.

²⁰⁰ For Nepos in the Babatha archive see P. Yadin 23, 25 and 26 (Greek summonses to appear in court) in Lewis, *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Greek Papyri*, 102–4, 108–15.

²⁰¹ CIL XI 5212 = ILS 1058, from the dedication of a statue in his home town of Fulginiae in Umbria, quoted and discussed with inscriptions in honour of Publicius Marcellus and C. Julius Severus by Eck, 'The Bar Kokhba Revolt: the Roman Point of View', 82–7; Eck, 'Hadrian, the Bar Kokhba Revolt and the Epigraphic Transmission', 167–8; Eck, *Rom und Judaea*, 139.

²⁰² IGR III 174 = Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, no. 216, statue base from Ancyra inscribed in Greek in honour of C. Julius Severus (not Sex. Julius Severus,

from inscriptions celebrating Hadrian's visit to Gerasa in 130. This might possibly represent a reaction on the part of city authorities during a time of rebellion, as is suggested by G. W. Bowersock; erasure was executed, however, with care to leave the rest of the inscription, and the circumstances remain unclear.²⁰³ Third, however, a Safaitic inscription from Wadi al-Hashad, near the north-eastern border of present-day Jordan, states that a Safaite from the tribe of Sa'd 'revolted (*mrd*) for three years against *nps* the tyrant' – the name *nps* being plausibly interpreted as Nepos, against the background of other Safaitic inscriptions which mention Rome.²⁰⁴ This would then indicate unrest in which members of Safaitic tribes might have been involved, but not necessarily a general revolt among the more settled Nabataeans.²⁰⁵ Depredation by nomadic tribesmen would indeed fit Dio's conception of participation in rebellion for gain.

Gentile names in Bar Kokhba letters

To return to the Judaeen wilderness documents, personal names in Bar Kokhba letters have been taken to indicate the participation of foreigners which Dio mentioned.²⁰⁶ These Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek letters, almost all from Simeon bar Kosiba or his officers, fall mainly into two groups.²⁰⁷ Those first published, in Hebrew and Aramaic, found in the Wadi Murabba'at, were addressed to Jeshua ben Galgula, 'head of camp' perhaps in Caphar Baricha, east of Hebron and above Engaddi (three letters, with fragments of three others which were probably in his hands, and further small fragments probably from letters).²⁰⁸ A second group, found in the 'Cave of Letters' in Nahal Hever (Wadi Habra), were addressed to

former governor of Britain), 'who guided affairs in Syria when Publicius Marcellus transferred from Syria because of the Jewish tumult (*kinesis*)', quoted and discussed by Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 518–19; 549, n. 151; Eck, *Rom und Judaea*, 134–5, with photograph. The view that Nepos and Publicius Marcellus simply brought troops to Judaea is preferred in a review of Eck's argument by Mor, 'The Geographical Scope of the Bar Kokhba Revolt', in Schäfer, *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, 107–31.

²⁰³ Bowersock, 'The Tel Shalem Arch and P. Nahal Hever / Seiyal 8', 177–8.

²⁰⁴ Abbadi and Zayadine, 'Nepos the Governor of the Provincia Arabia in a Safaitic Inscription'; on other Safaitic inscriptions mentioning Rome see also Hackl, Jenni, and Schneider, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Nabatäer*, 52–3, 417 (see n. 83, above).

²⁰⁵ Abbadi and Zayadine suggest a broader revolt corresponding to the Bar Kokhba revolt especially on the basis of the 'three years', but they note that *mrd* can cover smaller-scale mutiny as well as revolt.

²⁰⁶ Discussion of suggestions in Yadin, *Bar Kokhba*, 126, 130–1 is traced by Mor, 'The Bar-Kokhba Revolt and Non-Jewish Participants', 200–3.

²⁰⁷ For some account of their discovery see Chapter 2, above.

²⁰⁸ J. T. Milik in Benoit, Milik and de Vaux, *Les grottes de Murabba'at*, 155–69 (nos. 42–52).

Jonathan (son of Ba'ya or Ba'yan, Beianus in Greek) or to this Jonathan and Masbala, officers in Engaddi itself (twelve letters, Hebrew and Aramaic but including the two in Greek, from a find of fifteen, all of which may have been in Jonathan's hands).²⁰⁹ Jonathan was the brother of Miriam, a previous or other wife of Eleazar, Babatha's second husband.²¹⁰ Lastly, a fragmentary Hebrew letter addressed 'to Simeon ben Kosiba prince of Israel' by Simeon ben Mattaniah was among papyri brought to the Palestine Archaeological Museum in 1952, and was possibly also found in a cave in Nahal Hever (Wadi Habra).²¹¹

The Greek-named Theodosius (or Thyrsis) son of Theodore in the Aramaic letter P. Yadin 56 may well, however, be not a foreigner but a Jew bearing a Greek name.²¹² Similarly, the Roman name Gaius in a Greek list of names found in Nahal Seelim (Wadi Seiyal), taken by Lifschitz as possibly that of a foreign partisan, may well be the name of a Jew.²¹³ Then the Greek letter P. Yadin 52, to Jonathan and Masbala, commanding delivery of wands and citrons 'to the camp of the Jews' (for the feast of Tabernacles)

²⁰⁹ Yadin et al., *Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabatean-Aramaic Papyri*, 278–348 (P. Yadin 49–51, 53–8, 60–3); H. M. Cotton, 'Greek Letters', in Yadin et al., *Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabatean-Aramaic Papyri*, 351–66 (P. Yadin 52, 59). The probably Aramaic name Masbala is transliterated Ma[s]abala in the Greek letter P. Yadin 52, lines 2–3, but is attested in Josephus in the transliteration, with a Greek declinable ending, Masbalos (the name of the father of a priest, Ananias, who was among the 'eminent' in Jerusalem during the siege by Vespasian; Josephus, *B.J.* v 532); see Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity*, i, 391–2. This difference in representing vocalization of the consonants near the beginning of the Aramaic name (-masb- as opposed to -masab-) corresponds to the difference between the Greek transliterations Babatha and Babtha, both found in the papyri (Cotton, 'Greek Letters', 355); and for Masbala I have followed here the shorter transliteration.

²¹⁰ Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, 249, on the Greek summons of Babatha to Mariame daughter of Beianus published as P. Yadin 26 (Lewis, *Greek Papyri*, 113–15); Cotton, 'Greek Letters', 355, on P. Yadin 52 (Greek letter of Soumaios to Jonathes son of Beianus, and Masbala); Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity*, i, 364–5. To the texts discussed by Ilan in connection with the name Ba'ya/Beianus add perhaps I Macc. 5:4 on 'the children of Baean', mentioned in connection with Idumaea.

²¹¹ XHev/Se papLetter to Shim'on ben Kosibah; see Cotton and Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites*, 1–2 (R. de Vaux on 30 September 1952 announces the arrival of texts including a Hebrew letter addressed to Bar Kokhba), 103–4 (text and discussion); Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, 136 (mention of this letter).

²¹² P. Yadin 56, lines 5–6 'and you shall bring Theodosius [or Thyrsis or Thyrsus] and let him come with you, for we need him'; Yadin, Greenfield, Yardeni and Levine, *Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabatean-Aramaic Papyri*, 319–20 cite for the name Theodore the Greek texts P. Yadin 11.37 (witness signature) and XHev/Se 72 (unidentified papyrus fragment). For other attestations of Theodosius and Theodore see Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity*, i, *Palestine 330 BCE–200 CE*, 285–7.

²¹³ Lifschitz, 'The Greek Documents from Nahal Seelim and Nahal Mishmar', 55, 58, 61; H. M. Cotton, '34Se papCensus List from Judaea or Arabia gr' in Charlesworth et al., *Miscellaneous Texts from the Judaean Desert*, 217–26 (221–2, with note on Gaius as a Jewish name).

is from someone with the name Soumaios (or, less probably, Soulaios); the sender was thought by Y. Yadin to be non-Jewish, but identified by B. Lifschitz with (Simeon) Bar Kokhba.²¹⁴ Soumaios excuses himself for having had the letter written in Greek (*hellenesti*) because it was impossible to write *hebraesti* – in Aramaic or Hebrew, or in the script used by Jews for Aramaic.²¹⁵ The name Soumaios occurs in Greek witness-signatures thought probably to be by Nabataeans in the Babatha archive.²¹⁶ It has been inferred that Soumaios belonged to a group of Nabataeans in Bar Kokhba's army, and, further, that many Nabataeans – whose harmonious coexistence with Jews is suggested by the witness-signatures just cited – had risen together with their Judean Jewish neighbours.²¹⁷

Soumaios may however once again be the name of a Jew here. In content this letter resembles an Aramaic letter from 'Simeon', probably not Bar Kosiba (P. Yadin 57), to Judah son of Manasseh in Kiriath Arbaia, on the delivery of palm branches and citrons (to be brought from Engaddi), and myrtle branches and willows. The similarity perhaps leaves open the view that the Greek letter too is from the same person, despite the apparent oddity of Soumaios as a Greek equivalent of Simeon.²¹⁸ Alternatively,

²¹⁴ Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, 132; B. Lifschitz, 'Papyrus grecs du désert de Juda', *Aegyptus* xlii (1962), 240–56 (241–4, reading Soumaios from the original, but taking it as a Greek form of Bar Kokhba's name Simeon); G. Mussies, 'Jewish Personal Names in Some Non-Literary Sources', in J. W. van Henten and P. W. van der Horst (eds.), *Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy* (Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums xxi, Leiden, 1994), 242–76 (251–2, reading from a photograph Soulaios, corresponding to Nabataean Shullai, also transliterated as Syllaues – the name borne by the Nabataean suitor of Herod the Great's sister Salome); H. Lapin, 'Palm Fronds and Citrons: Notes on Two Letters from Bar Kosiba's Administration', *HUCA* lxiv (1993), 111–35 (115–16, reaffirming the possibility that Soumaios is a gentile); H. M. Cotton, 'Greek Letters', 351–66 (354, 361, reading, from the original, Soumaios). She compares the name Soumaios found in witness signatures (probably, she holds, by Nabataeans) in two documents from the Babatha archive, P. Yadin 12.16 and 19.34. Lewis, *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Greek Papyri*, 49–50, notes that the reading of this name rather than Soulaios in 12.16 is suggested by 19.34, where the ending –maios is clear.

²¹⁵ I take it that a secretary would have been used for the main text in which this explanation appears (at lines 11–15), for the closing formula 'Soumaios. Farewell' is written at the end (lines 20–1) in a second hand, as noted by Cotton, 'Greek Letters', 354.

²¹⁶ Cotton, 'Greek Letters', 361, discussing P. Yadin 12.16 and 19.34.

²¹⁷ Cotton, 'Greek Letters', 359–61; Cotton, 'The Bar Kokhba Revolt and the Documents from the Judean Desert', 143–52.

²¹⁸ Yadin et al. (eds.), *Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabatean-Aramaic Papyri*, 322, take it that the Aramaic letter P. Yadin 57 is from Bar Kokhba. Cotton, 'Greek Letters', 357, n. 12, with 365, denies this, urging that letters from him always give his patronymic, and noting further, on the Greek letter from Ananos to Jonathan (P. Yadin 59), that the patronymic Chosiba is added above the name 'Simon' in line 2 when earlier letters from 'Simon' are mentioned – the need to specify perhaps indicating that another Sim(e)on might also have sent letters. Difficulties in the content of the Greek letter P. Yadin 52, if a Jew is envisaged as responsible for it (would a Jewish sender have spoken of 'the camp of the Jews' or have been unable to produce a letter in the Hebrew or Aramaic

Soumaios may be a Greek form not of Simeon, as proposed by Lifschitz, but rather of Shammai, as suggested by T. Ilan.²¹⁹

Foreign participation is then hard to trace with any assurance through particular names in the Judaeen wilderness documents connected with the revolt, but on the other hand these documents, with their inclusion of Nabataean Aramaic material and names, suggest close connections of Jews in Judaea and Arabia with their Nabataean neighbours. J. T. Milik's conception of 'Judaized Arabs' (n. 198, above) deserves reconsideration in its suggestion of Nabataeans with attachments to the Jewish community; the Arab intermarriage of Herod Antipas may have had its equivalent at humbler social levels, and the sympathy with the Jewish way of life found for example among the numerous 'Judaizers' of Syria (Josephus, *B.J.* ii 462–3) can be envisaged among Nabataeans too. Thus T. Ilan suggests that Yohana son of Abd'obdat Makhoutha, who signed in Nabataean Aramaic as a witness to the Greek version of a deed of 127 in Babatha's archive (P. Yadin 16), was a Nabataean whose Jewish theophoric personal name had been taken under the influence of Jewish neighbours.²²⁰ Conversely, however, there were more or less Nabataized Jews; Nabataean names in documents from the Judaeen wilderness may sometimes belong to Jews, as is the case in another context with 'Shubaytu son of 'Ali'u the Jew' (*yhwdy*) whose tomb in Hegra, north-east of the Red Sea (modern Mada'in Salih), was inscribed in Nabataean Aramaic in AD 42–3.²²¹

In sum, therefore, association with the Jewish community might have encouraged some Nabataean accession to Bar Kokhba's forces. Other unrest in Arabia probably involved members of nomadic tribes, but it is not clear that there was a major revolt among the settled Nabataeans. Dio's mention of gain indeed suits individuals or bandit groups better than a widespread popular rising.

script used by Jews?) may be mitigated if it is allowed that a secretary was used (n. 215, above), no doubt the only one available at the time – perhaps a Jew accustomed only to Greek script and expressions.

²¹⁹ Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity*, i, *Palestine 330 BCE–200 CE*, 23–4, 216–17 and n. 46 (Soumaios here one of the Greek forms of Shammai).

²²⁰ No. 16 in Lewis, *Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters*, 65–70; Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity*, i, *Palestine 330 BCE–200 CE*, 137, no. 89, s.v. Yohanan, with 142, n. 198. That Yohana was the son of a Jewish mother and a Nabataean father, or that his father despite his Nabataean theophoric name was Jewish, also seem possibilities.

²²¹ J. F. Healey, *The Nabataean Tomb Inscriptions of Mada'in Salih* (Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement 1, Oxford, 1993), 95–100, no. H4 = A. Jaussen and R. Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie* (2 vols., Paris, 1909, 1914), i, 148–51, no. 4 = Hackl, Jenni and Schneider, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Nabatäer*, 332–4, no. Q.047.13. For Jewish concession to local Arabian custom perhaps compare also the Mishnah (Shabb. vi 6) on Jewish women in Arabia as permitted to go out wearing veils on the sabbath.

In his narrative what appeared to be an alarmingly widespread access to the ranks of the rebels forms the context for Hadrian's despatch of generals to Judaea. Their arrival would be the beginning of the end for the rebellion. Meanwhile, however, as in the First Revolt against Rome, the rebels had gained control of what became an independent territorial state.

II AN ISRAELITE REALM

Judaean wilderness documents include, as noted already, a group of texts attesting deeds dated by Bar Kokhba's era with his title.²²² These can be viewed together with coinage, also attesting era and titulature, and weights, also with titles.²²³ Letters from Bar Kokhba or his administration again attest titulature.²²⁴ These finds, together with surveys of caves and hiding complexes, shed light on the territory, administration, constitution and ethos of the rebel state or, as it is presented from within, the Israelite realm.

Territory

The heartland of this state will have been in Judaea south of Jerusalem, southwards to Idumaea beyond Hebron. Ways led from Jerusalem south towards Bethlehem and then past Etam (Solomon's Pools) and Bethsura (I Macc. 4:29) to Hebron, and also from Bethlehem, forming a roughly parallel route, further east and closer to the descent to the Dead Sea, by

²²² Thirteen such texts can be seen in the following publications: Benoit et al., *Les grottes de Murabba'at*, 122–34 (no. 24, Hebrew, Year 2; nos. 22, 25, and 29–30 in this volume, which use a revolt era but lack the name of Bar Kokhba, have been redated after carbon testing to the First Revolt; see H. Eshel, 'Documents of the First Jewish Revolt from the Judaean Desert'; Goodblatt, *Elements of Ancient Jewish Nationalism*, 127–9); Cotton and Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites*, 9–37 (nos. 7 (Aramaic), 8 (Aramaic and Hebrew), and 8a (Aramaic), all from Year 3), 65–70 (no. 13, Aramaic, Year 3); 121–2 (no. 49, Hebrew, Year 2); Yadin et al., *Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabataean-Aramaic Papyri*, 39–70 (P. Yadin 44, 45, 46, Hebrew, all from Year 3); 142–68 (Aramaic: P. Yadin 42, Year 1; 43, Year 1; 47, Year 3); A. Yardeni in Charlesworth et al., *Miscellaneous Texts from the Judaean Desert*, 125–9 (P. Sdeir 2, Promissory Note (?), Aramaic, Year 3; here the name and title 'Simeon bar Koseba prince of Israel' are known only through a probable restoration in lines 1–2).

²²³ Miltenberg, *The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War*; Kloner, 'Lead Weights of Bar Kokhba's Administration'; Miltenberg and Zissu, 'Hiding Complexes in Judaea', 186, 214 (drawings and photographs).

²²⁴ Texts and small fragments of letters can be seen in Benoit et al., *Les grottes de Murabba'at*, 155–69 (including no. 42, Hebrew, from the administrators of Beth Mashiko, and nos. 43–4, Hebrew, from Bar Kokhba); Yadin et al., *Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabataean-Aramaic Papyri*, 277–368 (including, from Bar Kokhba, P. Yadin 49, 51, 60–1, in Hebrew, and P. Yadin 50, 53–8, 63, in Aramaic [54 is on wood]; from Soumaios, discussed above, P. Yadin 52 and 59, in Greek).

Bethbasi (I Macc. 9:62), Herodium, and Tekoa, then to the area of modern Bani Na'im, east-south-east of Hebron (see below), and on to Ziph, south-east of Hebron.²²⁵ There are vestiges of Roman military activity, notably aqueduct construction (see below) along the main road to Hebron.²²⁶ Since the nineteenth century, sizable hoards of Bar Kokhba coins have come to light in the vicinity of Hebron.²²⁷ After the revolt, it was the Terebinth fair near Hebron which was glutted with Jewish captives put up for sale.²²⁸

Towards the north, at the time of a Hebrew document dated in Year 2, there was a 'camp' of Bar Kokhba's adherents at Herodium, overlooking the wilderness and the Dead Sea south-east of Bethlehem and north-east of Tekoa.²²⁹ Here too a hoard of Bar Kokhba coins was found.²³⁰ Herodium was head of a toparchy, as attested by Josephus (*B.J.* iii 55) and also by Pliny the Elder, who listed it as 'Herodium with the noted town of the same name' (*cum oppido inlustri eiusdem nominis*, Pliny, *N.H.* v 14, 70); it remained so in the year 124, when a Greek remarriage contract found in the Wadi Murabba'at names 'the toparchy of Herodium'.²³¹ Its hiding complex

²²⁵ Dalman, *Sacred Sites and Ways*, 24 and n. 2; Herod the Great probably took this eastern route when he fled from Antigonos and the Parthians to Masada, winning a rearguard action against the odds at the site where he later built Herodium in commemoration (Josephus, *B.J.* i 263–6; *Ant.* xiv 359–61).

²²⁶ Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 430.

²²⁷ Milnberg, *The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War*, 49–54, with Map 1; for a survey updated to 2000, and emphasis on discoveries of coins in the territory of Benjamin as well as Judah, see B. Zissu and H. Eshel, 'The Geographical Distribution of the Bar Kokhba Coins', in H. Eshel and B. Zissu (eds.), *New Studies on the Bar Kokhba Revolt. Dr Leo Milnberg – In Memoriam* (Hebrew: Ramat Gan, 2001), 17–40, with map (33).

²²⁸ Jerome on Jer. 31:15, Zech. 11:4–5, in both cases with reference to Jewish tradition.

²²⁹ Mur 24 (fragmented), edited and studied by J. T. Milik in Benoit et al., *Les grottes de Murabba'at*, 122–34 and plates xxxv–xxxvi; see lines B.2–4 and E.2–3 'On 20 Shebat in Year 2 of the redemption of Israel at the hand of Simeon ben Koseba prince of Israel, in the camp settled in Herodium, Judah ben Rabba said to Hillel ben Garis . . .', a sequence stating when and where the transaction took place; but at lines C.3–4, and also at line F.3, which is very severely damaged, Milik restored simply ' . . . prince [of Israel] who is dwelling in Herodium', although the lacuna in C might also permit the restoration 'prince [of Israel in the camp] that is dwelling . . .'. Here Milik followed D.4, which is badly fragmented, but can suggest a sequence of words without 'in the camp'. He took the document to attest Bar Kokhba's personal residence at Herodium, but in the clearly attested longer text Herodium is simply the place of the transaction; compare the deed of sale XHev/Sey 8, Recto, upper text, line 1 '[On the . . .] of Adar, year 3 of the liberty of Israel in the days of Simeon ben Koseba, at Kephbar Baru, Jonathan son of Eli from Kephbar Baru said to Saul son of Harrashah . . .' (Cotton and Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites*, 27–8, no. 8). See the critiques of Milik in J. Fitzmyer, 'The Bar Cochba Period', in J. L. McKenzie (ed.), *The Bible in Current Catholic Thought: Gruenthaner Memorial Volume* (New York, 1962), 133–68, repr. in J. Fitzmyer, *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (London, 1971), 305–54 (326, 335–6), and Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 122–4.

²³⁰ Milnberg, *The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War*, 56, n. 13 (822 medium and small bronzes, found in the Franciscan excavations of Herodium by V. C. Corbo in January 1967).

²³¹ Mur. 115, recto, line 2 ' . . . of the toparchy of Herodium'; see J. T. Milik in Benoit et al., *Les grottes de Murabba'at*, 243–54 (248–51).

with further finds of Bar Kokhba coins has been mentioned already. The name of Tekoa, nearby, occurs in the fragment of a letter (P. Mur. 47), and another fragmentary letter is addressed to 'the men of Tekoa' by Simeon bar Kosiba (P. Yadin 61).²³² Some Tekoan men were staying, evidently against orders, in Engaddi; other letters command that they be sent to Simeon and that houses in which they dwell are to be burnt (P. Yadin 54–5, Aramaic).²³³

Bar Kokhba's last defence was made at Beththera, modern Bittir. Like Khirbet el-Aqd, it controlled an important line of communication. Perhaps towards the northern frontier of his territory, this site north-west of Bethlehem overlooks the valley which runs west-south-westwards from the vale of Rephaim, just south of Jerusalem, and forms a natural boundary and a route to the Shephelah and the coastal plain.²³⁴ At Bittir it forms part of the 1949 border between Israel and the West Bank.²³⁵ Past Bittir-Beththera it was followed by a Roman road of the year 130 to Eleutheropolis-Beth Gubrin, leaving the valley shortly beyond Beththera to continue towards the south-west. In modern times the railway from Jerusalem wound from Bittir westwards through the now narrow valley down to Beth Shemesh, and then turned through the plain northwards to Lydda. From Beththera southwards there was access through the hills to the area of modern Beit Jala, near Bethlehem to the west.²³⁶ West of Beththera, in the Shephelah not far from the site of ancient Zanoah, a cave with remains including two spears, as well as a hoard of eighty-three Bar Kokhba silver coins, suggests the presence of insurgent fighters as well as other refugees.²³⁷ Further south in the Shephelah, the suggested importance for Bar Kokhba of the district of Beth Gubrin, later Eleutheropolis, is supported by discoveries of underground refuges.²³⁸

²³² J. T. Milik in Benoit et al., *Les grottes de Murabba'at*, 266–7; Yadin et al., *Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabataean-Aramaic Papyri*, 337–40.

²³³ Yadin et al., *Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabataean-Aramaic Papyri*, 305–16.

²³⁴ G. Dalman, *Jerusalem und seine Gelände* (Gütersloh, 1930), 210–11, with aerial photographs; Dalman, *Sacred Sites and Ways*, 16–19.

²³⁵ D. Ussishkin, 'Archaeological Soundings at Betar, Bar Kochba's Last Stronghold', *Tel Aviv* xx (1993), 66–97 (66).

²³⁶ Williams, *The Holy City*, i, 210 (a wadi comes down to Bittir from the neighbourhood of Beit Jala); Beit Jala was identified with the Gallim mentioned immediately before Baither in Jos. 15:59a LXX by Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, ii, 92; 324.

²³⁷ Zissu et al., 'Archaeological Remains of the Bar Kokhba Revolt in the Te'omim Cave (*Mugharet Umm et Tueimin*), Western Jerusalem Hills'.

²³⁸ Milik in Benoit et al., *Les grottes de Murabba'at*, 68, with 123, 126–7, on Mur. 24 line B.8, on the village Ir-nahash (I Chron. 4:12), identified with Deir Nahhas near Eleutheropolis, in connection with three places mentioned as devastated by Hadrian in texts including Lam. R. ii 2, on 2:4 – Kephart Bish, Kephart Shihlaim, and Kephart Dikrin, all of which he places in the same district; A. Kloner, 'Lead Weights of Bar Kokhba's Administration', *IEJ* xl (1990), 58–67 (58), and Kloner

To move towards eastern Judah, about ten miles south-west of Bethlehem, just east of the road to Hebron and south-west of Tekoa, is Ain Arrub, mentioned already, a likely site for the Kiriath Arbaia mentioned in two Aramaic letters from the revolt; a hiding complex used by a lost settlement, with Bar Kokhba coins, was found here, and water from its spring supplied an aqueduct to Solomon's Pools and Herodian Jerusalem.²³⁹ The name Khirbet Kuweizibe nearby to the south-west helps to suggest that a Cozeba, perhaps that of I Chronicles 4:22, was also in the vicinity.²⁴⁰ On the Hebron road a short way to the south is the probable site of Kefar Leqitaia, discussed above, the third of Hadrian's guard-posts for catching those who had been in hiding. Further south again, a letter (P. Mur. 43) 'to Jeshua ben Galgula and the men of Ha-Baruch' suggests (the reading of the name is not quite certain) that Bar Kokhba was obeyed in Caphar Baricha (Bani Na'im).²⁴¹ This village of 'the blessed one' (Abraham) – Hebrew *ha-barukh*, Aramaic *berikha* – lies about three miles east-south-east of Hebron, on the road south from Tekoa. At the highest point in the district, it is

and Zissu, 'Hiding Complexes in Judaea', 186 n. 3, on refugees at H. Alim near Beth Gubrin, which was probably a rebel administrative centre.

²³⁹ P. Yadin 57–8, in Yadin et al., *Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabataean-Aramaic Papyri*, 322–32; Yadin, 'Expedition D', 49; Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, 128–30; Tsafrir et al., *Judaea. Palaestina*, 209, s. Qiriath Arbaia; Y. Tsafrir and B. Zissu, 'A Hiding Complex of the Second Temple Period and the Time of the Bar-Kokhba Revolt at 'Ain-'Arrub in the Hebron Hills', in J. H. Humphrey (ed.), *The Roman and Byzantine Near East*, iii (JRA Supplementary Series 49, Portsmouth, RI, 2002), 6–36; G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem: the Topography, Economics and History from the Earliest Times to AD 70* (2 vols., London, 1907–8), i, 124–5, 128–31; A. Mazar, 'A Survey of the Aqueducts to Jerusalem', in Amit et al., (eds.), *The Aqueducts of Israel*, 210–44 (including the Arrub aqueduct, with map). Yadin also left open the possibility of identification with Kh. 'Arib in the fertile region of Solomon's Pools, south of Urtas, about three miles south of Bethlehem, a place which had been identified with the 'Birath Arba by Bethlehem of Judah' of Lam. R. i 16, 51 by S. Klein, *Eretz Yehudah* (Tel Aviv, 1939), 41; Klein, *Sepher ha-Yishuv*, i.1 (Jerusalem, 1939), 11, n. 1.

²⁴⁰ The branch of the descendants of Shela described in I Chron. 4:22, including 'the men of Cozeba', returned to Bethlehem after a sojourn in Moab, on a probable emendation. See Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, ii, 300; T. Willi, *Chronik* (Biblischer Kommentar – Altes Testament, xxiv, fascicle 2, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1999), 136–7; Tsafrir et al., *Judaea. Palaestina*, 169, s. Kh. Kuweizibe.

²⁴¹ J. T. Milik in Benoit et al., *Les grottes de Murabba'at*, 160, reading the four letters in question as *hbrk* (H. L. Ginsberg read *hkrk*, 'the fortress'); J. T. Milik on *hbrk* in the Copper Scroll (3Q15), xii 8, in Baillet et al., *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumran*, 257, 269, 298–9, 301 and plate LXX (here the reading of the letter *r* is not wholly certain, as the plate shows; Milik, reading *hbrk* in the Copper Scroll, now also notes an identification with Hebron itself as possible). Fitzmyer, 'The Bar Cochba Period', 339, n. 87, followed by Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 125, prefers *hkrk* in Mur. 43, on the ground that the construction 'men of ha-Barukh', with an article but without *kephar*, 'village', would be unusual; but *hbrk* on its own appears also as a place name in the Copper Scroll, if the reading there is correct (3Q15 xii 8), and the plausibility of Caphar Baricha as a Bar Kokhba stronghold receives some confirmation from finds of a rock-cut underground complex at Kh. Yuqin (Bani Dar), not far away to the west, and, further south, Susiya (with Bar Kokhba coins) and other sites (see Kloner and Zissu, 'Hiding Complexes in Judaea', 197–9). Tsafrir et al., *Judaea. Palaestina*, 98, s. Caphar Baricha, cite 3Q15 xii 8 and Mur 43 as Jewish references to this place.

strategically sited, comparably with Tekoa and Herodium further north, on a brow commanding the wilderness descents towards Engaddi and the Dead Sea; here, according to tradition, Abraham took leave of his heavenly visitors when they went down towards Sodom (Gen. 18:16–22).²⁴²

On this eastern side of the territory the letters to Jonathan and Masbala show Simeon bar Kosiba's control of Engaddi, on the Dead Sea, also formerly head of a toparchy (Josephus, *B.J.* iii 55; Pliny, *N.H.* v 14, 70). In 124 a Roman force was stationed here from an auxiliary cohort of Thracians which probably had its headquarters in Hebron.²⁴³ At Engaddi, cargoes were landed for bar Kosiba's supplies, and duties were probably also levied on shipping.²⁴⁴ A way down to Engaddi led also from Herodium south-eastwards through the wilderness of Tekoa.²⁴⁵ Northwards from Herodium routes led to Bethbasi and Bethlehem, as noted already, and from Bethlehem to the east, across the ravine of the Kidron, through the wilderness down to the north-western shore of the Dead Sea at Ain Feshka and Kh. Qumran, and the ford of the Jordan near Beth Hoglah; the Wise Men from the east in the Nativity narrative were later thought to have avoided Herod (Matt. 2:12) by returning home this way.²⁴⁶

This whole area, from the region of Bethlehem to the districts of Idumaea south of Hebron, was controlled in the First Revolt by Simon bar Giora at Hebron and the Sicarii at Masada (Josephus, *B.J.* iv 513–44), and was assigned in Israelite tradition to David when he was king of Judah in Hebron (II Sam. 2:1–11). It included both the fruitful uplands where Judah's

²⁴² Jerome, *Ep.* cviii 11 (Paula on her pilgrimage stood soon after sunrise on the brow of the hill here, the place to which Abraham followed his heavenly visitors, and she looked down over the desolate former sites of Sodom and Gomorrhah to Engaddi and Zoar).

²⁴³ P. Yadin 11, a Greek acknowledgement, signed in Engaddi 'village of the Lord Caesar' on 6 May 124, of a loan from Magonius Valens, centurion of Cohors I Miliaria Thracum, to Judah son of Eleazar Chthusion, of Engaddi; see Lewis, *Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Greek Papyri*, 41–6, with the comment on lines 2 and 14; Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 430, n. 31.

²⁴⁴ P. Yadin 49 (Hebrew letter from Simeon bar Kosiba to 'to the men of Engaddi, to Masbala and to Jonathan'), lines 6–8 (fruits to be unloaded 'from the boat that is with you'), 5–6 (boats being inspected for payment of duties, on a possible interpretation); see Yadin, Greenfield, Yardeni and Levine, *The Documents of the Bar Kokhba Period from the Cave of Letters: Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabataean-Aramaic Papyri*, 279–86.

²⁴⁵ The route through the wilderness from Tekoa to Engaddi, as taken by the Survey of Palestine in 1875, is described by Conder, *Tent-Work in Palestine*, ii, 124–37; from near Bethlehem to Engaddi, as taken by Dominicans of the École Biblique in 1894, by M.-J. Lagrange, 'Chronique. Excursion à Sebbé (Masada)', *RB* iii (1894), 263–76 (263–7; sometimes mules had to be unloaded to negotiate the paths). Travelling in the opposite direction, up from the Dead Sea, G. A. Smith described a parting of the ways above Engaddi, branching to Herodium on the right and leading towards Hebron on the left (Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, 271).

²⁴⁶ For the strategic importance of these desert routes near Bethlehem and Herodium see Dalman, *Sacred Sites and Ways*, 23–4.

'eyes shall be red with wine, and his teeth white with milk' (Gen. 49:12), and the desolate ravines running down to the Dead Sea where David had hidden from Saul, and where now Roman forces might be eluded.

Bar Kokhba's reception of cargoes at Engaddi for the forces, together with the mention of the district of Livias and Kephbar Baru in Judaeen wilderness documents, can help to suggest, as noted already, friendly relations with Peraea, north-east of the Dead Sea. Irrespective of these particular surmises, it is likely enough that Peraea was involved, because of its close connections with the territory of Judah and Benjamin across the Dead Sea and the Jordan. Risings had taken place in Peraea after Herod the Great's death, and again in the First Revolt against Rome, when the refugees fled to Jericho; others embarked on the Dead Sea to escape, perhaps hoping to reach the then still unsubdued hill country south of Jerusalem (Josephus, *B.J.* ii 57–9; iv 413–39). Yet, as in this earlier revolt Peraea was reconquered, with the exception of Machaerus and its district, well before the Bethlehem and Hebron hill country, so too in Bar Kokhba's time it may have been more accessible to Roman troops, and perhaps subject to his influence chiefly in mountainous parts, notably the hill country of Machaerus whence some of his supplies might come.

The bond between Jews here and in Judaea is evoked in the Mishnaic story (capping a claim that the smell from the compounding of incense in the temple went as far as Jericho) 'R. Eleazar b. Diglai said: My father's house kept goats in the hill-country of Machaerus, and they used to sneeze from the smell of the compounding of the incense' (M. Tamid iii 8). It may be conjectured that, just as after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 the districts of Herodium on the west of the Dead Sea and Machaerus to the east still remained in rebel hands, and had to be subdued in turn by Lucilius Bassus (Josephus, *B.J.* vii 163–4), so in the period of Bar Kokhba's power he governed both Judaea from the Bethlehem district southwards and the district of Machaerus opposite Bethlehem.

Bar Kokhba's rebellion was also clearly influential further north on the west of the Jordan, beyond Jerusalem, in the ancient territory of Benjamin. This is indicated by a series of hiding complexes with Bar Kokhba coins, in the west (for example Khirbet el-Aqd, noted already, near Emmaus) and in the north and east. Thus examples were found north of Jerusalem near the sites of ancient Anathoth (at Kh. Almit, also mentioned above), Michmash, and Beth-el, all on the high ground east of the Jerusalem–Neapolis road.²⁴⁷ These finds are consistent with the tradition preserved

²⁴⁷ Kloner and Zissu, 'Hiding Complexes in Judaea', 193–5.

in Lamentations Rabbah (discussed above in connection with Emmaus) that one of Hadrian's three guard-posts for catching Jews who came out of hiding was at Beth-el in Judah.²⁴⁸ They cohere too with the statement in the same narrative that those Jews who did misguidedly emerge gathered in the valley of Beth-Rimmon. This could reasonably be placed near the 'rock of Rimmon', where once six hundred Benjamites took refuge for four months (Judg. 20:45–7), and which is identified with the hill-top site of er-Rammun, three and a half miles east of Beth-el and west of the Gophna–Jericho road; a cistern and many caves have been found here.²⁴⁹

Other hiding complexes were found further to the north-east, in part of Mount Ephraim, notably at the site of ancient Shiloh, still to the east of the Neapolis road ('on the east side of the highway from Beth-el to Shechem', Judg. 21:19), in Acrabatene.²⁵⁰ This hilly upland toparchy on the Samaritan border was important for communications. It culminated on the north-east in the mountain of Sartaba, projecting into the Jordan valley north of Jericho and crowned by the Hasmonaean fortress of Alexandrium. Shiloh controlled the main north–south road, but to the east and north-east of Shiloh there are also transverse routes leading down to the Jordan valley at Phasaelis, on the south side of Sartaba. They include Neapolis–Jericho routes either via Aqrabah, from which the toparchy took its name, or further north down the Wadi Farah, where the Caesarea–Neapolis–Philadelphia road kept to the north of Sartaba, but a spur by the west of the mountain led south to Phasaelis and Jericho.²⁵¹

These indications of rebel activity north of Jerusalem cohere in turn with finds of refuge caves occupied in the Bar Kokhba period. One, in the Wadi ed-Daliyeh, which winds down to the Jordan valley at Phasaelis, nine miles north of Jericho, from a point north of Beth-el, could have sheltered refugees from the highland region between Beth-el and Shiloh.²⁵²

²⁴⁸ Lam. R. i 45, on 1:16; n. 134, above.

²⁴⁹ Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, ii, 437, s. Rimmon (2). Those who place the valley of Rimmon mentioned in the Lam. R. narrative in Galilee, for example Tsafir et al., *Judaea. Palaestina*, 215, s. Rimmon III, identify it with the Rimmon where rabbinic teachers met after the revolt, according to Jerusalem Talmud, Hag. iii 1, 78d; but consideration of the Lam. R. narrative on its own favours er-Rammun in ancient Benjamin. Kloner and Zissu, 'Hiding Complexes in Judaea', 194–5 note hiding places discovered nearby at Khirbet Nisya as well as at ancient Beth-el.

²⁵⁰ Kloner and Zissu, 'Hiding Complexes in Judaea: an Archaeological and Geographical Update on the Area of the Bar Kokhba Revolt', 192–6.

²⁵¹ A 1926 journey following the old road from Phasaelis up to Akraba is described by Alt, 'Das Institut im Jahre 1926', 31–2.

²⁵² N. L. Lapp and G. W. E. Nickelsburg, Jr, in P. W. and N. L. Lapp (eds.), *Discoveries in the Wadi ed-Daliyeh* (AASOR xli, Cambridge, MA, 1974), 49–54, 101–2, on Cave II (Araq en-Na'saneh).

Another group of caves is immediately above Jericho, in the cliffs known by the biblical name 'Ketef Jericho', the 'shoulder' or 'slope' of Jericho (Josh. 18:12); the site is close to the fortress of Dok built by Simon Maccabaeus's son-in-law (I Macc. 16:14–16), which was succeeded by the monastery of Douka, later Qarantal, where Christ's temptations are commemorated.²⁵³ These caves perhaps sheltered inhabitants of Jericho and the Jordan valley. No Bar Kokhba coins were found when they were surveyed, but finds included pottery and utensils typical of the period and Aramaic and Greek fragments of deeds, including a Greek text mentioning Hadrian, probably brought to the caves during the revolt.²⁵⁴ As noted already, refugees are likely to represent the population in general, not necessarily combatants in particular, although remains of nailed sandals have suggested that some fighters took refuge in the Jericho caves.²⁵⁵ At the least, however, the finds here and in Wadi ed-Daliyeh suggest the need for shelter from repressive measures in areas to the north and east of Jerusalem.

Lastly, the ridge running north and south which drops down dramatically from the west to the Jordan valley and the Dead Sea – Josephus's 'bare and barren mountain of great length which overhangs Jericho', stretching (he says) north towards Scythopolis and south to the end of the Dead Sea (*B.J.* iv 452–3) – has a geographic unity which was matched by links in ancient times between the inhabitants of the ridge, from Acrabatene in the north to Idumaea in the south. Thus Jonathan Maccabaeus took refuge from Bacchides first in the wilderness of Tekoa, where Herod later created Herodium, and then nearby in the rebuilt fortress of Bethbasi, east-south-east of Bethlehem on the way to Herodium, and then when times were better settled further north in Michmash (I Macc. 9:33; 62–7; 73).²⁵⁶ Again, the territory subject to Simon bar Giora included not only the regions of Hebron and Bethlehem but also the district north-east of Jerusalem where he fortified caves near Anathoth, as noted already, and, further north, Acrabatene where he was born – 'not only the toparchy of

²⁵³ For a photograph of the Qarantal monastery, which was built over the entrances of twenty-five caves on the north side of the Wadi al-Mafjar, taken from the Abi'or cave, one of those used for refuge, on the south side, see H. Eshel and D. Amit (eds.), *Refuge Caves of the Bar Kokhba Revolt* (Hebrew: Tel-Aviv, 1998), 114; for a view in the opposite direction, from above the monastery to this and other caves, Charlesworth et al., *Miscellaneous Texts from the Judaean Desert*, Plate 1, no. 2.

²⁵⁴ H. Eshel and B. Zissu, 'Jericho: Archaeological Introduction', in Charlesworth et al., *Miscellaneous Texts from the Judaean Desert*, 3–20, with the documents Jericho 2–19 edited by E. Eshel, H. Eshel, H. Misgav, N. Cohen, A. Yardeni and H. M. Cotton in Charlesworth et al., *ibid.*, 31–113; the Douka monastery was founded by Saint Chariton, mentioned already at Ain Farah (n. 144, above).

²⁵⁵ Eshel and Zissu, 'Jericho: Archaeological Introduction', 18–19.

²⁵⁶ For the identification of Bethbasi see Abel, *Les livres des Maccabées* (Paris, 1949), 176.

Acrobatene but the districts extending to the whole of Idumaea'.²⁵⁷ Then from the earlier years of Hadrian the Greek remarriage contract of 124, mentioned already, is between Elaios and a previously repudiated wife, Salome, daughter of John Galgula and perhaps a relative of Bar Kokhba's subordinate Jeshua ben Galgula, mentioned below. The deed is executed in Bethbasi, perhaps the home town of Salome, in the toparchy of Herodium, and formerly the site of Jonathan's fortress near Bethlehem; but Elaios is of the village of Galuda in Acrobatene, a few miles north of Shiloh, and is now resident in the village of Betharda in the district of Gophna.²⁵⁸

With all these considerations in view it may be concluded that hills and desert regions of ancient Benjamin and Ephraim up to the Samaritan border were under Bar Kokhba's influence.²⁵⁹ The roads to Neapolis and elsewhere, though always under threat of guerrilla attack from the many rebel hill-strongholds, were however perhaps still used warily by Roman forces.

It seems likely that Jerusalem itself, with its legionary camp, remained in Roman hands.²⁶⁰ The coin legends 'Jerusalem' and 'Of the liberty of Jerusalem' are probably programmatic.²⁶¹ Otherwise, the recapture of a place so famous under both Rome and Byzantium might have been mentioned by Cassius Dio and in Xiphilinus's epitome – unless it was considered in Dio's source simply as a Roman camp which had been temporarily lost; the report given in Dio (Ixi 14, 1), despite inflated language,

²⁵⁷ Josephus, *B.J.* iv 511–12; n. 112, above; he was a Gerasene (Josephus, *B.J.* iv 503), but the Gerasa where he was born is probably Jureish, south of Aqrabah (Tsafrir et al., *Judaea. Palaestina*, 133).

²⁵⁸ Mur. 115, recto, lines 1–3; see J. T. Milik in Benoit et al., *Les grottes de Murabba'at*, 243–54 (248–52).

²⁵⁹ Kloner and Zissu, 'Hiding Complexes in Judaea: an Archaeological and Geographical Update on the Area of the Bar Kokhba Revolt', 195–6 note a lack of attestation of hiding complexes in central Benjamin, and connect it tentatively with the hardness of the local limestone and the limitations of existing archaeological surveys.

²⁶⁰ So H. Eshel, M. Broshi and A. J. T. Jull, 'Documents from Wadi Murabba'at and the Status of Jerusalem during the War', in H. Eshel and D. Amit (eds.), *Refuge Caves of the Bar Kokhba Revolt* (Hebrew: Tel Aviv, 1998), 233–8 (redating Mur. 22, 25 (from year 3 'of the liberty of Jerusalem'), 29–30 to the First Revolt, as noted above). The opposite view, that the rebels captured Jerusalem, is taken by historians including Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v, 545 and n. 2 (urging that the contemporary Appian on Hadrian's overthrow of Jerusalem, discussed below, is confirmed by Fronto and also Dio on the great Roman losses, which are only explicable if Jerusalem was taken by the Jews; consistently therewith, Publicius Marcellus leaves his province of Syria to bring reinforcements to Tineius Rufus); Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 545–6 (general probability confirmed by coinage with 'Jerusalem', and Appian); Abel, *Histoire de la Palestine*, ii, 88–90, 93 (the legionaries would have evacuated their Jerusalem camp); Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 443–5 (stressing rebel coinage, Appian, Eusebius and Jerome, discussed below).

²⁶¹ Eshel, Broshi and Jull, 'Documents from Wadi Murabba'at and the Status of Jerusalem during the War', judge that the coins were issued in hope, and also as a response to a Roman issue of Aelia coins; for discussion of the question when Aelia coins first circulated see n. 7, above.

can only claim the overthrow of 50 of the Jews' 'most notable' forts and 985 of their 'best known' villages. The superlatives qualify both 'forts' and 'villages' as if to strengthen what might otherwise seem a chronicle of small beer.²⁶² Eusebius in the *History*, and rabbinic sources, mention the siege of Beththera but keep a similarly striking silence on any Roman recapture of Jerusalem.²⁶³ In his *Demonstratio Evangelica* Eusebius indeed says that a residue of Jerusalemites was left in the city after its capture by Titus, in accord with the prophecy of Zech. 14:2 (half shall be exiled, but the residue will remain), and was then 'attacked' (*poliorkethen*) and expelled under Hadrian – but this statement will have in view not a Roman siege of rebels in Jerusalem but Hadrian's general 'attack' (*poliorkia*) on the Jews in Judaea and his decree banning Jews from Aelia.²⁶⁴ A passage in Appian which could be taken to assert Hadrianic overthrow of the city after an attack on it probably refers to the demolition of the city for rebuilding against the general background of the defeat of the Jewish rebels.²⁶⁵ Interpretation on these lines receives some encouragement from the paucity of finds of revolt coins in Jerusalem.²⁶⁶ At the beginning of the revolt it may be conjectured, then, that any civil Jewish population remaining near the legionary camp at Jerusalem would have fled.

Participation in the revolt in Samaria, over the border from the toparchy of Acrabatene, remains debatable.²⁶⁷ There was a military presence in the early second century at Neapolis, near ancient Shechem, controlling a great east–west and north–south crossroads close to the Samaritan sanctuary on

²⁶² Exaggeration is detected here in Dio by Abrahams, *Campaigns in Palestine since Alexander the Great*, 39; Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 132–3.

²⁶³ Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, ii, 180, no. 343 (on Appian, discussed below) says that a siege of Jerusalem in the time of Hadrian is implied by two passages on the change under Hadrian in the Jerusalem episcopal succession from Jewish to gentile bishops in Eusebius, *H.E.* iv 5, 2 and v 12, 1, each speaking of 'the siege (*poliorkia*) of the Jews under Hadrian'; but *poliorkia* here is used in the more general sense of 'attack' or 'hostile treatment' attested in Eusebius and other writers of the fourth century. The verb *poliorkeo* can similarly mean 'attack' in general. See G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961), 1, 112b, s.vv. On Appian, Eusebius and Jerome as mistakenly taken to attest a Hadrianic siege of Jerusalem see also Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 82–5.

²⁶⁴ Eusebius, *D.E.* xvi 18, 10 (more briefly at ii 3, 86); for *poliorkeo* and *poliorkia* in the general sense of 'attack' in Eusebius see the preceding footnote.

²⁶⁵ Appian, *Hist. Rom.* I 252 (Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, ii, no. 343): Pompey overthrew Jerusalem – a city which Ptolemy I 'destroyed, and Vespasian overthrew when it had been rebuilt, and Hadrian again in my time'; but this is rapid and sweeping (Pompey simply demolished the walls), and probably refers to the demolition of the city for rebuilding against the background of the defeat of the Jewish rebels, somewhat as Jerome later speaks of 'the last overthrow (*eversio*) of Jerusalem under Aelius Hadrianus' (*In Isa.* i, on 1:5).

²⁶⁶ Bieberstein and Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem*, i, 144.

²⁶⁷ Discussion is reviewed by M. Mor, 'The Samaritans and the Bar-Kokhba Revolt', in A. D. Crown (ed.), *The Samaritans* (Tübingen, 1989), 19–31.

Mount Gerizim. Troops are also attested, without clear indication of date, at Sebaste, the ancient city of Samaria, controlling the main north–south road. A centurion's tombstone at Neapolis is probably from the period of the Bar Kokhba revolt, but the circumstances of his death are unknown.²⁶⁸ On general grounds it is not unlikely that there was Samaritan unrest. Some in the Samaritan population might well have considered taking advantage of the Roman preoccupation with the Jewish rebels, as happened at Mount Gerizim in the First Revolt (Josephus, *B.J.* iii 307–15). Any such unrest would have been, however, a Samaritan disturbance rather than a share in Bar Kokhba's war.²⁶⁹

In rabbinic haggadah, so far from any suggestion of Samaritan sympathy, a Samaritan counsels Hadrian and brings about the death of Eleazar of Modin and the capture of Bethar.²⁷⁰ The theme of Samaritan enmity is more than well-worn, and appears likewise in Ber. R. lxiv 10 on temple-rebuilding, discussed above. Yet its introduction into the Bethar legend would have been difficult if there were any strong post-war tradition of Samaritan co-operation with the Jewish rebels.²⁷¹ To that extent a view of such co-operation as unlikely can perhaps appeal to the rabbinic narratives of Bethar.

Jews further north in Galilee, on the other hand, especially in the countryside, were probably sometimes in sympathy with the revolt, as is suggested by the fierce Galilaean resistance to Vespasian's army in the year 67; the name of John of Gischala is emblematic. In 132, however, any large-scale rising on the spot may have been hindered by the strengthened Roman military presence in and around Galilee. Soldiers were to be found in Tiberias, perhaps in Ptolemais-Acre, with its veterans' colony, and to the south across the vale of Jezreel from east to west (at Scythopolis and, seven miles to the south on the Jericho road, near Salumias/Salem at Tel Shalem, where the bronze of Hadrian noted above was found; in strength at Caparcotna near Megiddo, on the Samaritan border; at Caesarea).²⁷² The concentration of place names from Judaea rather than Galilee in rabbinic

²⁶⁸ Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 430–1.

²⁶⁹ Mor, 'The Samaritans and the Bar-Kokhba Revolt', draws this conclusion.

²⁷⁰ Talmud Yerushalmi, Taan. iv 8, 68d–69a; Lam. R. ii 4, on Lam. 2:2. A comparable legend of Samaritan aid to Hadrian, now in the capture of Jerusalem, survives in Samaritan chronicles including the (fourteenth-century) Samaritan Book of Joshua; see T. G. J. Juynboll (ed.), *Chronicon Samaritanum . . . cui titulus est Liber Josuae* (Leiden, 1848), 47; Mor, 'The Samaritans and the Bar-Kokhba Revolt', 25.

²⁷¹ Thus, to meet such difficulties, Samaritan attempts to atone for their unrest at the outbreak of revolt by assisting Rome in the final repression of Bar Kokhba were envisaged as a possibility by Yeivin, *Milhemet Bar Kokhba*, 69.

²⁷² Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 118 (Caesarea), 432–5.

evidence for the revolt, despite the importance of Galilee as a centre of of rabbinic learning, and the apparent lack of discoveries of Bar Kokhba coins in Galilee, combine to suggest Judaeans as opposed to Galilaean uprising.

Archaeological finds play a part in argument on the other side. The hiding complexes discovered in Galilee (without Bar Kokhba coinage but with remains pointing mainly to the years 50–150) were constructed in preparation for this revolt, it is suggested, but never used; they may however include some works from the time of the First Revolt.²⁷³ Again, destruction by fire of a building at a site in lower Galilee (Kh. Wadi el-Hammam or Veradim, on the north side of the Arbel valley), where coins of Hadrian were also found, might indeed be attributed to Roman action at the time of repression.²⁷⁴ Here, however, the circumstances of the fire are unclear. Roman concerns for security in the Decapolis region east of the sea of Galilee are indicated by the find of a military diploma of 139 at the site of ancient Apheca, suggesting that veterans were settled there.²⁷⁵ An enigmatic find is that of a ring, tentatively identified as a signet of Bar Kokhba, not far from Galilee, near present-day Quneitra in ancient Gaulanitis.²⁷⁶ Further finds may clarify the general picture. Disturbance in this area is not unlikely in the early years of Antoninus Pius, as noted below. At present, however, the archaeological traces of rebel activity available for Judaea in Bar Kokhba's time, including the finds of coins, are not fully replicated for Galilee. This is consistent with the Judaeans character of the place names in the literary texts, and speaks against the likelihood of large-scale upheaval in Galilee.

That groups of Galilaean came south and joined in the revolt is however a possible inference from a crisp but ambiguous letter in Hebrew from Bar Kokhba himself to his subordinate Jeshua ben Galgula, cited already for its possible reference to Caphar Baricha. After the initial greeting of 'Peace' Simeon declares: 'I call the heavens to witness that if any of the Galilaean who are with you suffers harm [one letter of the verb rendered 'suffers harm' is conjecturally restored] I will put fetters on your feet, as I did to Ben Aphlul'.

²⁷³ Shahar, 'The Underground Hideouts in Galilee and Their Historical Meaning', 223–9.

²⁷⁴ U. Leibner, 'Excavations at Khirbet Wadi Hamam (Lower Galilee): the Synagogue and the Settlement', *JRA* xxiii (2010), 220–37 (225–6).

²⁷⁵ See the discussion of Roman reinforcements, below, with n. 441.

²⁷⁶ M. de Bry, 'Le sceau Messianique de Shim'on Bar Kokhba', *CRAI* January–March 1993, 203–15; D. Urman, 'A Signet-Ring of Bar-Kochba (?) from the vicinity of Quneitra in the Golan', in *Proceedings of the Twelfth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, July 29–August 5 1997, Division B, History of the Jewish People*, ed. M. Altschuler et al. (Jerusalem, 2000), 71–4 (perhaps left by a fugitive officer of Bar Kokhba on the way to Syria).

These Galileans may be combatants, but then one would like to know why, on this restoration, they are apparently in such danger from fellow combatants.²⁷⁷ J. T. Milik, perhaps with this consideration in view, ended by regarding them as civil refugees who had made a complaint, but judged that their presence would in any case indirectly attest the active or passive participation of the Galilean Jewish population in the rising.²⁷⁸ Their identification as Christians, which Milik had initially adopted, would fit Justin Martyr's notice of Bar Kokhba's punishment of Christians; but it seems doubtful whether Judaea as opposed to diaspora Jews would have favoured 'Galilean' as a term for 'Christian', given their continuing need for 'Galilean' in its geographical sense.²⁷⁹

It is also possible, however, that the letter, on a different restoration, warns against allowing the escape of (non-Christian) Galileans under arrest.²⁸⁰ Avoidance of military service may well have become a problem in the last period of the revolt, from which the surviving letters are likely to come. This supposition would help to explain the demand not only here but also in two other letters for the delivery of groups of persons to the prince; Tekoites and some from other places who have found lodging in Engaddi are to be brought to him, according to his letters to Jonathan and Masbala (P. Yadin 54–5).²⁸¹ There is then a fair probability that some Galileans fought (or, on the official view, should have fought) in the south; however, it seems unlikely that Galilee itself was controlled by Bar Kokhba.²⁸²

His territory, then, was above all Judaea and Idumaea, from the Bethlehem district southwards, perhaps together with the district of Machaerus on the other side of the Dead Sea. He also exerted influence further north,

²⁷⁷ Oppenheimer, 'Die jüdische Bewohnerschaft Galiläas zur Zeit von Jawne und während des Bar-Kochba-Aufstands', 239–40, takes the Galileans to be combatants and thinks of tensions, not however to be overrated, between fighters from different localities; but the strength of Bar Kokhba's threat, which constitutes the whole burden of the letter, and even the trouble taken to send a letter at all, then seem disproportionate.

²⁷⁸ J. T. Milik in Benoit et al., *Les grottes de Murabba'at*, 67, and 159–61, on Mur. 43 (in line 4 a lacuna is conjecturally filled with the letter *d*, giving the verb *yps[d]*, construed by Milik as a Niph'al imperfect with the sense of 'suffers harm'); Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, 136–7 (summary).

²⁷⁹ A probably originally Jewish use of this name for Christians is attested at this period in Epictetus (Arrian, *Diss.* iv 7, 6), and perhaps echoed in Justin Martyr (*Dial.* cviii 2) on Jewish designation of Jesus as a 'Galilean deceiver'; see Milik, 'Une lettre de Siméon bar Kokeba'.

²⁸⁰ In this case the lacuna in Mur. 43 might perhaps be supplied with *g*, giving the verb *yps[g]* in a sense attested in Aramaic, 'escapes'. For conjectures see K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer*, Ergänzungsband (Göttingen, 1994), 220.

²⁸¹ Yadin et al., *Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabatean-Aramaic Papyri*, 305–316.

²⁸² So Shahar, 'The Underground Hideouts in Galilee and Their Historical Meaning', 229–31; he suggests that the foundation of Aelia as the *casus belli* itself concentrated fighting in the south.

in the ancient territory of Benjamin and Mount Ephraim, particularly perhaps to the west in the region of Emmaus and Modin, and north-east of Jerusalem as far as Acrabatene, in the hills looking down to the Dead Sea and the Jordan; but these areas cannot confidently be ascribed to his 'free state'. Rome will probably throughout have retained control of the legionary camp at Jerusalem and cautious use of the main roads to the north, east and west, despite the constant danger of guerrilla attacks.

Administration

This territory was administered with the exactitude of the period in respect of weights and measures and property, as the Aramaic and Hebrew deeds dated by years of the new era show. Lead weights of Simeon bar Kosiba's administration comparably show oversight of markets. They attest the office and names of the functionaries concerned: *parnasim*, 'administrators', as seen for example in the Hebrew inscription of one of the surviving weights, found at Kh. Alim near Beth Gubrin, 'Ben Kosiba prince of Israel and his *parnas* Simeon Dasoi'.²⁸³ The title *parnas* is attested later on in the Mishnah in connection with the administration of villages.²⁸⁴

Under Simeon bar Kosiba, officials with this title or its Aramaic equivalent were also concerned with property transactions. Some indications of the scope of their duties survive. In an undated Hebrew letter 'from the administrators (*parnasim*) of Beth Mashiko, Jeshua and Eleazar, to Jeshua ben Galgula, head of camp', they confirm that a heifer has been duly purchased by its owner, so as to prevent its official confiscation.²⁸⁵ They also appear in connection with the granting of leases. In an Aramaic contract of Year 1, John son of Jeshua and Horon son of Ishmael, 'administrators of Simeon bar Kosiba', acknowledge the granting of a lease, and a Hebrew contract of Year 3 concerns land 'leased from Jonathan ben Mahanaim, the administrator of Simeon ben Kosiba prince of Israel in En Gedi'.²⁸⁶ In an Aramaic receipt related to the lease of Year 1 just mentioned, Horon son of Ishmael the administrator (his title is not used here) attests the payment of thirty-nine denarii in silver.²⁸⁷ The capacity in which the administrators appear to grant a lease may relate, it has been suggested,

²⁸³ Kloner, 'Lead Weights of Bar Kokhba's Administration'; Kloner and Zissu, 'Hiding Complexes in Judaea', 186, 214 (drawings and photographs).

²⁸⁴ Goodman, *State and Society in Roman Galilee*, 121–2, 125–6.

²⁸⁵ Mur. 42; see J. T. Milik in Benoit et al., *Les grottes de Murabba'at*, 155–9.

²⁸⁶ P. Yadin 42 and 44, edited by Yadin et al., *Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabataean-Aramaic Papyri*, 142–9, and, with discussion of the office of *parnas*, 39–54, respectively.

²⁸⁷ P. Yadin 43 in Yadin et al., *Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabataean-Aramaic Papyri*, 150–5.

to the status of some land at Engaddi, with its valuable balsam groves, as part of the imperial patrimony; Bar Kokhba would have taken over the imperial domain.²⁸⁸ Alternatively, he might have expropriated land from an earlier Jewish owner.²⁸⁹ Irrespective of these questions, the *parnasim* appear as influential local officials, not unlike the *parnasim* of villages as these emerge from the Mishnah (n. 284, above).

The 'head of camp' (*rosh ha-mahaneh*) to whom the Beth Mashiko administrators wrote, Jeshua ben Galgula, bore a title which could have both civil and military connotations. The connection of 'camp' (*mahaneh*) in the Pentateuch with the national assembly, for example in Numbers 2 and Deuteronomy 23, helps to encourage its later application to settlements or groups of Israelites outside a purely military context; so the Damascus Document envisages interpretation of law in various 'camps', each under the general supervision of the 'overseer (*mebaqqer*) of the camp' (CD-A xii 22-xiii 20), and in the 'halakhic letter' from Qumran Cave 4 'Jerusalem is the head of the camps of Israel'.²⁹⁰ In the War Scroll (iii 14) the 'heads of camp' (the plural of the Hebrew title found in the letter from Beth Mashiko) are the four who preside over the four camps, each consisting of three tribes, described in Numbers 2.²⁹¹ Among the Bar Kokhba letters, two Aramaic letters from 'Simeon', probably not bar Kosiba, order the despatch of various articles to 'the camp', and the corresponding Greek 'camp (*parembolē*) of the Jews' appears in the similar letter from 'Soumaios' discussed above.²⁹² Given these directions, and the general context of war, interpretation of the 'head of camp' addressed by the Beth Mashiko administrators as a military governor seems likely, but civilians will have been under his oversight, as the content of the letter shows.²⁹³ Perhaps in this case the 'head of camp' was governor of Caphar Baricha and its district.

Various forms of taxation can be presumed. There are probable traces of the collection of duties on shipping at Engaddi, as already noted, and the tithe mentioned in the Herodium deed cited above may have been

²⁸⁸ Cotton, 'Ein Gedi between the Two Revolts', 146–52.

²⁸⁹ Yadin et al., *Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabataean-Aramaic Papyri*, 41 (on P. Yadin 44, 45, and 46).

²⁹⁰ 4QMMT B, lines 61–2 = 4Q396 1–2 iii, lines 1–2, in E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, in consultation with Y. Sussmann, *Qumran Cave 4.V, Miqsat Ma'ase ha-Torah* (DJD x, Oxford, 1994), 19, 52–3, 144–5 (comments on the use of 'camp').

²⁹¹ Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (Oxford, 1962), 46–7, 270–1.

²⁹² P. Yadin 57 and 58 (Aramaic), in Yadin et al., *Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabataean-Aramaic Papyri*, 32 2–32; on 'Simeon' and the letter from Soumaios, perhaps the same person, nn. 214–6, 218, above.

²⁹³ For comment favouring military interpretation especially on the basis of a Nabataean parallel, but before 4QMMT was fully known, see J. T. Milik in Benoit et al., *Les grottes de Murabba'at*, 157–8.

a tax for the prince. Simeon bar Kosiba, like his Roman contemporaries, probably practised *angareia*, the enforcement of service, corvée, especially for the supply of food or of beasts of burden or personnel for transport.²⁹⁴ This form of taxation will lie behind the order (P. Mur. 44, in Hebrew) sent by Simeon (perhaps not Bar Kokhba himself) to Jeshua ben Galgula, presumably at Caphar Baricha, for five measures of wheat; 'I have ordered that whoever gives you his wheat should bring it after the sabbath'.²⁹⁵ One might again suspect *angareia* behind 'I have sent you two asses' (whose were they?), for the transport of palms and citrons to the camp, in the Aramaic letter of Simeon to Judah son of Manasseh at Kiriath Arbaia cited above.²⁹⁶ Taxation, never popular, is likely, however, to have seemed less unendurable from an Israelite prince than from a foreigner.

Overall, the weights, documents and letters reveal a considerable administrative network. War conditions made themselves felt; the administrator of Beth Mashiko would have come up himself to the 'head of camp' Jeshua ben Galgula, 'if the heathen had not been near us'.²⁹⁷ The regular conduct of day-to-day business and the prosperity of the realm were assured, however, as far as possible, with the continuation of landholding and agriculture (and thereby of the ability to pay tax and toll).

J. T. Milik's encomium reflects the surprise felt when Bar Kokhba documents were first known, but brings out the degree of continuity with earlier administration which they represent: Simeon ben Kosiba 'had the wisdom of a statesman and kept in motion, without major alterations, the Roman administrative machine, which was of a rare perfection'.²⁹⁸ Beside this praise, however, should be set M. I. Finley's matter-of-fact comment on Eunus, from Apamea in Syria, the leader of a Sicilian slave rebellion (c.139–132 BC) who took the name king Antiochus, minted a copper coinage and set up a kingdom modelled on Seleucid monarchy. How (Finley asks) was the Sicily of Eunus and his followers to be organized? 'They expected to live as free men in the only kind of world they knew... The obvious answer was the kind of state in which [they] had grown up'.²⁹⁹ The somewhat comparable realm and administration of Simeon ben Kosiba is impressive in its care for detail, continuity, and ancestral tradition, but may likewise have been 'the obvious answer'.

²⁹⁴ On this form of taxation, attested earlier in Judaea in the gospels (e.g. Matt. 5:41), see Goodman, *State and Society in Roman Galilee, AD 132–212*, 147–8.

²⁹⁵ P. Mur. 44, lines 8–10, in Benoit et al., *Les grottes de Murabba'at*, 161–3.

²⁹⁶ P. Yadin 57, line 1, Yadin et al., *Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabataean-Aramaic Papyri*, 326–7.

²⁹⁷ Mur. 42, lines 5–6; Benoit et al., *Les grottes de Murabba'at*, 156–7. This might possibly have been an excuse, but it would have been futile if it had not been plausible.

²⁹⁸ J. T. Milik in Benoit et al., *Les grottes de Murabba'at*, 68. ²⁹⁹ Finley, *Ancient Sicily*, 141.

Constitution and ethos

The chief evidence for the constitution and ethos of the Israelite realm is formed by a body of catchwords and dating formulae including titles. These are attested in coin legends and in the Bar Kokhba documents noted already. Dated coins give a year 'of the redemption of Israel' or 'of the liberty of Israel', phrases also used on First Revolt coins; the First Revolt legend 'Jerusalem the holy' recurs now in the short form 'Jerusalem'.³⁰⁰ A new feature of Bar Kokhba coins, however, in comparison with those of the First Revolt, is formed by titles including 'Simeon prince of Israel' and 'Eleazar the priest'. All these legends appear in the palaeo-Hebrew script which was used on the earlier revolt coins, and also on Hasmonaeen coinage. Documentary dates similarly belong to an era 'of the redemption of Israel' or 'of the liberty of Israel' at the hand of 'Simeon ben Koseba, prince of Israel'; compare the opening of the Hebrew document P. Mur 24, quoted above (n. 164), 'On 20 Shebat in Year 2 of the redemption of Israel at the hand of Simeon ben Kosiba prince of Israel . . .'

These politico-religious formulae and catchwords are of their nature fluid and elusive. Here an attempt is made simply to identify a group of likely allusions which are suggested by the pervasive influence of the Pentateuch and prophets among Jews at this period.

The prince and the priest

The catchwords 'redemption' and 'liberty' have already been considered in [Chapter 3](#). They seem jointly to claim for the government of Bar Kokhba (some fulfilment of) the hopes, continued from earlier revolt and expressed also in prayer, for a redemption from foreign oppression modelled on the exodus. At the same time they can be heard as echoes of contemporary Greek and Roman enthusiasm for liberty.

It is the titulature, however, which suggests a constitution. On coins and in documents and letters Simeon ben Kosiba is 'prince', Hebrew *nasi* – 'prince of Israel' or 'prince over Israel'; the one surviving letter to him, from his officer Simeon ben Mattaniah, is addressed 'to Simeon ben Kosiba prince of Israel' and opens its main text with 'Dear Father, Peace'.³⁰¹ The

³⁰⁰ For a survey see Horbury, 'Liberty in the Coin Legends of the Jewish Revolts'.

³⁰¹ XHev/Se papLetter to Shim'on ben Kosibah, lines 1–3; see Cotton and Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites*, 103–4. For the use of 'Father' (here, *abbah*) as a title of respect compare Matt. 23:9, teaching that the title should be kept for God.

prevalence at this period of 'Father' as a title of respect is backhandedly indicated by Matt. 23:9 'call no man Father upon earth', and more positively exemplified, in respect of a ruler and with the court language of affection, as here, in a Hebrew-based interpretation of the Egyptian cry *Abrech* (Gen. 41:43), ascribed to Judah b. Ilai: the Egyptians cried before Joseph, 'Tender Father!'³⁰²

Then in coin legends there is also an Eleazar who is called 'the priest', Hebrew *kohen* – perhaps R. Eleazar of Modin, associated with Bar Kokhba at Bethar in the haggadah, and presented, although this point is doubtful, as the leader's uncle.³⁰³ Sayings attributed to him in rabbinic literature suit the circumstances of the revolt, as has long been noted.³⁰⁴ To pick out some attested in the earlier rabbinic compilations, he condemns epispasm, as mentioned already; he judges that Moses commanded Joshua to choose 'fearers of sin' (not simply 'mighty men') to fight against Amalek (Exod. 17:9), and that the 'standing' of Moses on the hilltop during the battle was fasting (compare the accounts of Eleazar's own fasting and standing to pray at Bethar); and he teaches that the rewards of sabbath-keeping (upheld in Bar Kokhba letters, as noted below) include 'the world to come, the new world, the kingdom of the house of David, the priesthood, and the ministry of the Levites' (he sets kingdom and priesthood side by side, as the coinage seems to do).³⁰⁵ These attributions in works compiled from

³⁰² Explained as 'father in wisdom but tender in years': Sifre Deuteronomy i, end, on Deut. 1:1.

³⁰³ His name Eleazar is consonant with (though not declarative of) priestly descent, and haggadah attributed to him touches themes likely to have concerned those sympathetic with the rising, as noted below; he is viewed as the least unlikely of several weak candidates in Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 544. Eleazar b. Azariah had been tentatively preferred by L. Mildenberg, 'The Eleazar Coins of the Bar Kokhba Rebellion', *Historia Judaica* xi (1949), 77–108 (93), but in his later review of candidates in *The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War*, 29–30, he left the question open.

³⁰⁴ Z. Frankel, 'Geist der palästinischen und babylonischen Agada', *MGWJ* iii (1854), 157–8 (inter alia, on Mekhilta de-R. Ishmael, Beshallah, Wayyassa, iv, on Exod. 16:35); similarly, on individual passages, Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, i, 204–5 (Mekhilta de-R. Ishmael, Beshallah, Amalek, i, on Exod. 17:9); J. Hamburger, 'Elasar der Meder', in Hamburger, *Realencyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud*, ii (Leipzig, 1883), 161 (Babylonian Talmud, Hullin 92a, where the vine of Gen. 40:9–10, in Pharaoh's butler's dream, signifies temple, king, high priest and priesthood); M. Guttman, 'Ueber zwei dogmengeschichtliche Mischnastellen', *MGWJ* xlii (1898), 289–305, 337–45 (303–5, on Aboth iii 11 [12, 15]); A. Oppenheimer, 'Sabbatheiligung im Bar-Kochba-Aufstand', in I. Gafni, A. Oppenheimer and M. Stern (eds.), *Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple, Mishna and Talmud Period: Studies in Honour of Shmuel Safrai* (Hebrew: Jerusalem, 1993), 226–34, translated in Oppenheimer, *Between Rome and Babylon*, 292–302 (295, Mekhilta de-R. Ishmael, Beshallah, Wayyassa, iv, on Exod. 16:25).

³⁰⁵ Aboth iii 11 [12, 15]; Mekhilta de-R. Ishmael, Beshallah, Amalek, i, on Exod. 17:9; Mekhilta de-R. Ishmael, Beshallah, Wayyassa, iv, on Exod. 16:25, respectively; Eleazar was standing in prayer at Bethar when the Samaritan found him, according to Jerusalem Talmud, Taanith iv 8, 68d; Lam. R. ii 4, on 2:2.

the end of the second century onwards attest the impression left by Eleazar of Modin, and help to confirm that, if like many other members of the rabbinic movement he was a priest, he is a not unsuitable candidate for identification as 'Eleazar the Priest'.

The attestation of these two titles 'prince' and 'priest' together evokes what was regarded as the ancestral Israelite constitution of government by high priest and king, noticed briefly in the discussion of divisions in the Jewish community in [Chapter 3](#) (p. 160, above). Its practical importance in the Persian period, with tension between the two, seems to be reflected in the co-ordinate treatment of Joshua son of Jehozadak the high priest and Zerubbabel the governor in Zechariah, chapters 3–6, and Ezra 3:1–6.³⁰⁶

This double rule or dyarchy was instituted, according to Israelite tradition, by Moses himself, when he was warned that the end of his life drew near (Num. 27:15–23). Lest the people then be 'as sheep which have no shepherd', Moses obtained from the deity that Joshua son of Nun, filled as he was with the spirit, should be ordained to be 'over the congregation', 'to lead them out [to war] and to bring them in' (Num. 27:16–17), on the occasions discerned by Eleazar son of Aaron the priest through the oracle of the Urim (Num. 27:21).

This passage gives the pattern of the dyarchy of high priest and king, into which the law of the king in Deut. 17:14–20 (which unlike Numbers 27 does not mention the high priest) could be fitted in later interpretation of the Pentateuch. Instances of such interpretation include the Qumran Temple Scroll, perhaps from the Hasmonaean age, and then, not long before Bar Kokhba, Josephus; both, when explaining the law of the king in Deut. 17:14–20, envisage the king as deferring to the counsel of the high priest and elders.³⁰⁷ Then the passage on the two witnesses in Rev. 11:3–13 identifies them with the priestly and royal pair in Zechariah 4, and suggests concern with the ancestral dyarchy at the time of the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, perhaps among priests and laity within the city (see [Chapter 2](#), above).

Consideration of high priest and king together continued after Bar Kokhba, for laws concerning the two are treated successively in the Mishnah (Sotah vii 2; 7–8; Sanhedrin ii 1–3; Horayoth iii 1–3). They correspondingly reappear together in comments on the messianic age attributed to teachers

³⁰⁶ H. Tadmor, 'Judah', in D. M. Lewis, J. Boardman, S. Hornblower, and M. Ostwald (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History, Second Edition, vi, The Fourth Century BC* (Cambridge, 1994), 261–96 (264–6); Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, 43–5.

³⁰⁷ See the paraphrases of Deut. 17:14–20 in 11QT lvi–lix and (with emphasis on priestly rule and the optional character of kingship) Josephus, *Ant.* iv 223–4.

of the mid second century, Akiba's pupil Judah b. Ilai and the probably younger Simeon b. Gamaliel II, according to tradition a child in Beththera during the siege (see below). Judah and Simeon take Zech. 4:4, on the two anointed ones, to foretell, respectively, 'Aaron and David', or 'the Righteous Priest and the messiah', in the age to come.³⁰⁸ The view expressed in the second interpretation that the king messiah is more beloved of God than the priest might perhaps reflect the greater practical power, in the second century, of Simeon bar Kosiba the king compared with Eleazar the priest.

Simeon bar Kosiba's title *nasi*' in Hebrew biblical texts can signify either the king, mainly in Ezekiel – past (Ezek. 34:24, David), present (I Kings 11:34 in the reading tradition of the Massoretic Text, but not the Septuagint – Solomon; Ezek. 21:25, Zedekiah), and to come (Ezek. 37:25, 44:3) – or else one of the tribal princes, the phylarchs, 'the princes of Israel' (Num. 7:2). It is indeed very possible that, given the importance of Hebrew *melekh*, 'king', as a divine title in the post-exilic period, *nasi*' became a pious substitution for it in biblical texts where an earthly king was meant.³⁰⁹ That the ruler of all Israel is meant in Bar Kokhba's case appears from the phrase 'Simeon bar Koseba the prince over Israel' in the titulature found in P. Yadin 54, line 1 (Aramaic letter from Simeon bar Koseba, on wood).³¹⁰ 'Over' recalls Joshua, set 'over the congregation' (Num. 27:16), and the king to be set 'over thee' (Israel) in the mingled law and prophecy of Deuteronomy (17:15).

This use of *nasi*' for the general ruler recurs in other post-biblical texts before Bar Kokhba.³¹¹ In the Hasmonaean age it is attested in the Damascus Document, where the Deuteronomic law of the king just mentioned (Deut. 17:15, using *melekh*) is said to be written 'about the prince' (CD-A v, line 1, *nasi*); here the 'sceptre' who 'shall arise out of Israel' (Num. 24:17) in the future – the verse from Balaam's prophecy begins with the line on the star from Jacob which was later applied to ben Koseba – is comparably called 'prince of all the congregation', a phrase recalling Num. 27:16 (CD-A vii 20–I, also 4Q266 3 iii).³¹²

³⁰⁸ Sifra on Leviticus, section Tsaw, chapter 18, on Lev. 7:35, in I. H. Weiss (ed.), *Sifra* (Vienna, 1862), f. 40a; Aboth de-R. Nathan, version A, chapter 34; discussed by J. Klausner, *Die Messianischen Vorstellungen des jüdischen Volkes*, 116–17, revised in *The Messianic Idea in Israel*, 514–15.

³⁰⁹ A. Rofé, 'Qumranic Paraphrases, the Greek Deuteronomy and the Late History of the Biblical *nasi*', *Textus* xiv (1988), 164–74.

³¹⁰ Yadin et al., *Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabataean-Aramaic Papyri*, 308–9.

³¹¹ D. M. Goodblatt, 'The Title *Nasi*' and the Ideological Background of the Second Revolt', in A. Oppenheimer and U. Rappaport (eds.), *The Bar-Kokhba Revolt. A New Approach* (Jerusalem, 1984), 118–32.

³¹² C. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1958), 18–19, 30–1; J. M. Baumgarten and J. T. Milik, with contributions by S. Pfann and A. Yardeni, *Qumran Cave 4, XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)* (DJD xviii, Oxford, 1996), 44.

From the same period, the Blessings appended to the Manual of Discipline (Community Rule) and the Rule of the Congregation (Messianic Rule) in a manuscript from Qumran Cave 1 (1QSB=1Q28b) include a form of words ‘to bless the Prince (*nasi*) of the Congregation’; he is again identified with the ‘sceptre’ foretold in Num. 24:17.³¹³ In the Qumran War Scroll, also from Cave 1, the shield of ‘the Prince of all the Congregation’ is inscribed with the names of all twelve tribes (1QM v 1), and in a copy from Cave 4 the text of an earlier passage (1QM iii 13–14) is revised so that ‘the great standard which is at the head of the people’ becomes ‘the great standard of the Prince . . .’ (*ha-nasi*), and on it is written not just “The people of God” and the names “Israel” and “Aaron” . . ., but also ‘the name of the Prince’.³¹⁴

In a fragment related thematically to the War Scroll (4Q285) ‘the Prince of the Congregation, the Branch of David’ slays the last ruler of the defeated Kittim; this scene reappears outside the Qumran texts and not long before Bar Kokhba in II (Syriac) Baruch 40:1–3, where the Lord foretells that ‘my Anointed’ will slay the last leader of the enemy hosts on Mount Zion.³¹⁵

The rôle of the Prince of the Congregation in 4Q285 is thus coherent with the appearance of the words ‘the Prince of the Congregation’, with little immediate context, in fragments of the Isaiah Commentary from Qumran Cave 4 concerning war with the Kittim at the end of days (4Q161, fragments 5–6). By the Hasmonaeen period, as noted in [Chapter 3](#), above, the biblical Kittim were being identified with the Romans.

Hebrew *nasi*’ in this sense of the Israelite king probably also underlies Latin *princeps* in the Biblical Antiquities of Ps.-Philo (xxv 2–3), perhaps from the late Herodian age, where the term is used for Joshua and Kenaz as successive rulers of all Israel.³¹⁶

³¹³ J. T. Milik in D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD i, Oxford, 1955), 128–9.

³¹⁴ 4Q496, fragment 10, in M. Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4, III* (4Q482–4Q520) (DJD vii, Oxford, 1982), 62–3, and plate XII; the additional words were written above lines 3 and 4 of the fragment.

³¹⁵ See further [Chapter 3](#), above, under the heading ‘Rome as the Fourth Kingdom’.

³¹⁶ The lost original (the work survives in a Latin version) is often dated before the destruction of the temple by Titus; a case for a later date, perhaps even Hadrianic or later, is made from aspects of the work including its treatment of Nebuchadnezzar’s capture of Jerusalem and its ‘persistent sense of a gloomy present, tempered only by the prospect of future redemption’ (H. Jacobson). See Schürer, here rev. G. Vermes, in Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, iii.1, 328–9 (exegetical traditions from the Second Temple period, redacted probably before but possibly after 70); H. Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo’s Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums, xxxi; 2 vols., Leiden, 1996), i, 36–7 (text of xxv 2–3), 199–210 (date, after 70 and probably before about 150).

After Bar Kokhba the use of *nasi* for the ruler of Israel recurs strikingly in M. Horayoth iii 1–3, cited above. Here the *nasi* whose sin-offering is prescribed in Lev. 4:22, and who is interpreted broadly in the Targums as a ‘great one’ in the community, is understood as the king – a sign of the prevalence of this sense of *nasi* in the second century.³¹⁷ Modern renderings of the term as ‘premier’ or ‘president’ distract attention from the close association of *nasi* with *melekh*, ‘king’ which is found in the ancient Jewish literature, from Ezekiel to the Mishnah, cited above, and from the idea of dual priestly and kingly rule which the same sources reflect.³¹⁸ The sense of a kingly ruler of all Israel recurs in the third century when R. Judah ‘the Prince’ and his successors take the title *nasi*, and their Davidic descent is mooted, while Origen speaks correspondingly of the Jews’ ‘ethnarch’ who is said to be descended from Judah, fulfilling Gen. 49:10, and in no way differs from a king.³¹⁹

Bar Kokhba’s title can then be situated within a widespread usage of *nasi* for the ruler of all Israel, past, present, and to come, and within a view of the Israelite constitution as the double priestly and royal government instituted by Moses before his death. This usage and constitutional theory were shared by Qumran sectaries, but were current more widely, and are both still attested in the Mishnah.³²⁰ They formed the pattern for a dual messianism, with the expectation of both priestly and royal figures; this is reflected in texts including 1QSb, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and rabbinic traditions attributed to second-century Judaeans teachers. In Bar Kokhba’s war we know with any certainty only of messianic hopes attached to the royal figure, Simeon bar Koseba himself. They are indicated by his Aramaic nickname ‘son of the star’, preserved in the Greek

³¹⁷ Targum Onkelos at Lev. 4:22 has *rabba*, ‘great one’, Ps.-Jonathan *rabba be-amma*, ‘great one among the people’. By contrast, the rulings in M. Horayoth iii 1–3 presume that the *nasi* here is the king, and the question who is meant is only raised in conclusion (iii 3, end), to receive the answer, ‘This is the king’.

³¹⁸ The translation ‘premier’ is defended on the basis of the use of *nasi* in Numbers for the tribal prince (as at Num. 7:2, cited above) in Yadin et al., *Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabataean-Aramaic Papyri*, 369–72 (Appendix A: Bar Kokhba’s Title *nesi yisra’el*, ‘Premier of Israel’); but this view seems not to take Num. 27:15–23 and its influence adequately into account for interpretation of ‘the prince of the congregation’.

³¹⁹ N. de Lange, *Origen and the Jews* (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 25, Cambridge, 1976), 33; 97, citing Origen, *Princ.* iv 1,3; *Ep. ad Afr.* xiv; I. Lévi, ‘L’origine davidique de Hillel’, *REJ* xxxi (1895), 202–11.

³²⁰ J. T. Milik in Barthélemy and Milik, *Qumran Cave I*, 128–9; L. E. Toombs, ‘Barcosiba and Qumran’, *NTS* iv (1957–8), 65–71 (stressing that Qumran texts can reflect non-sectarian views); Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 67–73; Schäfer, ‘Bar Kokhba and the Rabbis’, in Schäfer (ed.), *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, 1–22 (15–20); Goodblatt, ‘The Title *Nasi*’ and the Ideological Background of the Second Revolt; Goodblatt, *Elements of Ancient Jewish Nationalism*, 133, n. 22.

transliteration Barchochebas (Bar Kokhba), and by the application to him of the opening words of Balaam's prophecy 'there shall come forth a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall arise out of Israel' (Num. 24:17).³²¹

This prophecy had long been prominent in messianic hope, as is already suggested by its Septuagintal rendering (noted in [Chapter 2](#), above) 'a star shall spring out of Jacob, and a man shall rise up out of Israel'; parts of verse 17 are echoed together with words from Isa. 11:1–4, on the shoot from the stem of Jesse, at Ps. Solomon 17:22–4 (24–6) 'to shatter unrighteous rulers . . . to destroy lawless nations by the word of his mouth', and again, in the period of the revolts against Rome, at Rev. 22:16 on 'the root and offspring of David, and the bright and morning star' and Justin Martyr, *I Apol.* xxxii 12–13 'a star shall rise out of Jacob, and a flower shall come up from the root of Jesse'.³²² Comparably, as noted already, the 'sceptre' named with the 'star' in Num. 24:17 was identified by the Qumran sectaries with the coming *nasi* of the congregation, the 'branch of David'. It is then unlikely that, as has been suggested, no messianic overtones were audible in the title *nasi* used by Simeon bar Koseba.³²³ Rather, a Jew with the concern for ancestral rites which he displayed, as noted below, would know that the title *nesi' yisra'el* permitted a messianic interpretation of the 'redemption of Israel' at his hand.

Yet any such interpretation would have been bound up with bar Kosiba's primary revival of the constitution held to have been instituted by Moses. Adoption of the title *nesi' yisra'el* was probably presented and understood as obedience to Deut. 17:15 'thou shalt surely set a king over thee' – a form of words which would have been taken, as it is in the Damascus Document, to be 'about the *nasi*' (CD-A v, line 1, cited above), and also,

³²¹ Justin Martyr, *I Apol.* xxxi 6 (mid second century) ('in the Jewish war that has just occurred Barchochebas, the leader of the Jewish secession . . .'); Jerusalem Talmud, Taanith iv 8, 68d, discussed further below.

³²² Horbury, *Jewish Messianism and the Cult of Christ*, 92–3 (noting also the probable echoes of both Numbers and Isaiah in 1QSB).

³²³ So Mildenberg, *The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War*, 73–5 and n. 175, 90–1; here he may view 'messianism' mainly as hope for other-worldly as opposed to this-worldly redemption, whereas among Jews in the Roman period it will have included both, as brought out in the review of Mildenberg by M. Hengel, 'Die Bar-Kokhbamünzen als politisch-religiöse Zeugnisse', *Gnomon* lviii (1986), 326–331, reprinted in Hengel, *Judaica et Hellenistica. Kleine Schriften I*, 344–50 (349). This inclusiveness of Roman-period messianism is justly stressed by A. Oppenheimer, 'Messianismus in römischer Zeit. Zur Pluralität eines Begriffes bei Juden und Christen', *Jahrbuch des Historischen Kollegs* 1997 (Oldenbourg, Munich, 1998), 53–74, repr. in Oppenheimer, *Between Rome and Babylon*, 263–82, but perhaps earthly and supernatural hopes mingled more than he allows; he sees Bar Kokhba as exemplifying a totally earthly messianism, whereas 'star' might also bring supernatural connotations, as suggested below.

as it is in the Mishnah (Sanh. ii 5), and in interpretation attributed to that far from anti-Roman figure R. Judah b. Ilai, to be mandatory rather than permissive.³²⁴

Israel

This repeatedly attested title *nesi' yisra'el* also suggests, as D. Goodblatt shows, an emphasis on 'Israel' as a national name.³²⁵ In the phrases 'liberty of Israel' and 'redemption of Israel' the name 'Israel' is of course continued from the formulae of the First Revolt against Rome, but now the title *nesi' yisra'el* is added and helps to bring 'Israel' strikingly to the fore. King Zedekiah is addressed as *nesi' yisra'el* at Ezek. 21:30, but there seem not to be many further precedents for this particular phrase.³²⁶ Allowance should be made, however, for the possibility (n. 312, above) that, as the Damascus Document suggests, in the Hasmonaean age and later some would habitually substitute *nasi'* for *melekh* in the common biblical phrase 'king of Israel'. In any case, in the Biblical Antiquities of Ps.-Philo, as cited already (xxv 2), Kenaz is made 'the prince in Israel' (*princeps in Israel*), a phrase probably corresponding to the Hebrew title *nasi' be-yisra'el* used of the future king at Ezek. 45:16 (compare Deut. 17:20, where the king is 'in the midst of Israel'). This independently suggests some continued following of Ezekiel's linkage of 'prince' and 'Israel' in late Herodian Judaea, further encouraged perhaps by a habit of substituting *nasi'* in the phrase 'king of Israel', and soon to be attested again in the Judean community of Simeon bar Kosiba's time.

'Israel' comes to the fore likewise in the phrase 'house of Israel' used in two Hebrew letters from the time of the revolt. In P. Yadin 49, Simeon bar Kosiba blames Masbala and Jonathan, his officers in Engaddi, for 'eating and drinking from the property of the house of Israel and not concerning yourselves for your brethren in any matter'.³²⁷ Perhaps they are accused of using simply for themselves the supplies for the 'camp' which have been

³²⁴ See G. J. Blidstein, 'The Monarchic Imperative in Rabbinic Perspective', *AJS Review* vii–viii (1982–3), 15–39; this interpretation of Deut. 17:15 as a commandment, traced to R. Judah ben Ilai in Sifre Deut. 156–7 (on Deut. 17:14–15), Tos. Sanh. iv 2, and Babylonian Talmud, Sanh. 20b, is attested also at Mishnah, Sanh. ii 5, and followed by Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, xiv, Hilkhoth Melakhim, 1. The unusual character of its interpretation as permissive by Isaac Abravanel, noted in Chapter 2, above, was underlined by Strauss, 'On Abravanel's Philosophical Tendency and Political Teaching', 118–124.

³²⁵ See the survey of coins and documents by Goodblatt, *Elements of Ancient Jewish Nationalism*, 130–4.

³²⁶ So Goodblatt, *Elements of Ancient Jewish Nationalism*, 133.

³²⁷ P. Yadin 49 in Yadin et al., *Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabataean-Aramaic Papyri*, 282–4.

landed at Engaddi. Then the administrators of Beth Mashiko end their letter to Jeshua ben Galgula, cited already, with 'Peace be (to you) and all the house of Israel' – presumably, all the people of the 'camp' over which he presides as 'head'.³²⁸

In Simeon's letter the phrase seems near to the Mishnaic 'property of the sons of the covenant' (M. Baba Kamma i 2), but with reference to property not of individual Israelites but of Israel corporately. This corporate sense of 'Israel' emerges in biblical and post-biblical material surveyed by earlier scholars, including some passages which co-ordinate the prince or king with the house of Israel.³²⁹ Thus, in a context from Ezekiel considered already, land belonging to 'the house of Israel' corporately, to be given 'to the house of Israel according to their tribes', is mentioned together with the land allotted to 'the prince' (Ezek. 45:6–8); and 'the prince in Israel' provides sacrifices 'for the house of Israel' (Ezek. 45:16–17). The idea of common property of the house of Israel is probably applied to goods rather than land in P. Yadin 49, but it sits naturally in the context supplied by Ezekiel. The 'house of Israel' seems to be Israel as a political entity.

Then the Psalms of Solomon present a comparable but more general co-ordination of the king and the house of Israel, rooted in the Pentateuch (Num. 27:21, Deut. 17:20); the future 'king of Israel' is to be raised up 'over the house of Israel, to train him' (Israel) by his words and judgments (Ps. Sol. 17:42 (47)). A similar view of the king's relation to Israel as a deeply revered disciplinarian survives in the Mishnah: 'Thou [Israel] shalt surely set over thyself a king (Deut. 17:15) – that the awe of him may be over thee' (M. Sanh. ii 5). With 'house of Israel' still specially in view, note that earlier psalms in the Solomonic collection end, somewhat like the administrators of Beth Mashiko, with prayer for mercy or salvation for the house of Israel (Ps. Sol. 9:10 (19); 10:8), as an alternative to blessing or mercy upon Israel (8:34 (40), 11:9) or the house of Jacob (7:10 (9)), but perhaps still with an implied emphasis on the people as a political entity.

This emphasis emerges again strikingly in the Aramaic and Hebrew receipt from the early years of Antoninus Pius discussed already in connection with the dating of the end of the revolt. Written in Beth Amar south of Hebron, about two miles west of Juttah, the deed is dated on 10 Chisleu (November–December), Year 4 'of the Destruction of the House of Israel',

³²⁸ J. T. Milik in Benoit et al., *Les grottes de Murabba'at*, no. 42, 156–8.

³²⁹ For surveys see G. Harvey, *The True Israel: Uses of the Names Jew, Hebrew and Israel in Ancient Jewish and Early Christian Literature* (Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums xxxv, Leiden, 1996), 160–4 (books of the Hebrew Bible); Goodblatt, *Elements of Ancient Jewish Nationalism*, 134–6 (later texts, including the New Testament).

le-hurban beth yisra'el. The editors suggest that the date corresponds to the year 140 although, as noted already, 139 is perhaps also possible.³³⁰ At any rate, in this document, considered further below, the house of Israel seems clearly to be Israel politically constituted.

These references to the house of Israel from letters and a post-war document, viewed together with the many documentary references to 'prince of Israel' and in the broader context provided by the Pentateuch, Ezekiel, the Psalms of Solomon and the Mishnah, point to a circle of ideas involving the monarch and Israel and the house of Israel, which will have retained its currency in the time of Simeon bar Kosiba, will have helped to provide the markedly Israelite ethos of his realm, and will have had a constitutional as well as broadly national aspect.

Jerusalem

The coin legends 'Jerusalem' and 'Of the liberty of Jerusalem' probably do not celebrate the capture of the city itself, as noted already; but they fall in with the interconnection between Jerusalem, the temple and the king, and their associations thus overlap with those of the 'prince' and the 'priest'. The prayer for Jerusalem in the Eighteen Benedictions has been noted already. The related phrase 'kingdom of Jerusalem' was current in prophecy at this period among Romans and Christians, in each case reflecting Jewish hope. Nero's astrologers promised him 'regnum Hierosolymorum', and the church likewise was told 'I will give them the kingdom of Jerusalem' (Suetonius, *Nero* xl 2; II Esdras 2:10). Second-century Christians looked for a millennium in a renewed Jerusalem and holy land. In the revolt the slogan 'Jerusalem' expressed a territorial aim, but in its association with 'prince', 'priest' and 'Israel' it could also evoke lively and concrete messianic hopes.

Brethren

Fellow Israelites are termed 'brethren' in Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek texts from the Bar Kokhba letters.³³¹ In P. Yadin 49 (Hebrew), as already noted, Simeon bar Kosiba blames Jonathan and Masbala for ignoring their

³³⁰ E. Eshel, H. Eshel and Yardeni, 'A Document from "Year 4 of the Destruction of the House of Israel"',

³³¹ For the three Yadin papyri cited below see Yadin et al., *Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabataean-Aramaic Papyri*, 279–86 (P. Yadin 49); 317–21 (P. Yadin 56; on the name Hitta see Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity*, i, 380); 363–6 (P. Yadin 52, ed. H. M. Cotton).

'brethren' in general (line 4), and orders them to take action, probably by providing transport, to relieve their 'brethren' in a particular place, perhaps 'the camp'; and in P. Yadin 56 (Aramaic) he greets Jonathan, Masbala and Bar Hitta with 'My brethren, Peace', before giving orders for the transport of goods including salt from Engaddi. P. Yadin 59 (Greek) opens with 'Annanus to Jonathan his brother, greeting'. A damaged Hebrew letter lacking the names of sender and addressee has two words which may be rendered 'except my brother(s)' or 'except the brother(s) of', but the sequel is lost and the 'brothers' may be siblings.³³² Lastly, the damaged Hebrew letter addressed to Simeon ben Kosiba, perhaps found in Nahal Hever (Wadi Habra), can be restored in line 7 to permit the rendering 'brethren were torn in pieces'; if this is correct, an extended sense of brotherhood would again be possible.³³³

Then, fragmentary lists of names in Greek found in wilderness caves south of Engaddi add sometimes the description 'brother'.³³⁴ These lists, however, probably reflect census registrations which identify brothers, so that physical kinship rather than any extended sense of brotherhood is in view.³³⁵

These texts as known in the 1960s (the letter to Simeon ben Kosiba was then still unpublished) were taken to suggest an organized fraternity comparable with that of the Essenes or the Christians, or of a group of warriors, especially in a revolution.³³⁶ With reference to P. Yadin 59, H. M. Cotton later warned, however, against overestimation of a common epistolary usage.³³⁷ Yet at least in P. Yadin 49 something more is present.

Two aspects of Pentateuchal usage may illuminate the background. First, 'brother' means 'Israelite' as opposed to 'foreigner' in many Pentateuchal passages, including two laws which were viewed together and

³³² P. Mur. 45, line 8, ed. J. T. Milik in Benoit et al., *Les grottes de Murabba'at*, 163–4; Milik's reading of line 6 and vocalization of line 8, followed above, differ from those presupposed in the English renderings 'my brothers' (line 6) and 'these my brothers' (line 8) in Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, 139.

³³³ XHev/Se papLetter to Shim'on ben Kosibah; see A. Yardeni in Cotton and Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites*, 103–4, showing this restoration in line 7 as possible but simply rendering 'that brothers (?) were . . .' H. Eshel, 'The Bar Kochba Revolt, 132–135', 110, renders 'brethren were devoured'.

³³⁴ B. Lifschitz, 'The Greek Documents from Nahal Seelim and Nahal Mishmar', *IEJ* xi (1961) 53–62 = *Judean Desert Caves: Survey and Excavations 1960*, 53–62 (55–6, 60–1); Lifschitz, 'Papyrus grecs du désert de Juda', 248–9, 252–3.

³³⁵ Cotton, '34Se papCensus List from Judaea or Arabia gr'; Cotton, '1Mish papList of Names and Account gr', in Charlesworth et al., *Miscellaneous Texts from the Judaean Desert*, 203–4.

³³⁶ Yadin, 'Expedition D', 44 (like sectaries or warriors); Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, 133 (like revolutionary fighters); Lifschitz, as cited in the preceding footnote (like Essenes); P. S. Alexander, 'Epistolary Literature', in M. E. Stone (ed.), *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum, ii.2, Leiden, 1984), 579–96 (590, n. 38) (like Christians).

³³⁷ Cotton in Yadin et al., *Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabataean-Aramaic Papyri*, 365.

incorporated into hope for 'liberty' and 'redemption', the laws of the jubilee in Leviticus 25 (see verses 25, 35–6, 39, 46–8) and of the seventh-year release in Deuteronomy 15. The importance of the term 'brother' in Deut. 15:2–3 and 15:12 was underlined by Philo (*Spec. Leg.* 73; 79–80). The continuing designation of fellow Israelites as 'brethren' in the Hasmonaean and Herodian ages appears in literary passages set in wartime: Judith 7:30 (magistrate's speech to 'brethren' under siege; Judith herself regularly uses this address, as at 8:24); I Macc. 5:13; 16–17 (relief of 'brethren' under attack in Galilee and Gilead); and the Biblical Antiquities of Ps.-Philo, 27:12; 14 (after a miraculous deliverance the prince, Kenaz, says to the army 'we will go home to our brethren', and then tells the people at home to ask their army 'brethren' what has happened).

Second, the prince's link with the 'brethren' of Israel, seen here in Ps.-Philo, goes back to the Pentateuch. The law of Deut. 17:15, cited already, states that the king – *nasi* – in later interpretation – must be 'from among thy brethren'. The Mishnah preserves the legend that king Agrippa I, reading this verse to the assembly in the temple court at the feast of Tabernacles after the seventh year (Deut. 31:10–11), wept for his Idumaeon blood; but the people called out to him 'Our brother art thou!' (M. Sotah vii 8). King David was envisaged likewise with his 'brethren' in the national assembly in Ps. 22:23, understood as written by him: 'I will declare thy name unto my brethren, in the midst of the congregation will I praise thee'.³³⁸

The use of 'brethren' in P. Yadin 49 fits well into the enhanced wartime awareness of Israelites as 'brethren' noted above. Perhaps the same is true of the letter to Simeon ben Kosiba, but here the lack of context excludes assurance. In P. Yadin 49, however, a letter from a leader with the title 'prince of Israel', the use of 'brethren' also fits the Pentateuchally based co-ordination of the prince with his Israelite 'brethren' which is illustrated just before and after the time of Bar Kokhba in Ps.-Philo's Biblical Antiquities and the Mishnah, as cited above. It thus coheres with the group of ideas involving the monarch and Israel and the house of Israel, likewise ultimately derived from the Pentateuch, which was indicated above. It may then be suggested that, to move to two further letters mentioned at the beginning, Bar Kokhba's address 'my brethren' in P. Yadin 56, and perhaps also Ananus's 'brother' in P. Yadin 59, are likely to have been affected by the prevalence of this group of ideas, giving epistolary convention some of the overtones of the Israelite realm.

³³⁸ The currency of the view of Davidic authorship in the late Herodian age (it follows simply from the title 'Psalm of David', Ps. 22:1) emerges from the quotation of Ps. 22:23 in Heb. 2:11–12.

Piety and zeal

In the generation before Bar Kokhba, Josephus had written that Moses, founding what may be boldly called a 'theocracy', did not make piety (*eusebeia*) a department of virtue, but the cardinal virtues departments of piety (Josephus, *Ap.* ii 165, 170). This priority of *eusebeia* in the Mosaic polity duly emerges in the rebels' Israelite realm, but it remains a question whether the piety of the new era is closer to steady maintenance of ancestral tradition on the one hand, or to ardent and aggressive zeal on the other.³³⁹

This question is part of a larger problem which is also posed by the constitutional and potentially messianic language just noted; study veers between the poles of presenting the revolt as an instance of leadership in an Israelite state, with the touch of dignity appropriate to this conception (L. Mildenberg stood near this pole), or alternatively as a messianic revolution marked by burning mystical and political zeal (G. Scholem associated Bar Kokhba with the activist revolutionary utopianism of Jewish messianism).³⁴⁰ Messianism is taken in the present study to be compatible with a fully practical interpretation of the Israelite polity, but also to have been linked among second-century Jews, including Christians, with an ethical rigour which tended to asceticism, mysticism and eschatological hope.³⁴¹

Despite emphasis on Qumranic antecedents for the figure of the *nasi*, kinship of pious practice under Bar Kokhba with rabbinic piety has often been underlined (and herewith, perhaps, the presence of mystical and ascetical strands within rabbinic piety has sometimes been underrated).³⁴² This approach has then evoked a reaction with a focus, rather, on *contrasts* between rabbinic and pre-rabbinic piety; the practice of the rebels has been

³³⁹ It was marked by zeal like that of the Hasidæans in the Maccabæan age, according to Milik in Benoit et al., *Les grottes de Murabba'at*, 161; Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 75–7.

³⁴⁰ Mildenberg, *The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War*, 90–1, cf. 44, n. 100 (F. M. Heichelheim's similar view); G. Scholem, *The Messianic Idea in Judaism* (London, 1971), 14–16.

³⁴¹ The association of political revolt in this period with messianic mysticism, as in Scholem's view (see the previous footnote), is stressed by D. Mendels, 'Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities*, the 'Fourth Philosophy', and the Political Messianism of the First Century CE', in J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* (Minneapolis, 1992), 261–75; with special reference to Bar Kokhba, C. Fletcher-Louis, 'Jewish Mysticism, the New Testament and Rabbinic-Period Mysticism', in R. Bieringer, F. García Martínez, D. Pollefyt and P. J. Tomson, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Literature* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 136, Leiden and Boston, 2010), 429–70 (445–54, 468–70).

³⁴² See for example Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, 68–9, 81–3, 99–102, 128–9; Oppenheimer, 'Bar Kokhba and the Observance of *Mitzvot*'; Oppenheimer, 'Sabbatheiligung im Bar-Kochba-Aufstand'. Mystical and ascetical elements in piety, including that of early rabbinic circles, were brought out by Büchler, *Types of Jewish-Palestinian Piety*.

aligned, instead, with that reflected in non-rabbinic writings from the Hasmonaean and Herodian periods.³⁴³ Yet there was also much continuity between this older piety and that reflected, with some notice of still diverse options and attitudes, in early rabbinic writings.³⁴⁴ In what follows the practice attested in the realm of Simeon bar Kosiba is viewed as far as possible within a continuum of piety stretching from the Herodian age through the epoch of revolts to the time of R. Judah ha-Nasi and the compilation of the Mishnah. The question here is not whether the custom followed is typically 'rabbinic' or 'pre-rabbinic', but whether, so far as can now be judged, it represents common practice or special zeal for the law.

Piety in the Bar Kokhba letters

The primary witness is given by surviving letters from the revolt. In view of their brief and official character they hardly make a window into the souls of Simeon bar Kosiba and his followers, but they do exhibit corporate care for observance of the sabbath and festivals.

Thus prompt action is the main thing, but the assumption that the sabbath is a day of rest can also be discerned, in the command in an Aramaic letter from Simeon bar Kosiba (P. Yadin 50) 'You are to send me Eleazar bar Hittah at once, before the sabbath.'³⁴⁵ Sabbath observance clearly becomes one principal concern, however, in the orders given and mentioned in the Hebrew letter Mur. 44, from Simeon, probably an officer of Bar Kokhba. Simeon commands that the men sent to Jeshua ben Galgula to fetch a supply of wheat shall be housed and entertained over the sabbath, and adds in a postscript that he has ordered that those who give the wheat must bring it after the sabbath.

With such detailed regulations this letter may seem at first to recall, as Milik put it, the attitude of 'maquisards religieux' like the Hasidaeans in the Maccabaeen age.³⁴⁶ These 'Hasidim' or 'pious ones' were 'mighty men of Israel, all those who offered themselves willingly for the law' (I Macc. 2:42) – 'Volunteers of the Torah', in F.-M. Abel's paraphrase (he compares warrior-monks like the Templars); and they joined Judas Maccabaeus, who

³⁴³ P. Schäfer, 'Bar Kokhba and the Rabbis', in Schäfer, *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, 1–22.

³⁴⁴ This was brought out in different ways by Büchler, *Types of Jewish-Palestinian Piety*; E. P. Sanders, *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah: Five Studies* (London, 1990); Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief 63 BCE – 66 CE* (London, 1992).

³⁴⁵ Yadin et al., *Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabataean-Aramaic Papyri*, 287–92.

³⁴⁶ J. T. Milik in Benoit et al., *Les grottes de Murabba'at*, 161.

had himself shown 'zeal for the law like Phinehas' (Num. 25:7–11, Ecclus 45:23) and had called to him 'everyone who is zealous for the law and upholds the covenant' (I Macc. 2:24–7).³⁴⁷ With regard to the sabbath, he and his friends had just resolved (after Jews who would not resist on the sabbath had been killed in their hiding places) that on the sabbath they would fight in self-defence, but not otherwise (I Macc. 2:39–41). After the Maccabees a militant piety, emulating the 'zeal' of Phinehas and Elijah against apostates and idolaters (Num. 25:11, I Kings 19:14), again marked out the 'Zealots' in the First Revolt against Rome. Its energy was indeed probably felt again under Bar Kokhba, but it is attested more clearly outside the Bar Kokhba letters.

The sabbath provisions in the letters seem in fact more akin to the general view of liberty to observe the sabbath as required by the Jews' ancestral law which, at the request of Jewish authorities, marked Roman-period decrees in favour of Jews as cited by Josephus. These include in Asia during the late Republic an exemption from military service, 'because they may not carry weapons or undertake journeys on the days of the sabbaths', and again under Augustus exemption from court appearances on the sabbath or after the ninth hour on 'the preparation before it' (*paraskeuê*), the sabbath eve (Josephus, *Ant.* xiv 226; xvi 163). This ordinance is broadly consistent with the view taken in the Damascus Document (CD-A x 14–17) that work should cease before sunset on the sabbath eve. A fair degree of observance of such provisions among Jews in Egypt is suggested by receipts for the Jewish tax on ostraca from Edfu (Apollinopolis Magna), showing that although payment sometimes had to be made on the sabbath this day is underrepresented; the tax was probably collected by Jewish tax-farmers.³⁴⁸

The orders in P. Mur. 44 do contrast sharply, on the other hand, with a free view of sabbath-day burden-bearing and travel which emerges from Aramaic ostraca in the previous century.³⁴⁹ These may illuminate the background of the orders, for they probably illustrate one kind of practice in a locality which later would be under Bar Kokhba's influence; they record transport and delivery of various goods on days including the sabbath,

³⁴⁷ Abel, *Les livres des Maccabées*, 43–4; on 'zealots' and 'zeal for the Lord' and 'zeal for the law', with its exemplars in Phinehas and Elijah, see Hengel, *The Zealots*, 59–75, 146–228.

³⁴⁸ W. Clarysse, S. Remijsen and M. Depauw, 'Observing the Sabbath in the Roman Empire: a Case Study', *SCI* xxix (2010), 51–7.

³⁴⁹ L. Doering, *Sabbat: Sabbathalacha und –praxis im antiken Judentum und Urchristentum* (Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 78, Tübingen, 1999), 387–97 (on ostraca studied by A. Yardeni, 'New Jewish Aramaic Ostraca', *IEJ* xl (1990), 130–52) and 535, on the contrast presented by the orders in Mur. 44.

and name in this connection Beth Karnaim, a place identified with Eusebius's Carnaea in the territory of Aelia, probably Tell Qureine, nine miles north-east of Jerusalem beyond Ain Fara (Pharan, Pheretae) which was mentioned above as the probable site of Simon bar Giora's cave.³⁵⁰ The strikingly libertarian view which is implied in these records may perhaps be attested again, after Bar Kokhba, when the Mishnah condemns a possible opinion expressed as follows: 'the law treats of the sabbath, but one who carries a burden from the private to the public domain is not culpable' (M. Horayoth i 3).³⁵¹ The Tosefta correspondingly envisages the possibility of 'an Israelite who profanes the sabbath openly'.³⁵²

This letter then represents a determination to hallow the sabbath in an environment where some may have carried on the kind of work ordered in the letter – the supply and transport of corn – on the sabbath day. It is then possible that, in lines 4–6, the order to Jeshua ben Galgula to prepare a place for the men to be with him for the sabbath, and to see that each 'has what his heart desires', envisages not only rest but also a sabbath meal, the eating of which had become a recognized duty.³⁵³ A trend towards emphasizing the duty of sabbath eating and drinking is already attested in Jubilees ('to eat and to drink and to keep sabbath', Jub. 2:31) and reappears in the Vita Adae on sabbath 'rest and rejoicing' (Greek Vita Adae, 2:3) and, near the time of the revolt, in interpretations in the name of Joshua ben Hananiah, Eleazar of Modin, and Eliezer ben Hyrcanus which take 'Eat that today' in the narrative of the manna (Exod. 16:25) as the equivalent of 'Keep sabbath today'.³⁵⁴ If so, the sabbath-keeping inculcated here still remains within the sphere of characteristic national observance as reflected in the versions of Roman decrees given by Josephus; these protect not only the sabbath rest, as noted above, but also common meals in accord with ancestral customs and ordinances (Josephus, *Ant.* xiv 213–16).

³⁵⁰ Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, 112.3, on Carnaea, which Jerome in his translation says is at the ninth milestone from Aelia; Tsafir et al., *Iudaea. Palaestina*, 101. Another location for Carnaea, eighteen miles north-west of Jerusalem, is proposed by R. S. Notley and Z. Safrai, *Eusebius, Onomasticon* (Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series ix, Boston and Leiden, 2005), 107 (no. 576). Disagreement with Jerome's distance is against this proposal, but if it were right, and the Beth Karnaim of the ostrakon were placed there, the view reflected in the ostraca would still be significant for the Judaean background of Simeon's letter.

³⁵¹ This parallel is noted by Doering, *Schabbat*, 396–7.

³⁵² Tos. Erubin v (vii) 18; before the ostraca were published, this possibility was judged to be probably theoretical by Goodman, *State and Society in Roman Galilee, AD 132–212*, 103.

³⁵³ The implications of these lines are not discussed in the short treatments of the passage by Oppenheimer, 'Sabbatheiligung im Bar-Kochba-Aufstand', 293–4; Doering, *Schabbat*, 534–5.

³⁵⁴ Mekhilta de-R. Ishmael, Beshallah, Wayyassa, 5 (4), on Exod. 16:25, in J. Z. Lauterbach, *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael* (3 vols., repr. Philadelphia, 1976), ii, 119–20.

The same is true of the sabbatical year, mentioned (to leave the letters for a moment) in a Hebrew deed completed at Herodium during the revolt.³⁵⁵ It was a national institution, recognized for example in the edicts of Caesar in favour of Hyrcanus (Josephus, *Ant.* xiv 200–1), and continued to be named and reckoned even when observance is likely to have been slight.³⁵⁶

That care was given to the festivals, as to the sabbath, is however suggested by the famous letters on branches and citrons for the feast of Tabernacles. In the Aramaic letter P. Yadin 57, mentioned above, the officer Simeon has sent two asses to Judah son of Manasseh at Kiriath Arbaia (perhaps Ain el Arrub, as noted above).³⁵⁷ Judah in turn (lines 1–3) is to send two men with them to Jonathan and Masbala, presumably in Engaddi, to load them with ‘lulabs and ethrogs’ – palm branches and citrons, the first two of the ‘four kinds’ which ‘you shall take for yourselves on the first day’ (of the feast of Tabernacles) according to Lev. 23:40, ‘bearing a bouquet’, as Josephus paraphrased it (*Ant.* iii 245). These men are to deliver the load ‘to the camp, to you’. Judah is also (lines 3–5) to send other men, to bring him myrtle branches and willows – the remaining two of the ‘four kinds’ – and he is to prepare them (perhaps by tithing, as Yadin suggested) and send them ‘to the camp, because its population is large’.

Somewhat comparably with the preparation of the branches, perhaps, taxes are to be paid with tithed corn according to the Hebrew deed just mentioned, the tithe to be measured out ‘on the roof of the storehouse in Herodium’.³⁵⁸ Perhaps in this case it went to the Prince himself, as it had once been claimed by the Hasmonaean priest-kings.³⁵⁹ The reference may however indicate a tax due, rather than any special piety. At any rate, these allusions to tithing fit its continuing practical importance in the age of the revolts, as this emerges from Josephus and rabbinic comment (although the Mishnah also complains of laxness), without necessarily indicating special precision.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁵ Mur 24, B.13–14, C.11–12, D.13–14, E.8–9, in Benoit et al., *Les grottes de Murabba’at*, 122–32.

³⁵⁶ Goodman, *State and Society in Roman Galilee*, 103.

³⁵⁷ Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, 128–32; Yadin et al., *Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabataean-Aramaic Papyri*, 322–8; on locality, see n. 239, above).

³⁵⁸ Mur 24, B.14–21, C.13–18, E.10–14, in Benoit et al., *Les grottes de Murabba’at*, 122–32. Delivery of produce on a roof is envisaged as a common procedure in M. Maaseroth iii 6.

³⁵⁹ For this view see Oppenheimer, ‘Bar Kokhba and the Observance of *Mitzvo’*’, 288 (a possibility); Schäfer, ‘Bar Kokhba and the Rabbis’, 11–13 (a probability).

³⁶⁰ Josephus, V. 63, 80 (priests collecting tithe during the First Revolt), Tos. Peah iv 3 (priests and levites wait by the threshing-floor to collect tithes), discussed with the differing overall views of tithe obligation in Josephus and the Mishnah (both judged to represent types of practice, not simply theory) by Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief*, 149; Mishnaic passages indicating laxness (e.g. Bekhor. iv 9, on people suspected of it) are noted by Goodman, *State and Society in Roman Galilee*, 103.

The Greek letter from Soumaios directly to Jonathan and Masbala (P. Yadin 52), possibly sent for the same occasion as P. Yadin 57, requests 'wands and citrons'; the messenger Agrippa who was presumably the bearer is to be sent back 'quickly, because of the feast'.³⁶¹

The palms and citrons had to be sought in the groves of Engaddi. If Judah's station in P. Yadin 57 is correctly identified as Ain el Arrub, however, this well-watered spot might have provided myrtle and willow with relative ease, fitting the interpretation of Kiriath Arbaia as 'willow-town' which Yadin preferred.³⁶² For the bouquet, called collectively 'lulab' after the palm branch, one needed, according to stricter opinion recorded in the Mishnah, three myrtle branches and two willow branches to go with the single palm and citron, but a more lenient view allowed that just one myrtle branch and one willow branch would suffice (M. Sukkah iii 4).

These orders from the period near the end of the revolt may well have been additionally motivated by hope for rain to frustrate the Romans by ending the campaigning season; the feast of Tabernacles is associated with prayer for rain, as indicated by its water libation and probably also by the waving or shaking of the lulab.³⁶³ This is not wholly inconsistent with a different additional motivation which has been suggested, that of celebration of the rebels' initial victory (and implicitly, no doubt, prayer for its extension), in accord with rabbinic interpretation of the lulab as a palm of victory, perhaps anticipated in its representation on Bar Kokhba coins.³⁶⁴

Yet in any case the two letters on the requisites for the lulab are consistent with the care for sabbath observance manifest in P. Mur. 44. To keep the feast of Tabernacles was recognized by Jews as, like sabbath-keeping, characteristically Jewish; this was a popular festival, 'a feast kept among us

³⁶¹ H. M. Cotton in Yadin et al., *Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabataean-Aramaic Papyri*, 351–62.

³⁶² Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, 130; Aramaic 'arba, 'willow', like Hebrew 'arabab, is one of those nouns with an apparently feminine form which are found with a masculine plural ending, such as occurs in this place name with the Aramaic determinative masculine plural -aya; for Aramaic nouns of this kind see the list in G. Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch* (2nd edn, Leipzig, 1905, repr. Darmstadt, 1960), 197.

³⁶³ This motive, in addition to the general religious meticulousness attested by other evidence, is suggested by R. Loewe, "Salvation" is Not of the Jews', *JTS N.S.* xxxii (1981), 341–68 (352–7).

³⁶⁴ Oppenheimer, 'Bar Kokhba and the Observance of *Mitzvot*', 286–8, citing later exposition of Lev. 23:40 'you shall take for yourselves . . . branches of palm' in connection with Ps. 16:11 'in thy right hand are pleasant things [the lulab] for evermore', understood as ' . . . for victory', in Lev. R. xxx 2; a broadly similar view, with the addition of messianic overtones, was taken by Lapin, 'Palm Fronds and Citrons', 130–5. For nuanced discussion in connection with Tabernacles of Maccabaeans palms, the palms of Rev. 7:9–10 and the palms of John 12:13 (here to be linked, it is argued, with resurrection rather than kingship), see Loewe, "Salvation" is Not of the Jews', 350–60.

with the utmost observance' (Josephus, *Ant.* xv 50), and the lulab and ethrog appear as national symbols on the reverse of Bar Kokhba tetradrachms, just as they do later in inscriptions, mosaics and wall paintings and on other artefacts.³⁶⁵ Once again, then, care is given to a major and widely recognized manifestation of the distinctive piety of the Jewish polity.

Finds in the Cave of Letters

To move away from direct evidence from Bar Kokhba and his officers, finds in the Cave of Letters suggest among those who took refuge there, probably from Engaddi, some meticulousness in keeping commandments. A debated instance is provided by metal vessels, originally manufactured perhaps early in the reign of Trajan; they bear images which may simply be worn away or damaged, but may alternatively have been defaced, presumably for the avoidance of idolatry, in general accord with practice later attested in the Mishnah.³⁶⁶ Less debatably, none of the textiles found breaches the Pentateuchal prohibition of 'mixed stuff, wool and linen together' (Deut. 22:11, cf. Lev. 19:19).³⁶⁷ Similarly, a bundle of tassels found next to a fleece dyed with blue indicates attention to the Pentateuchal commandments concerning fringes (Num. 15:38, fringes with a cord of blue; Deut. 22:12, tassels on the four corners of the mantle; cf. Matt. 23:5, enlargement of fringes).³⁶⁸ The leadership's public observance of the sabbath and festivals thus took place in a setting which included individual attempts – most securely attested for the clear Pentateuchal commandments on mixed stuff and fringes – to 'keep the law of the lawgiver perfectly' (II Esdras 7:89).

³⁶⁵ Miltenberg, *The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War*, 45, with fig. 6 (Dura Europus synagogue wall-painting, c. 244–5); JIGRE 118, with plate XXVIII (plaque from later Roman Egypt with the name Judan in Hebrew and representations of menorah, shofar, lulab and ethrog). On a tetradrachm of year 3 representations of all four 'kinds' have been discerned (Amit and Eshel, 'A Tetradrachm of Bar Kokhba from a Cave in Nahal Hever').

³⁶⁶ Y. Yadin, *The Finds from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters* (Judean Desert Series 1, Jerusalem, 1963), 44–5; see M. Abodah Zarah iv 4–5, discussed with other rulings in the context of varying attitudes by E. E. Urbach, 'The Rabbinical Laws of Idolatry in the Second and Third Centuries in the Light of Archaeological and Historical Facts', *IEJ* ix (1959), 149–65, 229–45, repr. with additional material in E. E. Urbach, *Collected Writings in Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem, 1999), 151–93 (168–77). That the state of the images represents wear rather than defacement is suggested by R. A. Freund, 'A New Interpretation of the Incense Shovels of the "Cave of the Letters"', in L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after Their Discovery* (Jerusalem, 2000), 644–60.

³⁶⁷ Yadin, *The Finds from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters*, 170.

³⁶⁸ Yadin, *The Finds from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters*, 178–87; Oppenheimer, 'Bar Kokhba and the Observance of *Mitzvot*', 284–5.

Justin Martyr

To return to the leadership, Bar Kokhba himself is the subject of Justin Martyr's claim, not long after the revolt, that 'in the recent Jewish war it was only Christians whom Barchochebas, leader of the Jewish secession, ordered to be led away to terrible punishments, if they did not deny Jesus the (or, as) Christ and blaspheme' (Justin Martyr, *I Apol.* xxx 6).³⁶⁹ Here, in his apologia addressed to the emperor Pius, Justin argues that Jews misunderstand their own prophetic scriptures, and are therefore no less hostile to Christians than the Romans themselves are. 'Barchochebas' is a recent example, cited to show that Jews repress Christians when they can. Eusebius in his *Chronicle* transcribes the beginning of this passage (which he later quotes in full in his *History*, iv 8, 4), on 'Barchochebas, the leader of the Jewish faction', but then goes on to say that Bar Kokhba slaughtered Christians who were unwilling to help him against the Roman army (*Chronicle*, Hadrian xvii, translated above). This continuation, probably based ultimately on Judaeon Christian stories of the revolt, as suggested above, brings out possible implications of Justin's report – the 'terrible punishments' probably included death – but puts his clause on denial into the background. This clause does help, however, to indicate the framework of Bar Kokhba's action.³⁷⁰ He viewed Christians as disloyal unless they would recant.

The 'denial' and 'blasphemy' demanded of the Christians were probably an established test. These demands had been used under Trajan by Pliny the Younger in trials of those accused of Christianity, and the Acts of the Apostles represent the view that 'blasphemy' was demanded of Christians still earlier by Jewish authorities (Acts 26:11).³⁷¹ Justin elsewhere mentions those who 'having confessed [Jesus] to be the Christ, go over for whatever cause to the polity of the law, having denied that he is the Christ'

³⁶⁹ Harnack, *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius*, i, 276–81 dates the *Apology* shortly after 150. Allusion to Bar Kokhba as a false messiah, a liar who kills with the sword, is very possibly also made in the Ethiopic text of the second-century Apocalypse of Peter (2:10), as noted in Chapter 2, above.

³⁷⁰ The importance of this clause is justly underlined by E. Testa, *Herodion iv, I graffiti e gli ostraka* (Pubblicazioni dello Studium Biblicum Franciscanum 20, Jerusalem, 1972), 111–12; he connects the passage, however, with what seems a debatable interpretation of a drawing of a mule and other Herodian graffiti (nos. 23–4) as anti-Christian.

³⁷¹ Pliny, *Ep.* xcvi 4 (if they denied they were Christians, invoked the gods, offered to the emperor's image, and moreover cursed Christ – 'qui . . . praeterea maledicerent Christo' – I judged that they might be suitable for release); Acts 26:11 (punishing them often in the synagogues, I [the still non-Christian Paul] strove to make them blaspheme); cf. I Cor. 12:3 (no one speaking by the divine spirit can say 'Jesus is accursed' – perhaps implying attempts by revered non-Christian Jews to impose the formula).

(*Dial.* xlvii 4). It was evidently not uncommon for members of the Christian minority to go over to the Judaism of the larger community. The recognized sign of the transition was to 'blaspheme', to deny the confession of Jesus as messianic king ('the Christ').

Christians were susceptible to Jewish hopes, as seen already from the Epistle of Barnabas and the Revelation of St John, and in Christian adoption of such anti-Roman Jewish writings as the Fourth and Fifth Sibylline books and the apocalypses of Ezra and Baruch. A Christian presence in the Judaeae regions which would become part of Bar Kokhba's realm is suggested in the previous century by Mark 3:8, where the multitude approaching Jesus and his disciples include some 'from Idumaea'.

The *nasi* and his government might then reasonably have expected some Christians in Judaea to hail the redemption of Israel at his hand, and to conform to 'the polity of the law' as represented by his new Israelite realm. Some may well have done so. Others, perhaps especially potential recruits, as Eusebius's version suggests, if they would not 'deny', were probably treated as rebels against the house of Israel and its prince, for they were loyal to another leader whom they regarded as king of Israel. The claim that they say there is 'another king' is the charge against Christians ascribed to Jews in Thessalonica in the previous century in the Acts of the Apostles (Acts 17:7).³⁷²

Avoidance of military service may have become a more widespread problem in the last period of the revolt. This supposition would help to explain the demands in three surviving Bar Kokhba letters for the delivery of groups of persons to the prince. Thus the Tekoites and others in Engaddi who are to be delivered to Simeon bar Kosiba, according to his letters to Jonathan and Masbala cited above, may have been regarded as avoiding military service. Similarly, the Galilaeans mentioned in Mur. 43 (Simeon ben Kosiba to Jeshua ben Galgula), discussed above, might be under arrest for refusing service.

Among Bar Kokhba's predecessors as Jewish rulers of Israel, king Agrippa I in 43–4 and the high priest Ananus son of Ananus in 62 had both put Christians to death, in the second case amid some Jewish criticism (see Acts 12:1–3; Josephus, *Ant.* xx 197–203). A major trend in Jewish opinion at the time of the revolt is indicated by the convergence between Justin Martyr's assertion that Jewish teachers have prohibited converse with Christians (*Dial.* xxxviii 1, cxii 4), and the prohibition of dealings with

³⁷² That the accusation envisaged here rightly perceived a nationalist aspect of Pauline teaching was convincingly argued by J. J. Taylor, *Les Actes des deux Apôtres, v, Commentaire historique* (Act. 9, 1–18, 22) (Paris, 1994), 278–9.

minim, ‘heretics’, a category which covered Christians among others, in the Tosefta (Hullin ii 20–4). The two examples of the danger of such dealings given here in the Tosefta both concern encounters with followers of Jesus of Nazareth. Contemporary Jewish feeling is perhaps also reflected in the remark that Justin would have done better to remain a good pagan, which Justin Martyr puts in the mouth of Trypho (*Dial.* viii 3).³⁷³ Somewhat comparably, the revolt leadership seems to have accepted some pagan participation, as noted above, but to have received Christians only if they would recant.

In requiring denial and exacting harsh penalties the *nasi*’ will then have acted not without precedent, and in general accord with a strong current of contemporary Jewish opinion, but with a severity used sometimes before and appropriate to wartime. This action would also suit the zeal of those, like Phinehas and Judas Maccabaeus, who punished secession from the law, *apostasia*, with death; but it is not so obvious an instance of special zeal as is sometimes thought.³⁷⁴

The Tosefta on circumcision in the days of Ben Koziba

Zeal under Bar Kokhba emerges most clearly, perhaps, in the rabbinic reminiscence that recircumcision occurred ‘in the days of Ben Koziba’. In discussion of the ruling ‘One who has had the foreskin drawn forward must be circumcised’ it is objected by R. Judah b. Ilai that this would be dangerous; but ‘they said to him, Many who had had the foreskin drawn forward were circumcised in the days of Ben Koziba, and they had children and did not die’.³⁷⁵

This reply presupposes that many in the years before the uprising had undergone the operation of epispasm mentioned above. It accordingly suggests that the Judean Jewish population then included Jews who in this respect can be called Hellenized.³⁷⁶ In the present connection, however, it

³⁷³ Compare Tos. Shabb. xiii 5 (*minim* – ‘heretics’, who might include Christians – are worse than idolaters).

³⁷⁴ This Greek term, used in I Macc. 2:15 of the actions punished by Judas Maccabaeus, renders Hebrew *mā’al*, ‘treachery’ at Josh. 22:22, II Chron. 29:19 LXX, both on treachery to the Lord; Paul was accused of teaching *apostasia* from Moses, according to Acts 21:21.

³⁷⁵ Tosefta, Shabb. xv (xvi) 9, discussed with related texts by Alon, *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age (70–640CE)*, 586–7; Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 45–50; Schäfer, ‘Hadrian’s Policy in Judaea and the Bar Kokhba Revolt: a Reassessment’, in P. Davies and R. T. White (eds.), *A Tribute to Geza Vermes: Essays on Jewish Literature and History* (JSOT Supplement Series 100, Sheffield, 1990), 281–303 (293–5).

³⁷⁶ This is the view taken by Alon and Schäfer, as cited in the previous footnote, and integrated by Schäfer into a broader view of the revolt movement as opposed, within the Jewish community, to a body of Jews who favoured Hadrianic Hellenism, somewhat as occurred under Antiochus IV.

is especially notable as a sign of the zeal for the law which opposed them.³⁷⁷ Thus the Apocalypse of Baruch, not long before the uprising, commends Josiah for his zeal in leaving no uncircumcised man in the land; 'he was zealous with zeal for the Mighty One with all his soul, and he alone was firm in the law at that time, so that he left none that was uncircumcised, or that wrought impiety in all the land, all the days of his life' (II Baruch 66:5). As noted already, a saying ascribed to Eleazar of Modin, who is connected with Bar Kokhba in the rabbinic narrative of Bethar, utterly condemns the practice of epispasm: 'he who makes void the covenant of Abraham our father' is among those who have 'no share in the world to come' (M. Aboth iii 11).

The persistence of this zeal, and its connection with ideas of national restoration, appears long after Bar Kokhba in a midrashic presentation of circumcision as the beginning of redemption for the nation. 'The time for pruning has come', as Cant. 2:12 on 'the time for *ha-zamir*' ('singing' or 'pruning') is interpreted here; circumcision, 'pruning', preceded the exodus, the allotment of the holy land and the return from exile, and it will similarly precede the rooting-out of 'the wicked kingdom' and the revelation of the kingdom of heaven.³⁷⁸

The circumcision 'in the days of Ben Koziba' of those who had undergone epispasm therefore stands in a continuum of zeal for circumcision which cohered readily, as the midrash shows, with emphasis on the recovery of the land and national 'redemption'. As agents of this drastic measure we have to envisage those 'thousands of watchers, zealots (*zelotai*) for the laws, most accurate guardians of the ancestral institutions, merciless towards those who do anything to subvert them' whom Philo pictured in the Jewish communities he knew (Philo, *Spec. Leg.* ii 253), or the 'zealots' (*qanna'im*) mentioned in the chilling brief words of the Mishnah about the sacrilegious thief and transgressors like him: 'the zealots fall upon him' (M. Sanh. ix 6).³⁷⁹

To summarize, the piety approved by the prince and his circle, as reflected in the letters on the sabbath and the feast of Tabernacles, in itself recalls not so much an extraordinary zeal for the law as that firm public maintenance of

³⁷⁷ On zeal exhibited in forcible circumcision, from I Macc. 2:46 onwards, see Hengel, *The Zealots*, 70–3, 197–9, beginning from Hippolytus on the practice, which he ascribes to one tendency among the Essenes, of compelling with the threat of death the circumcision of any uncircumcised man who speaks of God and his laws (Hippolytus, *Ref.* ix 26).

³⁷⁸ Pesikta de-Rab Kahana v 9, paralleled in Cant. R. ii 13, 3, on 2:12, in the name of R. Azariah (fourth-century Galilee).

³⁷⁹ The place of groups of the more zealous in intercommunal recognition of norms in the second century is discussed in Horbury, *Jews and Christians in Contact and Controversy*, 159–60.

ancestral tradition which is reflected in Josephus on the public transactions of Jewish rulers and communities. This is true even of the punishment of Christians, although here the verge of zeal is touched. The textiles and fleece from the Cave of Letters simply indicate observance rather than non-observance, without indicating a place on the scale of punctilio. The same is true of the deed which mentions tithing at Herodium, where the tithe is probably viewed as a tax due rather than a scrupulous act of piety. The naming of the sabbatical year in this deed fits into a long tradition of its remembrance, but gives no indication on observance. The atmosphere of zeal comes over most plainly in the rabbinic reminiscence of recircumcision. This passage is a reminder that in the new Israelite realm, despite the seeming sobriety of officially approved observance, an agitated or exalted mood of zeal for the law and hope for redemption could indeed surround the formula 'prince of Israel'.

Bar Kokhba

Something of the ethos of the Israelite realm can be further sensed, finally, from elements in the legend of Bar Kokhba. This is attested in Eusebius and Jerome as well as rabbinic literature, but it also highlights fresh features of the letters, documents and coins considered so far. It raises once again the question, already met in connection with the title 'prince of Israel', of how to describe the messianism of the revolt.

The brief impressions of Bar Kokhba in Eusebius appear, as noted in the review of sources earlier in this chapter, mainly in the *History*, with the exception of a remnant in the *Chronicle* on the refusal of Christians to join Bar Kokhba against Rome. They form a small instance of that building of Christian on Jewish 'collective memory' which Maurice Halbwachs discerned in the contemporary development of traditions of Judaeon holy places.³⁸⁰

Eusebius's material seems ultimately to depend on Jewish as well as Christian reminiscence. This is suggested by its contacts with the fuller narratives in the Talmud and midrash, notably in its close link between Barchochebas and Beththera – neither mentioned in Dio. It seems likely to derive, as argued above, from a Christian Judaeon source, perhaps Africanus's early third-century *Chronographies*. This source itself owes something to the collective memories of both the Christian and the Jewish communities, as

³⁸⁰ Halbwachs, *La topographie légendaire des évangiles en Terre sainte*, 137–40. An extensive overlap between his 'collective memory' and the 'cultural memory' of J. and A. Assmann is indicated by E. Brian in Halbwachs, *ibid.*, 123*–5*.

they had shaped themselves in the second century according to the needs of the time.

The rabbinic narratives likewise draw ultimately on post-war collective memory; they were incorporated into the Talmud and midrash after Eusebius, but as recounted in his time were already linked (as the Mishnah suggests) with the mournful context of fasting and its rules, in the discourse to be reflected in the fifth century in the Talmud Yerushalmi, and were probably also linked with the mournful exposition of Lamentations, connected with lamentation for the temple on 9 Ab, to be reflected at about the same period in Midrash Lamentations Rabbah.³⁸¹ Most of this material recurs in the Babylonian Talmud, but the series of stories about Bar Kokhba which is considered here appears, with one exception, only in Palestinian compositions – the Jerusalem Talmud and Lamentations Rabbah.³⁸²

Both Christian and rabbinic texts are chiefly marked by negative reflection of the messianic hopes which had surrounded Simeon bar Kosiba. In Christian sources specifically messianic aspects of his rule merge into the portrait of a charlatan as characteristically drawn in Greek literature, but do not wholly vanish.

Positive notes surviving in rabbinic literature evoke the fabulous and near-magical aura of his leadership. His recruits had to cut off a finger before he would accept them. When the Wise complained of these mutilations they recommended instead, and he adopted, a test whereby recruits must be able to uproot a cedar of Lebanon.³⁸³ In the siege of Bethar, Bar Kokhba caught Roman artillery stones on his knee, and hurled them back to kill the enemy (a similar story was told of Garibaldi in the bombardment of Palermo, sitting unperturbed in the open and twirling a whip to keep off the shells).³⁸⁴

These tales of heroism suit the atmosphere of supernatural charism which formed part of the messianism surrounding Bar Kokhba. The messianic figure has the strength of 'a mighty one' in prophecy and psalmody (Isa. 9:5, Ps. 45:4, Ps. 89:20).³⁸⁵ The narratives are ominously varied, however, by the assertion that Bar Kokhba and his brave followers used the impious prayer

³⁸¹ For these datings see Stemberger, *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch*, 190; 317.

³⁸² The various versions are viewed together in Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 157–9.

³⁸³ Jerusalem Talmud, Taan. iv 8, 68d (on horseback); Lam. R. ii 1–2, section 4, on Lam. 2:2 'the Lord has swallowed up' (without qualification).

³⁸⁴ Lam. R. ii 1–2, section 4, on Lam. 2:2 'the Lord has swallowed up' (not in the Jerusalem Talmud); G. M. Trevelyan, *Garibaldi and the Thousand* (London, 1909), 306–7.

³⁸⁵ Ps. 89:20 is applied in the midrash to Abraham and David, because of their battles, and to Moses, because he could endure the might of the divine voice (Lev. R. i 4, on Lev. 1:1).

‘Neither help nor hinder us. Hast not thou cast us off? Thou shalt not go forth with our hosts’ – a bitter adaptation of Ps. 60:12 (10).³⁸⁶ This contrast with the old Maccabaeen joy, when ‘they fought with cheerfulness the battle of Israel’ (I Macc. 3:2), recalls the desperation (*apognosis*) attributed by Dio to the rebels during their repression (Cassius Dio, *Hist.* lxi 13, 3). In this changed atmosphere the predominantly disillusioned accounts which survive will have begun to take shape.

More specifically messianic interpretation is reflected in Eusebius. Noting that the general of the Jews was named Barchochabas, he adds, ‘which means “star”’. This explanation is not found in the text from Justin Martyr’s *Apology* which Eusebius quotes below. When compared with rabbinic sources, it appears as an echo of the interpretation of Num. 24:17 ‘A star shall come forth from Jacob’ noted above.

To quote the talmudic account (paralleled with differences in the two main text-forms of Lamentations Rabbah) ‘R. Simeon ben Yohai said, Akiba my teacher interpreted *A star shall come forth out of Jacob* – Koziba shall come forth out of Jacob. When R. Akiba saw Ben Koziba, he said, This is king messiah. R. Johanan ben Tortha said to him, Akiba, grass will grow in your cheek-bones, and still the son of David will not have come.’³⁸⁷

One main text-form of Lamentations Rabbah substitutes, however, for the positive interpretation of bar Kosiba as the star, in the first sentence, a negative one: ‘*A star shall come forth from Jacob*: Read not *kokhab* [‘star’] but *kozeb* [‘liar’]’. In the first edition of Lamentations Rabbah (1519) this is attributed to R. Judah ha-Nasi (‘Rabbi’), in the name of the early third-century R. Johanan: ‘R. Johanan said, Rabbi used to interpret . . .’³⁸⁸ In some later printed texts, however, it is attributed to Akiba himself, in the name of his pupil R. Judah b. Ilai. ‘R. Judah [ben Ilai] said: My

³⁸⁶ Jerusalem Talmud, Taan. iv 8, 68d (Bar Kokhba), 69a (the two brothers of Kephars Haruba); Lam. R. ii 1–2, section 4, on Lam. 2:2 ‘the Lord has swallowed up’ (Bar Kokhba’s soldiers, and, later, the two brothers of Kephars Haruba); Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 113, 137–8, 140, 144, 148.

³⁸⁷ Jerusalem Talmud, Taan. iv 8, 68d, in P. Schäfer and H.-J. Becker (eds.), *Synopse zum Talmud Yerushalmi, II 5–12* (Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum 83, Tübingen, 2001), 261 (4:8/27), discussed with parallels by Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 168–9; ‘Bar Kokhba and the Rabbis’, 2–5. As he notes, the sentence beginning ‘When R. Akiba saw . . .’ is probably a later explanatory addition; it is in Aramaic, whereas the rest is in Hebrew. On the two main text-forms of Lamentations Rabbah, represented by the first edition of 1519 and S. Buber’s edition of 1899, respectively, see Stemberger, *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch*, 315.

³⁸⁸ Midrash on the Five Rolls [*Midrash Hamesh Megilloth*], issued by Geronimo (Gershom) Soncino at Pesaro, 1519, Lamentations, section *The Lord has swallowed up* (Lam. 2:2); for the place of printing and description see G. Manzoni, *Annali tipografici dei Soncino*, ii.1 (Bologna, 1883, repr. Farnborough, 1969), 494–7, no. 113.

teacher [Hebrew *Rabbi*] used to interpret . . . ³⁸⁹ This attribution to Akiba of the negative correction through Judah b. Ilai, who was said to have praised Roman civilization, matches the talmudic attribution of the positive interpretation of the star to Akiba through Simeon b. Yohai, who was remembered as a zealous patriot; each disciple presents his own view of his master Akiba.³⁹⁰

The second main text-form of Lamentations Rabbah, by contrast, simply omits the first sentence, and begins: 'R. Johanan said, When R. Akiba saw Ben Koziba . . . ' ³⁹¹ In Johanan's name much is transmitted on the destruction of Jerusalem and the Hadrianic war, and sayings of both Simeon b. Yohai and Judah b. Ilai as well as Judah ha-Nasi.³⁹² Judah ha-Nasi himself was a hearer of both Judah b. Ilai and Simeon b. Yohai.³⁹³ The variety of attribution just noted in the different forms of the anecdote continues that found in the paragraph which precedes it in the Talmud, on 'the voice is the voice of Jacob' (Gen. 27:22) in connection with Bethar.³⁹⁴

From these four forms of the text of the rabbinic anecdote of Bar Kokhba as star it is clear at least that a positive interpretation 'Kokhba shall come forth out of Jacob' was followed by a negative correction: 'Koziba' – the liar – 'shall come forth out of Jacob'. The positive interpretation goes back to the time of the revolt, and very possibly to Akiba, to whom other potentially militant messianic interpretations were attributed.³⁹⁵ An example noted above in discussion of Raymund Martini is Akiba's emphasis

³⁸⁹ Lam. R. ii 1–2, section 4, on Lam. 2:2 'the Lord has swallowed up all the habitations of Jacob', in Midrash Rabbah, ed. I. Baer (Berlin and Warsaw, 1866–70), Megilloth, f. 67a; Midrash Rabbah (Wilna, 1887, repr. 2 vols., Jerusalem, 1970), Lamentations, f. 21a. This form of the text is followed by Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, i, 284, n. 3; it is not discussed in Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 168–9; 'Bar Kokhba and the Rabbis', 2–5.

³⁹⁰ For these characteristics attributed to Simeon b. Yohai and Judah b. Ilai see M. Avi-Yonah, *The Jews of Palestine* (Oxford, 1976), 65–6, citing among other passages Babylonian Talmud, Shabb. 33b, on their different evaluations of Roman markets, bridges and baths – translated with comment in S. Krauss, *Griechen und Römer* (Monumenta Talmudica v.1, Vienna and Leipzig, 1914, repr. Darmstadt, 1972), 46, no. 82.

³⁹¹ S. Buber (ed.), *Midrasch Echa Rabbati* (Wilna, 1899), 101.

³⁹² W. Bacher, *Die Agada der palästinensischen Amoräer* (3 vols., Strassburg, 1892, 1896, 1899, repr. Hildesheim, 1992), i, 206–8.

³⁹³ Stemberger, *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch*, 92–3.

³⁹⁴ Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 166–8.

³⁹⁵ By contrast, Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 169; Schäfer, 'Bar Kokhba and the Rabbis', 2–5, concludes that the originator of the positive interpretation was probably not Akiba but an unknown figure during the revolt. The potential militance of some messianic interpretation ascribed to Akiba is affirmed in review of it by Schäfer, 'Rabbi Aqiva und Bar Kokhba', in Schäfer, *Studien zur Geschichte und Theologie des rabbinischen Judentums* (Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums 15, Leiden, 1978), 65–121 (90–5), abbreviated in 'Rabbi Aqiva and Bar Kokhba', in W. S. Green (ed.), *Approaches to Ancient Judaism*, ii (Chico, CA, 1980), 113–30 (119–20).

on imminent fulfilment of the prophecy 'Yet once, it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens and the earth' . . . and I will bring 'the desirable things of all nations' to Jerusalem (Haggai 2:6–7).³⁹⁶ Yet more notable, perhaps, is the interpretation ascribed to Akiba of the plural 'thrones' of Dan. 7:9 as two: 'one for him [the Almighty] and one for David'.³⁹⁷ This suggests identification of the heavenly figure of 'one like a son of man' in Daniel 7 with the messiah. The resultant image of a messiah coming from the skies with heavenly vengeance against the enemies of Israel is met not long before Akiba's time in the apocalypse of Ezra (II Esdras 13) and the Fifth Sibylline book. A messianic interpretation of the star from Jacob fits well together with it, as noted below.

The negative correction too probably arose before the end of the revolt, although its attribution to Akiba is uncertain.³⁹⁸ At any rate, emphasis falls in each form of the anecdote, just as in Eusebius, both on the identification of the leader with the star, and also, through R. Johanan b. Tortha (at the time of the revolt) and through the correction of this identification (by Akiba or another, during and after the revolt), on its falsehood.

The star-messianism indicated by rabbinic texts and Eusebius coheres in general with messianic overtones which could have been heard, as noted already, in the title 'prince of Israel' and in the catchwords 'liberty' and 'redemption', found in documents and coinage. The same is true of the symbolism of the coins. Here as with the titles what is presented is national rather than clearly messianic, but can lead naturally to a messianic interpretation. Its main focus is on the temple-service (the temple and its vessels and utensils, including amphora, chalice, jug, and lyre, with the lulab, ethrog and shofar noted already) and on the fruits of the land (grape cluster, vine leaf, olive wreath, palm tree); the representation of the temple itself on tetradrachms is a new feature by comparison with coinage of the First Revolt, which otherwise shows a similar emphasis on temple

³⁹⁶ Babylonian Talmud, Sanh. 97b, in the name of R. Nathan.

³⁹⁷ Babylonian Talmud, Hag. 14a. Sanh. 38b; this tradition calls into question the judgment that Akiba's sayings show no trace of conceptions of supernatural events accompanying the messiah's advent, expressed by Klausner, *Die messianischen Vorstellungen des jüdischen Volkes*, 8–9; Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel*, 399.

³⁹⁸ Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 169; Schäfer, 'Bar Kokhba and the Rabbis', 2–5 takes it that Judah ha-Nasi, quoted by Johanan, was responsible for the negative correction, as in the first edition of Lamentations Rabbah, just as Judah ha-Nasi, quoted by Johanan, was likewise probably responsible for the interpretation of Gen. 27:22 attributed in the preceding lines of the Jerusalem Talmud, with some textual confusion, to Akiba through Judah b. Ilai (see Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 166–8). To add a comment, Judah ha-Nasi was in any case probably a tradent rather than the originator of this bitter correction. The disillusion which it expresses will have marked the last stage of the revolt.

utensils.³⁹⁹ The purification and renewal of the temple-service and the recovery and abundance of the land were both central in messianic hope.

Two representations or ornaments from the coinage have been connected with hopes associated with Bar Kokhba in particular. The grape cluster in the Mishnah can stand for a great man or rabbi, in line with Micah 7:1–2 ‘there is no cluster to eat . . . the godly man is perished’; on the coins the cluster might represent (it is suggested) the prince of Israel himself.⁴⁰⁰ Yet, as the context of the other coin-symbols indicates, a connection with the temple and the land is more obvious. The grape cluster regularly symbolizes in rabbinic literature the libations poured in connection with the sacrifices.⁴⁰¹ These were noted as an important part of the service already before the Maccabaeen revolt. ‘To adorn the offering of the Most High’, the high priest ‘stretched out his hand for the libation-cup, and poured of the blood of the grape’ (Ecclus 50:14–15); ‘the blood of the grape(s)’ is bestowed on Judah in the blessing of Jacob, and on Israel in the greater Song of Moses (Gen. 49:11, Deut. 32:14, respectively), and in interpretation of Deut. 32:14 continued to be associated, as already in Ecclesiasticus, with the libations (see the preceding footnote). At the same time, however, the grape cluster could hint at the recovery of the land and its fertility, as in Num. 13:23–4 (on the great cluster brought back to Moses by the spies from Eshcol near Hebron). The vigour of this association near the time of the revolt is shown by II Baruch 29:5, on the time when the Anointed is revealed and ‘each cluster shall produce a thousand grapes’, and the related prophecy ‘in every cluster, ten thousand grapes’ transmitted by the early second-century Christian author Papias.⁴⁰²

The golden vine over the doors of the holy place, with its clusters ‘tall as a man’, remained famous after 70 and will have favoured such speculation and its link with libations in the temple.⁴⁰³ These associations of the grape

³⁹⁹ On the symbols or types found on the coins see Mildenberg, *The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War*, 31–48, 55, 65–8 (comparing types from the First Revolt).

⁴⁰⁰ So G. G. Porton, ‘The Grape-Cluster in Jewish Literature and Art of Late Antiquity’, *JJS* xxvii (1976), 159–76, on texts including M. Sotah ix 9, Sifre Deut. 323 (on 32:32).

⁴⁰¹ For the grape cluster as the libations see Sifre Deuteronomy 317, on 32:14 (Finkelstein, *Siphre ad Deuteronomium*, p. 359, para. 2), probably representing second- to third-century interpretation; this view is assumed in the opinion ascribed to R. Aha (fourth-century Lydda and Tiberias), that Deut. 32:14 on ‘the blood of the grape’ shows that the temple will be restored before the Davidic kingship (Jerusalem Talmud, Ma’aser Sheni, v 2, 56a); the clusters are the libations, similarly, in an interpretation of the vine in Pharaoh’s butler’s dream (Gen. 40:9–10) ascribed to Eleazar of Modin, Babylonian Talmud, Hullin 92a.

⁴⁰² Papias, quoted by Irenaeus, *Haer.* v 33, 3–4, and placed in the early second century by Eusebius, *H.E.* iii 36, 2.

⁴⁰³ Josephus, *B.J.* v 210, quoted in the text; Tacitus, *Hist.* v 5; Florus, *Epitome* i 40, 30 in Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on the Jews and Judaism*, ii, 132–3, no. 321 (Pompey saw ‘the sky [embroidered

cluster with the libations and with the abundance of the messianic age are rooted in Second Temple period interpretation, suit the context provided by the coin imagery and legends, and seem more likely to have been to the fore.⁴⁰⁴

Then a rosette appears above a temple façade on many larger silver coins (tetradrachms) of the revolt, and also by itself on a lead weight of Bar Kokhba's administration.⁴⁰⁵ This popular decorative device is also found on ossuaries, lintels and elsewhere. Its starlike appearance is thought in some of these cases to have had an astral symbolism.⁴⁰⁶ Within the context of the revolt its appearance on coins and weights together with Simeon ben Kosiba's name will have been intended at least to enhance his dignity, but also (whatever the intention) probably evoked the nickname 'star' and its messianic associations.

In Eusebius his reference to the name 'star' leads, through the comment that Bar Kokhba was 'murderous and bandit-like', into the satirical vignette of a charlatan imposing himself as the celestial spirit of a star; on the strength of his name he presented himself to his followers, as though to slaves, as a luminary come down from the sky to shine on those in trouble (*H.E.* iv 6, 2). Comparable in satire is Jerome's later statement, still probably drawing on the pool of Judaeon Christian stories of the revolt, that he pretended to breathe fire by a trick with a lighted straw in his mouth.⁴⁰⁷

The star and the fire are connected respectively with two great prophecies, Num. 24:17 'a star shall come forth' and Isa. 11:4, on the rod from the stem of Jesse, 'with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked', developed near the time of the revolt in II Esdras 13:10 'out of his mouth as a flood of fire, and out of his lips a flaming breath'. These oracles from Numbers and Isaiah were brought together in depiction of messianic figures in this period, as noted above. There is also, however, an inner connection between star and fire in ancient conceptions of the divine; the celestial spirit of a star is

on the temple veil] beneath the golden vine', *sub aurea vite caelum*). Hadrian should have known Florus personally (Birley, *Hadrian*, 144).

⁴⁰⁴ Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 65–7 prefers, without special discussion of the libations, the connection with recovery of the land.

⁴⁰⁵ Mildenberg, *The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War*, 43–5 (with plates), 73–6; ruling out any idea that Simeon ben Kosiba represented himself as messiah, and stressing that the rosette does not appear in the first-year coinage and later is sometimes absent or replaced by a wavy line, he excludes any intention behind the coinage that the rosette should be understood as a star; but he does allow the possibility that the punning name Bar Kokhba was current as a political slogan during the revolt. For weights see Kloner, 'Lead Weights of Bar Kokhba's Administration'.

⁴⁰⁶ P. Figueras, *Decorated Jewish Ossuaries* (Leiden, 1983), 39–41.

⁴⁰⁷ Jerome, *adv. Rufinum* iii 31, quoted by Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 545, n. 140.

fire, which shows itself in the breath of the star-man.⁴⁰⁸ The Syrian Eunus, mentioned above as leader of Sicilian slave rebels and as 'king Antiochus', was comparably accused as a charlatan by Diodorus Siculus.⁴⁰⁹ To enhance his pretended prophecies he blew flames from his mouth, Diodorus says, with the help of a nut or something similar; breathing fire, he led four hundred slaves and took the city of Enna.⁴¹⁰

The suggestions of imposture reproduced by Eusebius and Jerome then seem thoroughly Hellenic, but they remain close to the thought-world of Roman Judaea and to reactions which can be envisaged at the time of the revolt. The magical aura of rulers and the significance of signs and wonders as tokens of power were commonplaces in the ancient world, as emerged above in connection with Vespasian, but they are also prominent in a Jewish context in the Pentateuchal accounts of Moses. Among Jews in Roman Judaea they are further illustrated by the gospels and by Josephus on the 'sign prophets', in both cases with similar charges of imposture.

The combination of star and fire in the portrait of Bar Kokhba suits messianic prophecy as it had developed within this context of thought at the time of the revolt, when the association of Num. 24:17 with Isa. 11:4 could form part of widespread depiction of a messianic figure with celestial traits. Thus the 'luminary come down from heaven to shine on those in trouble' in Eusebius is not far from the great future priest of the Testament of Levi, whose 'star will arise in heaven as a king's' (Test. Levi 18:3), from 'the dayspring' who 'from on high shall visit us' in the psalmlike Luke 1:78–9, from the fire-breathing manlike figure flying with the clouds of heaven in II Esdras 13:1–50, cited already, or from the 'blessed man' who comes from the skies in the Fifth Sibylline book, to restore the plundered property of the good, to burn the cities of evildoers, and to rebuild Jerusalem and the sanctuary with brightness more than that of sun, moon and stars (lines 414–28, with implied reference to the power of celestial fire against the enemy and for the sanctuary).⁴¹¹ This astrally connected line of thought reappears in a later midrash which pictures king

⁴⁰⁸ For a star, divinity or angel as fire see W. Speyer, 'Die Zeugungskraft des himmlischen Feuers in Antike und Urchristentum', repr. from *Antike und Abendland* xxiv (1978), 57–75 in Speyer, *Frühes Christentum im antiken Strahlungsfeld: Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (WUNT 50, Tübingen, 1989), 235–53 (250–1).

⁴⁰⁹ They are compared by W. Speyer, 'Religiöse Betrüger. Falsche göttliche Menschen und Heilige in Antike und Christentum', in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter* (Monumenta Germaniae Historica Schriften 33.5, Hanover, 1988), 321–43, repr. in Speyer, *Frühes Christentum im antiken Strahlungsfeld*, 440–62 (449–50).

⁴¹⁰ Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* xxxiv 2, 5–11 (preserved in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, no. 244).

⁴¹¹ On Test. Levi 18:3 against the background of stars in Greek and Roman ruler-cult see A. Hultgård, *L'eschatologie des Testaments des Douze Patriarches* (2 vols., Uppsala, 1977, 1982), i, 326–81.

messiah, on the roof of the temple, saying to Israel, 'Meek ones, . . . if you do not believe in me, look at my light which shines upon you.'⁴¹² The negative portrayal of the similar claims and hopes attached to Bar Kokhba, in Eusebius and Jerome, then suits the reaction of Jews and Christians at the end of and after the revolt, as expressed in the language of imposture which would immediately have become natural.

Bar Kokhba was 'murderous and bandit-like', in the memory of him represented in Eusebius (*H.E.* iv 6, 2). In the letters, the threats which accompany orders come indeed from a time when affairs will have been going badly, and can mingle with a concern for encouragement; he is still addressed formally as 'dear Father', and Jeshua ben Galgula is told 'keep up your courage and encourage the people of the place' as well as 'I swear to Heaven I will put irons on your feet, as I did to Ben Aphlul'.⁴¹³ In general, however, the letters can still recall the epithet 'bandit-like'.⁴¹⁴

Rabbinic sources also emphasize the brigand in Bar Kokhba. Just as Ben Battiah, a rebel leader in Jerusalem under Vespasian, would have killed his uncle R. Johanan b. Zaccai for a word of lament (*Lam. R.* i 31, on 1:5), so Bar Kokhba, deceived by a Samaritan, in the story mentioned above, into believing his uncle Eleazar of Modin to have betrayed Bethar, kicked him so that he died (*Jerusalem Talmud*, *Taan.* iv 8, 68d; *Lam. R.* ii 4, on 2:2). Although this story of Bar Kokhba's disastrous deception does not appear in the Babylonian Talmud, it may well lie behind a summary of his reign which was current in fourth-century Babylonia: he reigned for three and a half years, telling the Wise 'I am the messiah', but when they saw that he could not judge by scent (as required in *Isa.* 11:3 'and his scenting-out shall be in the fear of the Lord; not by the sight of his eyes shall he judge, nor reprove after the hearing of his ears'), they slew him (*Babylonian Talmud*, *Sanh.* 93b, in the name of Raba).

This summary in the Babylonian Talmud is at the climax of the tendency to show that Bar Kokhba ruled by rabbinical counsel and permission, seen already in the view that he heeded rabbinic objections to his test for recruits (the Wise take over in effect the older position of the high priest or the

⁴¹² *Pes. R.* xxxvi 12, on *Isa.* 60:1 'your light is come', in A. Goldberg, *Erlösung durch Leiden . . . (Pes R 34. 36. 37)* (Frankfurter Judaistische Studien 4, Frankfurt am Main, 1978), 13^{*}–14^{*} (text), 154–5 (translation); 'my light' above represents the Yalkut reading, preferred by M. Friedmann (ed.), *Pesikta Rabbati* (Vienna, 1880), f. 162b, rather than Goldberg's text, to be rendered 'his light'.

⁴¹³ XHev/Se papLetter to Shim'on ben Kosibah, lines 1–3; see Cotton and Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites*, 103–4, and n. 230, above; *P. Mur.* 43, lines 3–7 and 44, line 7, in Benoit et al., *Les grottes de Murabba'at*, 162.

⁴¹⁴ So Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, 124; Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 74–5; Schäfer, 'Bar Kokhba and the Rabbis', 8–9.

priestly and lay council, in Mishnaic terms the sanhedrin, vis-à-vis the prince); but Raba's story continues the critique of his harsh and hasty judgment which will have been part of the early negative reaction, and shows how it could discredit messianic interpretation of his rule. The view that the Wise slew him is on the face of it inconsistent, as Raymund Martini stressed, with the story in the Jerusalem Talmud and Lamentations Rabbah that Bar Kokhba was killed by a snake.⁴¹⁵ Probably, however, Raba's statement is simply an interpretation of this Judaeen story; Bar Kokhba's death by the agency of a snake, taken to be a divine 'extirpation', will have been regarded as the almost automatic result of a solemn imprecation by the Wise.⁴¹⁶

At a still earlier stage, however, taken positively, Simeon's harshness can have seemed like the salutary severity exhibited by zealous princes of old like Kenaz and Josiah, as they were imagined near the time of the revolt.⁴¹⁷ It was not necessarily unusual for such a leader; Caesar held that the severity of Vercingetorix in Gaul was a means of strengthening his forces.⁴¹⁸ The prince's brigandlike way of life in general need not have seemed inconsistent with messianic kingship; in Judaea before him David had occupied strongholds in the wilderness of Engaddi, Ziph and Maon, south-east of Hebron, and Abraham, Isaac and Jacob had chosen, it was believed, to occupy and defend a tower near Hebron, not a capital city.⁴¹⁹ The kinglike leaders of the Roman period, from Simon and Athrongaeus to Lucuas, had helped to keep alive the notion of kings on this model.⁴²⁰ The messianic king could be viewed as the last of a series of kings who were national deliverers, as in II Baruch (David, Solomon, Hezekiah, Josiah and the messiah), and the achievements of leaders brought them within the messianic aura.⁴²¹

⁴¹⁵ Jerusalem Talmud, Taanith iv 8, 69a, top, paralleled in Lamentations Rabbah ii 4, on 2:2, and discussed below; on Raymund Martini's comment, [Chapter 2](#), above.

⁴¹⁶ For the rabbinic ban (*herem* or *shammetha*) as followed by divinely inflicted death see Babylonian Talmud, M. K. 16a, again in the name of Raba, on the end of Dathan, Abiram and the company of Korah (Num. 16:12–16) as the consequence of the ban, discussed with other rabbinic and Targumic passages on death as following the ban in 'Extirpation and Excommunication', *VT* xxxv (1985), 19–38, repr. in Horbury, *Jews and Christians in Conflict and Controversy*, 43–66 (63–5).

⁴¹⁷ Ps.-Philo, *Biblical Antiquities* xxvii 15 (Kenaz); II Baruch 66:4 (Josiah); cf. I Macc. 3:5 (Judas Maccabaeus); in all three cases, punishment by burning.

⁴¹⁸ Caesar, *Commentaries*, vii 4–5.

⁴¹⁹ I Sam. 23:14, 24, 29; Jub. 29:19, 26:20, 37:14–38:9 (Isaac slays Esau at the tower).

⁴²⁰ Hengel, *The Zealots*, 292.

⁴²¹ For the series (beginning with Adam, the patriarchs, and Moses, Aaron, Miriam, Joshua and Caleb) see the interpretation of Baruch's vision of bright and dark waters in II Baruch, chapters 61, 63, 66, and 70; compare the deathbed saying attributed to R. Johanan b. Zaccai, 'Set up a throne for Hezekiah, king of Judah, who is coming' (Babylonian Talmud, Ber. 28b).

In sum, therefore, the patristic and rabbinic traditions of the messianism of the uprising, probably based ultimately on Jewish and Christian collective memory from the post-war period, cohere with the evidence of coin legends, documents and letters from the time of the war itself. This contemporary material shows that the rising was presented as a revival of the ancestral constitution in territory now administered (once more) as an Israelite realm. The whole enterprise will have gained energy from the messianic expectations bound up with the constitutional terms; 'prince', 'priest' and 'brother' are closely knit with 'liberty' and 'redemption', understood to include recovery of the sanctuary and the land. This ethos could be shared by zealous messianic revolutionaries, mystical pietists, and practical politicians. Their differences were perhaps minimized, until the time of failure came, by the absolutism of the prince's rule. In any case, within this ethos politics and religion, in their modern senses, were inseparable.

III REPRESSION

The Israelite realm now had to be defended against a reinforced Roman army. Eusebius, focused like the rabbinic texts on Tineius Rufus the governor of Judaea, says that when he had received military support from the emperor he advanced against the Jews, treating their madnesses without mercy (*H.E.* iv 6, 1); this is one of the places where 'madness' (*aponoia*) is almost a synonym for an outburst of revolt.⁴²² Cassius Dio concentrates rather on the emperor's response; Hadrian now sent his best generals, first among whom was Sextus Julius Severus, consul in 127 and now governor of Britain, specially 'despatched against the Jews' (Cassius Dio, *Hist.* lxi 13, 2). He had earlier served on the Danube as legate of Dacia Superior and Moesia Inferior.⁴²³ His arrival in Judaea may have been in the second half of 133 or in 134.⁴²⁴ An inscription indicates that the Syrian governor Publicius Marcellus had brought troops from his province, as noted already, and the Arabian governor T. Haterius Nepos probably did so too, as his award of triumphal ornaments suggests.⁴²⁵

⁴²² On Tineius Rufus see Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 518, no. 12; CIIP 1267 (his name appears in a fragment of a dedication to Hadrian from Caesarea by soldiers who are Rufus's 'beneficiaries', *beneficarii*), with Eck, *Rom und Judaea*, 89.

⁴²³ W. Eck and A. Pangerl, 'Sex. Iulius Severus, cos. suff. 126, und seine Militärdiploma (PA 456)', *ZPE* clxxv (2010), 247–57.

⁴²⁴ Birley, *Hadrian*, 274; Fündling, *Kommentar zur Vita Hadriani der Historia Augusta*, ii, 677, allows for a slightly earlier arrival.

⁴²⁵ IGR III 174 = Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, no. 216, statue base from Ancyra inscribed in Greek in honour of C. Julius Severus (not Sex.

It is just possible that, in the Judaeen situation now or earlier, Hadrian was the unnamed emperor who sent a query on military engines to the architect Apollodorus of Damascus.⁴²⁶ Irrespective of this point, Hadrian's presence in Judaea at this stage is suggested by Dio on his report to the senate, which designedly lacked the usual 'I and the legions are in good health' (Cassius Dio, *Hist.* lxi 14, 4). Inscriptions also suggesting his presence with the forces, as noted above, include one naming Q. Lollius Urbicus as 'legate of the emperor Hadrian' – perhaps in this case an aide-de-camp – 'in the Jewish expedition'.⁴²⁷

Roman reinforcements

X Fretensis and VI Ferrata formed the resident garrison of Judaea, as noted above. Support for X Fretensis two or more years before the revolt is suggested by a petition of the year 150, already quoted, from men who had been transferred to this legion from the fleet of Misenum. Large-scale transfers from the fleet now during the war, possibly to VI Ferrata as well as X Fretensis, are more indirectly suggested by a group of diplomas of the year 160 from veterans of the Misenum fleet, attesting twenty-six years' service. Here transfers are not mentioned, but it is clear that the fleet received a large body of recruits c.133–4, possibly to replace troops transferred to legions in Judaea. Levies for military service in Italy attested between 132 and 134 – an unusual imposition from which Italy was commonly free – can again be linked with fair probability with needs occasioned by reinforcement in Judaea.⁴²⁸

Other legions and auxiliary troops which provided reinforcements in Judaea can in some cases be identified. The clearest evidence comes from

Julius Severus, former governor of Britain), 'who guided affairs in Syria when Publicius Marcellus transferred from Syria because of the Jewish tumult (*kinesis*)'; for discussion see nn. 157–8, above.

⁴²⁶ So Millar, *A Study in Cassius Dio*, 65–6; with a greater measure of doubt, Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 451–2; Birley, *Hadrian*, 273; negative, S. Applebaum, 'For Whom Did Apollodorus Write the *Poliorketika*?', in Applebaum, *Judaea in Hellenistic and Roman Times* (Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity 40, Leiden, 1989), 110–16 (the work is probably not by Apollodorus, for it takes no real account of the kind of attack on hill-forts which was necessary in Judaea); noncommittal, Cappaï, *Judaea*, 343, n. 108. Apollodorus was active under both Trajan and Hadrian. The emperor's query is known from Apollodorus's Greek reply, forming the introduction to a treatise on siege-engines; see Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, ii, 135–7, no. 322.

⁴²⁷ CIL VIII 6706 = ILS 1065 = Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, no. 220; Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 450. Birley, *Hadrian*, 273, n. 38 notes as a sign of Hadrian's presence ILS 2081 = Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, no. 300; here the municipality of Matilica in Umbria honour C. Arrius Clemens, a member of the Praetorian Guard who was decorated for war service by Hadrian. This implies the emperor's presence in the war, which seems likely to be that in Judaea.

⁴²⁸ On the diplomas and the levies see Eck, *Rom und Judaea*, 126–32.

inscriptions which mention service in this war. In III Cyrenaica, stationed in Arabia and probably represented in troops brought to Judaea by Nepos, a tribune and a centurion were decorated by Hadrian for service in the Jewish expedition or war, respectively; a unit of this legion had been present in Jerusalem in 116 or 117, as noted above.⁴²⁹ The centurion, however, had gone on to serve in VII Claudia and to become senior centurion (*primus pilus*) of II Traiana. It is possible that his Judean service was in II Traiana, based in Egypt; this legion was represented in work on the high-level aqueduct at Caesarea ascribed to c.130, as noted already.⁴³⁰ Losses in II Traiana in Judaea are speculatively invoked, accordingly, as a possible explanation of the almost total absence of men from Egypt from an inscribed list of veterans of this legion in 157, from the site of the army camp at Nicopolis near Alexandria.⁴³¹

A tribune of X Gemina, a legion normally stationed on the Danube in Pannonia Superior, was decorated by Hadrian for his part in the Jewish expedition.⁴³² It is probable that V Macedonica and XI Claudia, stationed in Moesia Inferior (eastern Romania) but both named in an undated inscription at Bittir (Beththera), supplied troops for the repression (V Macedonica is also named on a foundation-coin of Aelia, and was recorded at Emmaus in the First Revolt, as noted above), and also that III Gallica, stationed in Syria, was represented in the troops brought by Publius Marcellus.⁴³³ There is a fair probability that XII Fulminata, represented

⁴²⁹ Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 547, n. 150 (1), citing CIL XIV 3610 = ILS 1071 (the tribune, 'ob iudaicam expeditionem'), CIL X 3733 = ILS 2083 (the centurion, 'ob bellum iudaicum'); on a dedication by III Cyrenaica from 116 or 117 preserved on a stone built into the Sion Gate at Jerusalem see Chapter 4, n. 357.

⁴³⁰ Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 548, inclines to this view.

⁴³¹ So F. Kayser, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines (non funéraires) d'Alexandrie impériale (Ier–IIIe s. apr. J.C.)* (Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, Bibliothèque d'étude, 108; Cairo, 1994), 314–15, on no. 102; Africa has the strongest representation, followed by Syria and Italy, but only one name is from Egypt, and Kayser suggests that recruitment of Africans might have replaced losses of men from Egypt.

⁴³² Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 548, n. 150 no. (6), citing CIL VI 3505, together with CIL VIII 6706 = ILS 1065 = Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, no. 220, cited above, on the legate of Hadrian Q. Lollius Urbicus 'in the Jewish expedition' – who, it is added, was legate of X Gemina (but it is unclear whether, in Judaea, he was serving with X Gemina); Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 447–8, n. 75.

⁴³³ Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 447–8, n. 73, citing CIL XII 2230 (soldier of III Gallica decorated by Hadrian for unspecified services, probably in Judaea, as he was discharged by Antoninus Pius), and n. 75, citing CIL III 1415², from Bittir, by the spring (V Macedonica and XI Claudia); 460–1, n. 129. An example of an Aelia founder-coin on which a legionary standard is represented with the legend LE V is described by L. Kadman, *The Coins of Aelia Capitolina* (Corpus Nummorum Palaestiniensium 1, Jerusalem, 1956), 21; 81, no. 1, and by the owner J. Meyshan, 'The Legion Which Reconquered Jerusalem in the War of Bar Kokhba (AD 132–5)', *PEQ* xc (1958), 19–26.

in a Hadrianic building inscription from Jerusalem as well as in an altar dedication from Caesarea, supplied troops for repression.⁴³⁴ Among the legions, finally, XXII Deiotariana is attested in Egypt in 119, but is not mentioned in an inscription of c.145 from Rome which lists the legions in geographical order. It has been conjectured that, concordantly with Fronto and Dio on heavy losses, it was brought to Judaea but wiped out during the war.⁴³⁵ This view was speculatively connected with Africanus's anecdote of a contingent poisoned by Pharisees, cited above.⁴³⁶ The case for it was strengthened more recently by an indication of the presence of the legion in Judaea. Scattered letters in a deliberately erased aqueduct inscription from Caesarea, perhaps from c.130, were restored to attest a detachment of this legion, *vexillatio legionis xxii Deiotarianae*.⁴³⁷ Its loss in the revolt remains conjectural, but has fair likelihood.⁴³⁸

Tacitus, describing Roman forces in the empire under Tiberius, notes the importance of auxiliaries. He speaks, putting the navy first, of auxiliary triremes, and of wings (*alae*) and cohorts in the provinces, and adds that they roughly correspond in strength to the legionary forces.⁴³⁹ Thus in Judaea under Hadrian the legions would have been aided by the Syrian fleet, and this is suggested by an inscription recording Hadrian's decoration 'ob bellum iudaicum' of Sex. Cornelius Dexter, who, among other offices held, had been its admiral (*praefectus*).⁴⁴⁰ A clue to auxiliary troops found

⁴³⁴ In Jerusalem: Thomsen, *Die lateinischen und griechischen Inschriften der Stadt Jerusalem und ihrer nächsten Umgebung*, no. 3b = CIIP i 2, no. 717, attesting detachments of X Fretensis and XII Fulminata, discussed below in connection with the building of Aelia; in Caesarea: Lehmann and Holum, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima*, no. 119 = CIIP ii, no. 1129 (dedication by a centurion of XII Fulminata); W. Eck, 'Revision lateinischer Inschriften aus Jerusalem', *ZPE* clxix (2009), 213–29 (224–9).

⁴³⁵ Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 548, n. 150 no. (6), last paragraph, citing BGU i 140 of 119 and CIL VI 3492 = ILS 2288, of c. 145; but they note that the conjecture is weakened by the fact that the legion already ceases to be mentioned in Egypt after 119.

⁴³⁶ Abel, *Histoire de la Palestine*, ii, 92–3; n. 41, above.

⁴³⁷ CIIP 1201 = Lehmann and Holum, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima*, no. 46; both presentations follow (with a small difference in CIIP) the restoration of this legion's name suggested, especially on account of the deliberate erasure, by Isaac and Roll, 'Judaea in the Early Years of Hadrian's Reign', repr. with Postscript in Isaac, *The Near East under Roman Rule*, 182–97.

⁴³⁸ L. Di Segni, 'The Water Supply of Palestine in Literary and Epigraphical Sources', in Amit et al., *The Aqueducts of Israel*, 37–67 (50) reproduces Isaac and Roll's restoration and refers to Schürer, Vermes and Millar (see n. 435, above) on the difficulty of cessation of reference from as early as 119, but does not express an opinion on the conjecture.

⁴³⁹ Tacitus, *Ann.* iv 5, 6 'at apud idonea provinciarum sociae triremes alaeque et auxilia cohortium, neque multo secus in iis virium', '... nor is there much difference of strength in them' (from that found in the legions themselves).

⁴⁴⁰ CIL VIII 8934 = ILS 1400 = Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, no. 255, cited with another fragmentary inscription on the Syrian fleet in a Jewish

in the province soon after the revolt was given by a diploma of 22 November 139, already noted in connection with Roman troops at Emmaus and with Galilee in the revolt; it lists three wings and twelve cohorts in which the men concerned, now 'in Syria Palaestina under Calpurnius Atilianus' the governor, had served as horsemen or foot soldiers. The broken bronze diptych on which this copy is preserved was found at the site of ancient Apheca (Afiq, identified with the Aphek of I Kings 20:26–30, II Kings 13:17), east of Hippos in the Golan, across the Sea of Galilee from Tiberias, on the Damascus–Scythopolis road; one or more recipients of the diploma may have been settled here.⁴⁴¹ It was immediately taken as a guide to the auxiliaries brought in to reinforce Tineius Rufus.⁴⁴² It may not amount to a complete list of auxiliaries in Judaea, for if Tacitus's remark on a rough correspondence with legionary strength still holds good, there is room for about 1,500 more men before parity with the legionary strength of about 10,000 is reached.⁴⁴³ The units actually named include two mentioned already: Cohors I Miliaria Thracum, attested at Engaddi before the war, and Cohors VI Ulpia Petraeorum, attested at Emmaus probably during the repression.⁴⁴⁴ The prefect of one cohort which is not named, Cohors IV Lingonum, was decorated by Hadrian for his part 'in the Jewish expedition'.⁴⁴⁵ Among units named in the diploma, some were probably brought from Syria, and one, Cohors I Montanorum, from the Danube.⁴⁴⁶

Counter-insurgency

With his reinforcements the governor Tineius Rufus now responded by massacres of men, women and children, treating the local populations as responsible for the rebel attacks; he also confiscated rebel property, on the lines noticed already in Egypt and Cyrene (Eusebius, *H.E.* iv 6, 1). A possible trace of such confiscation is a papyrus document of the year 152, in

war (CIL VI 1565) by Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 548–9, n. 150, no. (7); on the interpretation of both, see Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 449, n. 81 (in CIL VIII 8934 the Hadrianic Jewish war decoration is connected with prefecture of the Syrian fleet rather than another office, but CIL VI 1565 could as well relate to 67 as to 132–5).

⁴⁴¹ Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 548, n. 150, no. (5), on CIL XVI 87; Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, ii, 246–7, s. Apheq (3); Eck, *Rom und Judaea*, 152 (the holder of this diploma may have settled in Apheca); Eusebius, *On.* 22.20 (19)).

⁴⁴² A. Héron de Villefosse, 'Diplome militaire de l'armée de Judée', *RB* vi (1897), 598–604.

⁴⁴³ This is noted by Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 106.

⁴⁴⁴ Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 448, n. 77; Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 429, n. 21.

⁴⁴⁵ CIL VI 1523 = ILS 1092 = Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, no. 280, discussed by Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, i, 548, n. 150 no. (5); Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 448, n. 78.

⁴⁴⁶ Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 448, nn. 79–80.

which the procurator Aelius Amphigethes, at Caesarea, confirms the status of Valerius Serenus as a veteran and as a landholder in the village of Meason in Peraea.⁴⁴⁷ Those villages and landowners deemed disloyal to Rome will now have suffered, just as those unwilling to co-operate with the rebels will already have suffered in the raids described above.

The rebel army, numerous as it was, now encountered Roman troops in force. Julius Severus as general saw, however, as Cassius Dio puts it (lxix 13, 3), the numbers and the desperation (*apognosis*) of his enemies, and no doubt had existing Roman defeat and loss in mind. He avoided, therefore, as Dio goes on to say, meeting the rebels as a body. Thanks to his large numbers of soldiers and under-officers, he was able to intercept small groups. Depriving the occupants of food and shutting them up, as Dio says, the Romans were able, more slowly but with less risk than in the open field, to crush them, wear them out and extirpate them (Cassius Dio, *Hist.* lxix 6, 13).

This whole large-scale Roman operation will have been comparable with the long-drawn-out final repression of the First Revolt against Rome, after the year 70. This had involved the reduction of Herodium, Machaerus, and Masada and the repossession of southern Peraea and Judaea south of Jerusalem.⁴⁴⁸ Under Hadrian, likewise, Roman forces had to take the fortresses of Herodium and Beththera, and to repossess the same area of land, with its inaccessible hill country and wilderness. The difficulty and exposure to danger presented to an army by its steep and narrow paths is glimpsed in the provision of 'two asses' to bring palm branches and citrons up from Engaddi according to P. Yadin 57, discussed above. The need for a large army to adapt to such conditions had a modern illustration when British forces, faced with war in the Judaeian hill country in November 1917, now had to be supported by a specially formed donkey corps.⁴⁴⁹ In this region, together with the famous fortresses, many smaller unnamed strongholds will have been defended. With the many 'villages' and 'forts' or 'guard-posts' (*phrouria*) eventually taken, as Cassius Dio records, the corresponding hiding places and caves must be associated. The overall

⁴⁴⁷ P. Berol. 21652 Recto = SB XII 11043, re-edited and translated by J. Rea, 'Two Legates and a Procurator of Syria Palaestina', *ZPE* xxvi (1977), 217–222, and further discussed by W. Eck, 'Der Bar Kokhba Aufstand, der kaiserliche Fiskus und die Veteranenversorgung', *SCI* xix (2000), 139–48; Eck, *Rom und Judaea*, 149–52; Cotton, 'The Bar Kokhba Revolt and the Documents from the Judaeian Desert', 150. Eck notes that confiscation will eventually have overtaken all Jewish property recorded in documents recovered from Judaeian caves, the owners of which will have perished during repression of revolt.

⁴⁴⁸ Josephus, *B.J.* vii 163–215, 252–407.

⁴⁴⁹ A. P. Wavell, *The Palestine Campaigns* (3rd edn, London, 1936), 165; two thousand donkeys were brought from Egypt.

shape of the defence was perhaps not dissimilar to that encountered in fighting here over the railway to Jerusalem in 1917: 'the numerous villages, usually built on rocky knolls . . . made solid centres of resistance'.⁴⁵⁰

During the first stage of repression fighters as well as other refugees will gradually have been withdrawing and establishing themselves in hiding places. Thus Roman reoccupation of Emmaus-Nicopolis if, as seems possible, it had been lost for a time, will have coincided with retreat to refuges including the complex beneath Khirbet el-Aqd. This will have required its own individual reduction. The Roman troops involved perhaps included the Arabs of VI Ulpia Petraeorum, whose cartouche at Emmaus was mentioned above. They were operating in the same region where the depredations of their compatriots under Varus were still resented in Josephus's time. To the east of the Israelite realm, it is clear from the Bar Kokhba letters that Engaddi was under rebel control. Roman recapture of Engaddi will probably have been imminent when caves accessible from the town were occupied. These included the Cave of Letters in Nahal Hever (Wadi Habra) and the Cave of Horror, opposite it on the southern side of the same wadi, where the occupants perished, the Cave of the Pool in Nahal David, nearer to Engaddi, where the occupants appear to have survived, and other caves in the vicinity.⁴⁵¹ At two other caves close to Engaddi in Nahal David occupants left traces behind, in one case (the Har Yishai cave) a purse containing money and two Greek documents, the record of a property transaction or loan and what may be a private letter; it seems likely that the owner was killed or enslaved.⁴⁵² The Cave of Letters and the Cave of Horror were subject to a siege, as is shown by Roman camp sites on top of the cliffs above them.⁴⁵³

Engaddi itself appears to have been largely abandoned after the rising, as has been concluded after archaeological investigation of the village site.⁴⁵⁴ Further north, as noted already, fighters as well as others, perhaps from

⁴⁵⁰ Wavell, *The Palestine Campaigns*, 153.

⁴⁵¹ Y. Aharoni, 'Expedition B – the Cave of Horror', *IEJ* xii (1962), 186–99; N. Avigad, 'Expedition A – Nahal David', *IEJ* xii (1962), 169–83 (the Cave of the Pool, 181); R. Porat, H. Eshel and A. Frumkin, 'The "Cave of the Spear": Refuge Caves from the Bar-Kokhba Revolt North of Engedi', *IEJ* lix (2009), 21–46; near Jericho, N. L. Lapp and G. W. E. Nickelsburg, Jr., in P. W. and N. L. Lapp (eds.), *Discoveries in the Wadi ed-Daliyeh*, 49. Twenty-seven caves were surveyed by Eshel and Amit, *Refuge Caves of the Bar Kokhba Revolt*.

⁴⁵² Nahum Cohen, 'New Greek Papyri from a Cave in the Vicinity of Ein Gedi', *SCI* xxv (2006), 87–95; R. Porat, H. Eshel and A. Frumkin, 'Finds from the Bar Kokhba Revolt from Two Caves at En Gedi', *PEQ* cxxxix (2007), 35–54.

⁴⁵³ Yadin, 'Expedition D', 38; Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, 31, 46–8.

⁴⁵⁴ Y. Hirschfeld in Hirschfeld, with contributions by R. Amir and others, *The En-Gedi Excavations II: Final Report (1996–2002)* (Jerusalem, 2007), 643.

Jericho itself, seem to have found refuge in the caves above Jericho, but many at least did not survive.⁴⁵⁵ Perhaps a punitive attack on Jericho occasioned their flight.

Attempts to escape the mopping-up are illustrated in a relatively early rabbinic anecdote of 'the war in Judah'. A mounted decurion was galloping after an Israelite, who was bitten by a snake (snakes are among the dangerous creatures recognized as instruments of divine judgment).⁴⁵⁶ He told the Roman, 'Do not think that we are delivered into your hands because you are mighty. Rather, "except their Rock had sold them . . ." (Deut. 32:30, from the prophetic Song of Moses).⁴⁵⁷

Starvation in the hiding places and slaughter outside them are illustrated by two stories told, mainly in Aramaic, in Lamentations Rabbah.⁴⁵⁸ The Jews in hiding ate the flesh of corpses of slain Jews, brought from outside by one selected from their number. One found his own father's body and buried it, and returned saying he had found nothing. A second then ventured out, followed the smell, dug up the body and brought it back. They all ate, but they asked where the body had been found, and the first to search learned that he had eaten the flesh of his own father. He fulfilled the woe on Jerusalem uttered by Ezekiel (5:10), 'the sons shall eat their fathers' – a variation on the more familiar prediction that, during a siege, 'you shall eat the flesh of your sons and your daughters' (Lev. 26:29, Deut. 28:53–7, recalled in Baruch 2:2–3). This legend was remembered when collections of skulls and remains of buried and unburied corpses were found in the Cave of Horror and the Cave of Letters.⁴⁵⁹

The difficulty of burying corpses when caves and strongholds where they lay were in Roman hands has left abiding marks in interpretation of Jewish liturgy, as it was developed in third-century Babylonia. Thus there were no

⁴⁵⁵ Eshel and Zissu, 'Jericho: Archaeological Introduction', 12, 18–19.

⁴⁵⁶ Pappus and Lulianus, discussed in Chapter 4, were said to have told Trajan before their execution, 'If you do not slay us, there are many demons before the Omnipresent, many bears, many lions, many leopards, many serpents, many scorpions . . .'; Sifra, Emor, Pereq ix 5, on Lev. 22:32 'but I will be hallowed among the children of Israel', in L. Finkelstein, *Sifra or Torat Kohanim according to Codex Assemani lxvi* (New York, 1956), 442.

⁴⁵⁷ Sifre Deut. 322, on 32:30 'How should one chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight, except their Rock had sold them, and the Lord had delivered them up?' A comparable conviction of defeat not by the Romans, but only by divine providence, is expressed in Eleazar's Masada speech (Josephus, *B.J.* vii 360).

⁴⁵⁸ Lam. R. i 45, on i:16, in the opposite order to that in which they are summarized in the text above; for a translation of the story of the Jews lured out of hiding, with reference to the two main forms of the text, see Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 113–14.

⁴⁵⁹ Aharoni, 'Expedition B – the Cave of Horror', 199 (the burials in this cave disprove the midrashic story of cannibalism); by contrast, Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, 64 (the finds give greater credibility to midrashic stories such as this).

happier days for Israel than 15 Ab (August) and the Day of Atonement, in a tradition attributed in the Mishnah (Taan. iv 8) to Simeon b. Gamaliel, considered a survivor of the siege of Bethar; these were days when the daughters of Jerusalem danced in the vineyards in white garments. The reason for the festal character of 15 Ab was much discussed. Rejoicing on this day near the first full moon of the season for gathering grapes is probably rooted in the Judaeian agricultural calendar, but it was now also attributed, among other suggested causes, to reception on this day of the news that they were allowed to bury the slain of Bethar. (In the Christian church this date was somewhat comparably identified as the joyful day of the passing of the Virgin into heaven.)⁴⁶⁰ Moreover, the benediction *Ha-tov ve-ha-metiv*, 'the Good and the Doer of good' (cf. Ps. 119:68), the fourth part of grace after meals (Birkath ha-Mazon), was formulated, it was now said, on this day, to give thanks for Roman permission to bury the dead; the deity was 'the Good', for the bodies had not decayed, and 'the Doer of good', for they were buried.⁴⁶¹ The collections of skulls found in the wilderness caves have indeed suggested that, in the case of some Engaddi refugees who perished, relations were able to return to prepare the dead for burial.⁴⁶²

To return from the thankful beautification of remembrance in prayer to the woes of repression in narrative, the second of the two stories mentioned above begins with the statement, noted already in connection with Emmaus, that Hadrian set up three guard-posts to catch Jews as they came out of hiding towards the end of the revolt, at Emmaus, Kefar Leqitaia and Beth-el, west, south and north of Jerusalem, respectively. He sent heralds to announce 'If any Jew is there, let him come forth; the emperor wishes to give him something.' Some in the hiding places trusted the proclamation, as it was said 'Ephraim is a silly dove, without understanding' (Hos. 7:11); others did not. Those who believed came out and gathered in the valley of Beth Rimmon – probably close to a hilltop hiding place near Beth-el, as noted above; but Hadrian said, 'By the time I have eaten this end of a white bread roll and this leg of fowl, I should be able to look

⁴⁶⁰ Babylonian Talmud, Taan. 31a and Lam. R. Proem 33, 9a, in the name of R. Mattanah (third-century Babylonia), discussed with comparison of the agricultural year and Palestinian Christian observance of 15 August by G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, i 2 (Beiträge zur Förderung der christlichen Theologie 2.17, Gütersloh, 1928), 567, 592.

⁴⁶¹ Jerusalem Talmud, Ber. vii 1, 11a, and Lam. R. ii 2, 4, on Lam. 2:2, in the name of R. Huna; Babylonian Talmud, Ber. 48b, Taan. 31a, in the name of R. Mattanah (both teachers are from third-century Babylonia); on the benediction see I. Abrahams, *A Companion to the Authorised Daily Prayer Book* (3rd edn, London, 1932), pp. ccviii–ccix.

⁴⁶² Hirschfeld, *En-Gedi Excavations II*, 643.

for even a single one of these people and not find him.’ At once he surrounded them with his legions and slew them. The holy spirit cried out and said, ‘For these things I weep’ (Lam. 1:16). This is a fuller midrashic counterpart to Eusebius’s report that Rufus slaughtered men, women and children in vast numbers. It has been suggested that the counter-insurgency of Rufus and Julius Severus together produced a degree of depopulation comparable with that brought by Caesar in Gaul in his ten years’ war of conquest.⁴⁶³

The numbers and the despair of the Jewish forces which Julius Severus observed, according to Cassius Dio, probably indicate genuine aspects of rebel self-awareness during the repression. Their numbers will have been a reminder of the ‘myriads of thousands of Israel’ marshalled in the days of Moses (Num. 10:36), and mustered in imagination against the Kittim in the War Scroll; ‘who can count the dust of Jacob, or number the fourth part of Israel?’ (Num. 23:10) – even one of the four ‘camps’ of Numbers [chapter 2](#), discussed above, as the Targums took it.⁴⁶⁴ Their solidarity had faced despair, at similar points in the First Revolt, by the mass attack which the Romans were now eluding, or by mass suicide.⁴⁶⁵ Now, however, in the large-scale siege which they finally faced at Beththera, Jewish and Christian tradition indeed stresses the vast numbers of the defenders, but like Eusebius notes that the end came in slaughter rather than suicide.

The siege of Beththera

Beththera (now Bittir), discussed above as a place of importance in Bar Kokhba’s territory, is on the south side of the valley running west from the vale of Rephaim, known initially as the Valley of Roses (Wadi el-Ward), and lower down as Wadi Bittir; lower down again it runs into Wadi Sarar, the biblical valley of Sorek (Judg. 16:4). The hills of Bittir can be seen at a distance from the eastern side of the vale of Rephaim, just south of Jerusalem by the way to Bethlehem and Hebron.⁴⁶⁶ From Bittir itself the dominating fortified hill of Khirbet el-Yehud, with its rounded summit,

⁴⁶³ Fündling, *Kommentar zur Vita Hadriani der Historia Augusta*, ii, 677 (K 305, on xiv 2), citing inter alia Plutarch, *Caesar*, 15.

⁴⁶⁴ Targums Onkelos and Neofiti on Num. 23:10; compare the LXX rendering here ‘the peoples of Israel’, applied to the Jews as providing inhabitants for every land throughout the world by Josephus, *Ant.* iv 115–16, cited in [Chapter 1](#), above.

⁴⁶⁵ Mass attack in much ‘desperation’ (*aponoia*) against the encircling Romans in the forest of Jarden, led by a Zealot (Josephus, *B.J.* vii 212–15); mass suicide at Gamala (*B.J.* iv 79, ‘in despair’, *apoginoskontes*) and Masada.

⁴⁶⁶ J. E. Hanauer, *Walks in and around Jerusalem* (2nd edn, London, 1926), 371.

projects north into the Wadi Bittir. Its name, 'ruin of the Jews', is an echo of Jewish settlement.

Here the siege took place. Ravines surround Khirbet el-Yehud on three sides, followed on the east and north by the Jerusalem to Beth-Gubrin road and in modern times by the railway to Beth-Shemesh and Lydda, as noted already. The eighth Roman milestone on the road from Jerusalem, with a Hadrianic date corresponding to 130, was found below the hill on the north-eastern side, and the ninth beyond the hill in a side valley to the west.⁴⁶⁷ On the southern side the hill descends to a saddle, by which it is reached from the present village of Bittir, a little further up the valley to the east.

The place is probably to be identified with Baither in the district of Beth-lehem, in the Greek Joshua, and with Bether in the Song of Solomon.⁴⁶⁸ The prosperity of the village depends on its copious spring, 'the best spring in the valley', emerging where the path from Khirbet el-Yehud across the saddle reaches the range of hills on the south of the valley. Steam-hauled trains going up to Jerusalem used to halt at the station of Bittir for the engine to take on water from this source, after the climb from the plain, for the last ascent.⁴⁶⁹ Under Turkish rule Jerusalem was supplied after drought in 1901 with water brought by rail from the Bittir spring.⁴⁷⁰ The inscription of V Macedonica and XI Claudia cited above was found by the spring. Like many sources of water on roads or near forts and cities, it will have been

⁴⁶⁷ J. Germer-Durand, 'Épigraphie Palestinienne', *RB* iii (1894), 613–14 (the eighth milestone); A. Alt, 'Das Institut im Jahre 1926', *PJB* xxiii (1927), 5–51 (9–10: it and the ninth located); Isaac and Oppenheimer, 'The Revolt of Bar Kokhba: Ideology and Modern Scholarship', in Oppenheimer, *Between Roma and Babylon*, 204.

⁴⁶⁸ Josh. 15:59a, LXX text A, in a list of a group of places in Judah including 'Ephratha (this is Bethlehem)' which seems to have fallen out of the Hebrew preserved in the Massoretic Text; Song of Sol. 2:17 'like a roe or a young hart upon the mountains of Bether'; see D. Jericke, 'Toponymie im Hohenlied', *ZDPV* cxxi (2005), 39–58 (44). At I Esdras 5:17, in a Greek list of those returned from exile parallel with the Hebrew lists in Ezra 2 and Neh. 7:6–73, 'the sons of Baiterus' are named just before a group from 'Bethlomon', probably Bethlehem. At I Chron. 6:44 LXX (6:59 in printed Hebrew texts) the variant Baithther is attested for Basamus (Beth Shemesh), further down the valley. The Ithrites who are among the clans of Kiriath-jearim in I Chron. 2:53 have been conjecturally identified as people of Beththera, as they are mentioned between the Manahethites, probably from el-Malha, higher up the valley towards Jerusalem, and the people of Zorah and Eshtaol, lower down the valley near the coastal plain; see T. Willi, *Chronik* (Biblischer Kommentar – Altes Testament, xxiv, fascicle 2, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1999), 106.

⁴⁶⁹ C. M. Watson, *The Story of Jerusalem* (Mediaeval Town Series; London, 1912), 291; for a resolve to remain in the country formed when, newly arrived from England, he alighted for fresh air during this stop, see E. Keith-Roach, *Pasha of Jerusalem: Memoirs of a District Commissioner under the British Mandate* (London, 1994), 52.

⁴⁷⁰ Y. Ben-Arieh, *Jerusalem in the 19th Century: the Old City* (Jerusalem and New York, 1984), 86 (after drought in 1901), 87 (Jewish plans in 1905 to pipe from the Jerusalem station water brought by rail from Bittir).

taken under army control; other examples not far away, on the Jerusalem–Joppa road, are the springs of Qaluniyeh (Colonia, Moza) and Abu Ghosh (now beneath the Crusader church there, into which an inscription of X Fretensis is built).⁴⁷¹ The undated inscription by the Bittir spring probably belongs to the war period, for V Macedonica is also attested, as noted already, on a foundation coin of Aelia Capitolina (n. 433, above).

The situation of Khirbet el-Yehud on a projecting hill, with ravines on three sides and a saddle on the fourth, is like that of Jotapata in Galilee, where Josephus was besieged in 67 (*B.J.* iii 158–60). At Beththera it was only after a protracted siege, according to Eusebius, that the defenders succumbed to famine and thirst (*H.E.* iv 6, 3). The spring of Bittir evidently fell into the hands of the besiegers. The defenders may well have been able to reach beyond the circumvallation by a tunnel, as suggested by the story of the Samaritan's visit to Eleazar of Modin, but in the face of the besieging troops this would hardly have made possible a supply of food and water. The defenders would have had to fall back on a weak spring on the north side of Khirbet el-Yehud, and on water in their cisterns.⁴⁷² A large number of caves have been noted on the site, some adapted in ancient times as cisterns, some now used for storage of grain or other supplies.⁴⁷³ Finds on the hill of Khirbet el-Yehud have confirmed what is already suggested by its strategic position in combination with the biblical references to Beththera, that there was an old-established fort and settlement here at the time of the revolt, going back to the pre-exilic period.⁴⁷⁴ This in turn coheres with the tradition that large numbers of Jews fled to Beththera.

The period of the siege itself is attested by many finds at Khirbet el-Yehud. They include the two sorts of stones, 'some sent by hand, some by engines', which Cassius Dio notes were used (by the defenders) during the siege of Jerusalem by Titus (*Hist.* lxvi 4, 3). Thus near the foot of the hill, in the 1890s, Dominicans of the École Biblique found a large stone ball

⁴⁷¹ For the general point, without comment on Bittir, see Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 175–6 (on the Latin inscription AE 1948, 136, from Arabia in 334, attesting army construction of a reservoir to prevent Saracen attacks on users of a well), 428 (Qaluniyeh and Abu Ghosh); Di Segni, 'The Water Supply of Palestine in Literary and Epigraphical Sources', 52; CIIP i 2, nos. 722 (Abu Ghosh), 748 (Qaluniyeh, epitaph of Valeria Sedata, probably from the veteran settlement there).

⁴⁷² H. Strathmann, 'Der Kampf um Beth-Ter', *PJB* xxiii (1927), 92–123 (114–15).

⁴⁷³ Williams, *The Holy City*, i, 211 (large caverns in the rocky sides of the hill); E. Zickermann, 'Chirbet el-jehud (bettir)', *ZDPV* xxix (1906), 51–72 (58–66, noting that still more caves are probably concealed under the terraces made for cultivation).

⁴⁷⁴ Ussishkin, 'Archaeological Soundings at Betar, Bar Kochba's Last Stronghold'; A. Oppenheimer, 'Betar als Zentrum vor dem Bar-Kochba-Aufstand', translated from Y. Elman, E. B. Halivni and Z. A. Steinfeld (eds.), *Neti'ot le-David: Jubilee Volume for David Weiss Halivni* (Jerusalem, 2004), xv–xxix in Oppenheimer, *Between Rome and Babylon*, 303–19 (306–7).

of a weight (41 kilos) judged to be nearly that of the 'stones of a talent's weight' hurled by the artillery of the Tenth Legion in 70, according to Josephus; perhaps at Bittir too it was a relic of the attack.⁴⁷⁵ Again, when three Bittir families were clearing their land on top of the hill in 1907 they turned up many broken spears and stone balls, perhaps slingstones such as have been found in numbers there more recently – the defenders evidently still had a considerable supply when the final Roman attack came; an 'extraordinary number' of coins were also found, including many from this revolt (examples showing the rosette or star above the temple façade are noted).⁴⁷⁶ Adaptations of Herodian or Hasmonaean fortifications on the hilltop – walls, towers and bastions – are ascribed by archaeologists to the revolt.⁴⁷⁷

The atmosphere of the siege is conveyed in a story attributed to an eminent survivor of the war, R. Simeon, son of Gamaliel II and father of R. Judah the Prince; for all its exaggeration, it convincingly indicates the town as well as the fortress, the pervasive ethos of zeal, and the rage of the victors. 'There were five hundred schools in Bethar, and the smallest of them had not less than five hundred children. They said, "If the enemy come, with these styluses we will march against them, and blind them." But sin brought it to pass that the Romans wrapped each child in its scroll, and burnt it – and of all the children, I alone survive.'⁴⁷⁸ Here and in many like stories is 'the voice of Jacob crying out for what Esau's hands have wrought in Bethar' (Jerusalem Talmud, Taanith iv 8, 69a).

The death of Bar Kokhba here is recorded laconically by Eusebius: 'the instigator of their madness paid the penalty he deserved' (*H.E.* iv 6, 3, in J. E. L. Oulton's translation; *aponoia*, 'madness', here is once again almost the equivalent of 'rebellion'). Rabbinic tradition somewhat comparably sees it as a deserved doom inflicted by God after Bar Kokhba, deceived by the Samaritan, had killed Eleazar of Modin, whose prayer and fasting had helped to stave off the hour of defeat. A voice from heaven (Bath Qol) cried 'Woe to the worthless shepherd that leaves the flock! the sword shall

⁴⁷⁵ Germer-Durand, 'Épigraphie Palestinienne', 614, citing Josephus, *B.J.* v 269–70.

⁴⁷⁶ T. E. Dowling, 'Interesting Coins of Pella and Bittir', *PEFQS* 1907, 295–7; on slingstones found more recently, including some still stored ready for use, see Ussishkin, 'Archaeological Soundings at Betar, Bar Kochba's Last Stronghold', 92.

⁴⁷⁷ Oppenheimer, 'Betar als Zentrum vor dem Bar-Kochba-Aufstand', 307.

⁴⁷⁸ Jerusalem Talmud, Taanith iv 8, 69a, paralleled in Lamentations Rabbah ii 4, on 2:2, and Babylonian Talmud, Gittin 58a, Sotah 49b; N. Hacham, 'Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel in Beitar', *Tarbiz* lxxiv (2005), 547–64 argues that the treatment of the schoolchildren in the Jerusalem Talmud as good pupils is the more original form, and reflects Simeon b. Gamaliel II's presence in Beththera and also personal support for the revolt which he did not hide afterwards; but at least the second inference seems a considerable step to take on this basis.

be upon his arm and his right eye' (Zech. 11:17).⁴⁷⁹ Immediately Beththera was taken and Bar Kosiba was killed. His head was brought to Hadrian. He asked who had killed him. A Samaritan said, 'I have killed him.' The emperor commanded, 'Show me his corpse.' When he did so, it was seen that a serpent was wound around the body. Hadrian said, 'If God had not slain him, who could have slain him?' Of him the scripture says, 'Except their Rock had sold them, and the Lord had delivered them up' (Deut. 32:30). They slew the inhabitants of Bethar until the horses waded in blood, and the blood rolled stones down the valley and flowed into the sea.⁴⁸⁰ Once again a story told of a follower is also told of Bar Kokhba himself, with the same conclusion, that he was killed not by his foes but by a serpent, so that his death can only be understood as part of the divine judgment on Israel foretold by Moses. This anecdote, for all its emphasis on judgment, also reflects in Hadrian's words the admiration and wonder which 'the prince of Israel' had evoked.

Constraint and renovation

This momentous death and the fall of Beththera took place probably in the late summer of 135. They mark the beginning of the end of rebellion. Side by side with the last stage of repression, from 136, the renovation of the province began, focused in the building of Aelia Capitolina. In the words of the Mishnah quoted already in discussion of the founding of Aelia as a cause of the revolt, 'On 9 Ab . . . Bethar was taken, and the city was ploughed.'

The final repression began with prompt and drastic measures, but in some sense it went on, like the building of Aelia, through Hadrian's remaining years (136–8) and into the time of Antoninus Pius. The mopping-up of refugees and pockets of resistance described already will have continued intensively for a time. In the mass sale of captives which ensued, the price of a slave at the Terebinth fair by Abraham's oak at Mamre, near Hebron, was said to have dropped to the price of a day's feed for a horse; some were sent on to Gaza for sale – and thence to Egypt, adds another version – but the most secure part of the tradition, in which once again Christians built on Jewish collective memory, seems to relate to the Terebinth fair itself.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷⁹ In a Christian counterpart to this rabbinic view of Bar Kokhba as the worthless shepherd, Jerome applies the passage to the king of the Jews who in time to come will be the Antichrist (Jerome, *Comm. in Zach.* iii, on 11:15–17).

⁴⁸⁰ Jerusalem Talmud, Taanith iv 8, 69a, top, paralleled in Lamentations Rabbah ii 4, on 2:2.

⁴⁸¹ Dindorf (ed.), *Chronicon Paschale*, i, 474 (Olympiad 224, year 3), quoted above for its list of buildings erected by Hadrian in Aelia, states that the Gaza fair received its title 'Hadrianic' for

To note the most circumstantial statement, one Jewish interpretation of 'Rachel weeping for her children', according to Jerome – writing in Bethlehem near her tomb on the Jerusalem–Hebron road – is lamentation for the innumerable body of people of diverse age and either sex who were sold under Hadrian at the Terebinth. Jews therefore think it an execrable thing, he adds, to visit this much-frequented market.⁴⁸²

In another report Jerome says that one of his Jewish teachers told him that 'the captivity of Jerusalem in Sepharad' of Obadiah 20 meant a body of exiles in the Bosporus, an important region of Jewish settlement at this period, and that Hadrian transferred captives there.⁴⁸³ Elsewhere Jerome notes that the Jews relate that the Assyrians and Chaldaeans exiled captives to the Bosporus.⁴⁸⁴ This Bosporan location of Sepharad probably arose from interpretation of the first four consonants of *bsprd*, 'in Sepharad', but the tradition that Roman captives were sent there need not depend on this interpretation. As with the Terebinth fair, this tradition too is connected in Jerome with another captivity as well as the repression under Hadrian.

The rounding-up of captives was, however, accompanied by a process of exclusion. An area around Jerusalem was forbidden to Jews. The three Hadrianic guard-posts already discussed, mentioned in the midrash as placed to catch fugitives – at Beth-el, Emmaus and Beth Leqitaia, north, east and south of Jerusalem respectively – probably kept the borders of an exclusion zone.⁴⁸⁵

this reason; Jerome, *Comm. in Zach.* iii, on 11:4–5, mentions Egypt but not Gaza, but elsewhere (*Comm. in Jer.* vi 18, on 31:15) says that Jews hold that under *Vespasian* captives from Jerusalem were taken by the road past Rachel's tomb to be sold at Gaza and Alexandria, whereas for Hadrian's repression, still appealing to Jewish tradition, he mentions only the sale at the Terebinth fair. Sozomen, *H.E.* ii 4 describes the fair as it went on, patronized by Palestinians – Jewish, pagan and Christian –, Phoenicians, Arabians and many others, before Constantine built a church in Mamre; still afterwards 'now every year a very famous market is held' there, according to Jerome, *Comm. in Zach.* iii, on 11:4–5.

⁴⁸² Jerome, *Comm. in Jer.* vi 18, on 31:15; for Jews at the fair see Sozomen, as cited in the previous footnote, but Jerome may well have known some at Bethlehem who held it in aversion. The passages cited here were discussed together by J. Rendel Harris, *The Rest of the Words of Baruch: a Christian Apocalypse of the Year 136 AD* (London, 1889), 32–5, arguing that the fair is the 'Gentiles' market' of the Paralipomena of Jeremiah 6:16; for others who follow him see J. Herzer, *4 Baruch (Paraleipomena Ieremiou)* (Atlanta, 2005), 112–13, but the 'market' may well be in Jerusalem itself, as Baruch is sitting outside the city when he sends to 'the Gentiles' market' for paper and ink, and a Hadrianic setting for the book is in any case uncertain (see Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, iii.1, 292–3).

⁴⁸³ Jerome, *Comm. in Abdiam*, on Obad. 20–1; for Bosporan Jewish inscriptions from the Roman period see IJO i, section 11.

⁴⁸⁴ Jerome, *Comm. in Zach.*, on Zech. 10:11, rendered as 'They shall pass through in a narrow sea'.

⁴⁸⁵ Lam. R. i 45, on 1:16, is interpreted in this way by Avi-Yonah, *The Jews of Palestine*, 16; Abel, *Histoire de la Palestine*, ii, 107 (underlining the distance of the places mentioned from Bittir).

Rabbinic texts lamenting depopulation, handed down in connection with the narrative of the fall of Beththera, refer to 'the king's hill-country' (*har ha-melekh*, probably in Judaea), the district of Beth Gubrin, and the area from Gabatha (locality uncertain) to Antipatris; these might attest effects of exclusion, but may relate to the time of Vespasian as well as or instead of Hadrian.⁴⁸⁶ The Judaeian situation of 'the king's hill-country' is suggested by texts including Sifre Deut. vi, identifying 'the Arabah, the hill-country and the lowland' in Deut 1:7 with 'the flat land of Zoar' (by the Dead Sea), 'the king's hill-country', and 'the lowland (Shephelah) of Lydda and of the south', and M. Sheb. ix 2 (the hill country of Lydda to be treated, for purposes of lawful consumption of Seventh Year produce, 'like the king's hill-country'). A factor in depopulation will also have been the widespread desolation of agricultural land mentioned above.

The grievous state of wide tracts of the country, and their deprivation of inhabitants, was nevertheless not total or permanent. According to the Mishnah the law of *siqarikon*, recognizing the rights of owners, perhaps the absent heirs of deceased owners, but still enabling the purchase of the land by Jews from the present, possibly non-Jewish, occupier, was applied in Judah 'from the [time of] the slain in the war, and thenceforth' – probably from the Bar Kokhba war onwards; the displacement envisaged can have been aggravated by the exclusion, among other things.⁴⁸⁷ An important step in the formulation of this law, the provision that a quarter of the purchase goes to the original owner (in line with the current Roman law of succession), has been plausibly ascribed to Simeon b. Gamaliel II, noted above for his repute as a survivor of the siege of Beththera, in the time of Antoninus Pius.⁴⁸⁸

Yet other narratives too suggest post-war migration from Judaea. In Galilee in the third century and later there were traditions of a meeting of teachers in the rabbinic movement at Usha, west of the Sepphoris–Ptolemais road, 'at the end of the *shemadh*', the post-war persecution (the term is discussed below), and of a move of the group of rabbinic teachers envisaged as the Sanhedrin from Jabneh in Judaea to Usha in

⁴⁸⁶ Lam. R. ii 4, on Lam. 2:2 'the Lord has swallowed up all the habitations of Jacob', paralleled in Jerusalem Talmud, Taan. iv 8, 69a, discussed by Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 158, 163–4 (this complex of stories united secondarily with the Bethar narrative), 183–8.

⁴⁸⁷ M. Gittin v 6, cf. Tos. Gittin v 1–2; interpretations of *siqarikon* against the background of Latin *sicarius* are surveyed by R. Neudecker, *Frührabbinische Ehescheidungsrecht: Der Tosefta-Traktat Gittin* (Biblica et orientalia 39, Rome, 1982), 60–1, but for alignment with Greek *syngchorein* in the sense of 'make an agreement' see M. Gil, 'Sigoriqin Forfeited Land', *HUCA* lxxvi (2005), 47–62.

⁴⁸⁸ Y. Shahar, 'Why a Quarter? The *Siqarikon* Ruling and Roman Law', in B. Isaac and Y. Shahar (eds.), *Judaea-Palaestina, Babylon and Rome: Jews in Antiquity* (TSAJ 147, Tübingen, 2012), 191–203.

Galilee.⁴⁸⁹ Akiba's Alexandrian pupils Johanan ha-Sandelar and Eleazar b. Shammua left for Nisibis, possibly at this point; the story of their departure is one of those inculcating the duty of remaining in the land, again an indication both of a tendency to emigrate and of a determination to encourage residence, and it is claimed accordingly that they returned.⁴⁹⁰

These traditions probably reflect departures from Judaea after the revolt, intensified by the exclusion process and other pressure from the army. The importance of Galilee as a destination has been emphasized by aligning traditions like those of assembly in Usha with archaeological evidence for the expansion of Galilaean settlements in the later second century; but it is still a question to what extent emigration from Judaea might have contributed to an expansion which could also be accounted for by natural population growth.⁴⁹¹

To return to exclusion, Christian sources at any rate claim, as Eusebius put it in his *History*, that 'Hadrian by law prohibited the Jewish people thenceforth from entering even the area round about Jerusalem, so that they could not look upon their ancestral home even from a distance. Aristo of Pella recounts this' (*H.E.* iv 6, 3). In his *Chronicle* (Hadrian xviii–xix) Eusebius had made the point on which a controversialist might wish to insist in arguing from prophecy, that this (here he speaks only of exclusion from Jerusalem) happened 'first of all at God's behest, as the prophets foretold, and then by Roman prohibitions'.

Exclusion from the land as well as Jerusalem is claimed in the mid second century by Justin Martyr in his *Apology to Antoninus Pius*; in fulfilment of the prophecy 'your land shall be desolate' (Isa. 1:7, quoted above in connection with Eusebius on the desolation of Judaea), 'it is guarded by you' – the Romans – 'so that no-one can be in it, and death is decreed for any Jew who is found entering'. In his *Dialogue with Trypho* (xvi 2) Justin says likewise, after an implicit echo of Isa. 1:7, that 'none of you [Jews] can go up to Jerusalem'. Similarly Tertullian, in a passage quoted already, claims that no Jew can any longer live in Bethlehem, for it is forbidden to any Jew

⁴⁸⁹ Cant. R. ii 5, 3, on Song of Sol. 2:5, 'at the end of the *shemadh* our teachers gathered to Usha . . .'; Babylonian Talmud, R. H. 31a–b, in the name of R. Johanan (early third-century Tiberias) (the Sanhedrin migrated 'from Jabneh to Usha'); on textual variants here, in a passage which became crucial for reconstructions of the rabbinic chain of tradition, see H. Mantel, *Studies in the History of the Sanhedrin* (Cambridge, MA, 1961), 142–5.

⁴⁹⁰ Sifre Deut. 80, end, on Deut. 12:29.

⁴⁹¹ U. Leibner, *Settlement and History in Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine Galilee* (TSAJ 127, Tübingen, 2009), 345–8.

to remain even on the edge of its district, to fulfil the prophecy *Your land shall be desolate* (Isa. 1:7); you can simply look on your land from a distance, as is again foretold in Isaiah, *Your eyes shall behold the land from far* (Isa. 33:17) (Tertullian, *Adv. Iud.* xiii 3–4). As the identical use of Isa. 1:7 in each apologist suggests, both probably depend on the same source, which on the basis of the recurrence of the same argument in Eusebius with a reference to Aristo of Pella can be identified with Aristo's dialogue between a Christian and a Jew, *Jason and Papiscus*, mentioned in discussion of Eusebius at the beginning of this chapter.

At the end of the third century, Eusebius's *Onomasticon* sporadically records some deserted settlements, and also notes some places as inhabited by Jews. Thus Adummim (Josh. 15:7), on the descent from Jerusalem to Jericho, is 'now a deserted village', and had possibly been affected by the exclusion. Eusebius also indicates, however, the Jewish population which remained on the fringes of the hill country where the exclusion is likely to have operated, in the Shephelah and at Lydda on the west, beyond Hebron in the south, and in the region of Jericho in the east; further south, Engaddi, although, as the wilderness caves suggest, it had suffered in the repression, was by Eusebius's time 'a very large village of Jews'.⁴⁹²

The polemical character of the Christian claim concerning exclusion and its lack of attestation in Jewish sources have led to suggestions that it is wholly or largely unhistorical.⁴⁹³ This is unlikely, but rabbinic texts suggest some continuation of pilgrimage, and possibly even a Jewish pious group living in Jerusalem – 'the holy congregation of Jerusalem' – at the end of the second century.⁴⁹⁴ Eusebius's form of words, however, reflects an older formula on banishment so that the homeland cannot be beheld even from a distance (Philo, *Quod omnis probus*, 7), and may perhaps echo a decree.⁴⁹⁵ In substance, such a measure combines punishment with security considerations suitable to the end of a war, coheres with the exclusion of Jews from Cyprus after the revolt of 115–18 (a measure probably known

⁴⁹² Notley and Safrai, *Eusebius, Onomasticon*, xvi–xvii, 26, 84, 104, nos. 70 (Adummim), 428 (Engaddi), 545 (Juttah), noting that to give this information, which is not consistently distributed, may have been characteristic of particular sources used by Eusebius.

⁴⁹³ Considered and rejected by Klein, *Eretz Yehudah*, 183–5.

⁴⁹⁴ Avi-Yonah, *The Jews of Palestine*, 79–81; Isaac, 'Jerusalem – an Introduction', 23–5 (both citing inter alia S. Safrai, 'The Holy Congregation in Jerusalem', *Scripta Hierosolymitana* xxiii (1972), 62–78); on the difficulties of interpreting the texts on 'the holy congregation' in Eccl. R. ix 7, on 9:9, and elsewhere (the phrase is possibly misunderstood in the midrash as applying to second-century rabbis) see J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* (London, 1969), 247–9.

⁴⁹⁵ J. Rendel Harris, 'Hadrian's Decree of Expulsion of the Jews from Jerusalem', *HTR* xix (1926), 199–206.

personally to Hadrian), and is consistent with the midrash on the three guard-posts. It is indeed likely to have been imposed, but no doubt it was relaxed at least to allow visits as time went on.

Soon, probably in 136, the building of Aelia – now to be restricted to non-Jews – could be begun. ‘The city was ploughed,’ in the words of the Mishnah quoted already (Ta’anith iv 6). ‘Was ploughed’ probably echoes the prophecy ‘Zion shall be ploughed as a field’ (Micah 3:12, quoted at Jer. 26:18). This bitter Mishnaic reference to a predicted calamity may have arisen, however, simply from the rite of *circumductio*, in which a plough drawn by a cow and a bull was guided round the circuit of the new city boundary. A celebrated coin issue of Aelia, mentioned already, shows the emperor himself performing this rite, with the legend ‘Colonia Aelia Capitolina founded’, *Colonia Aelia Kapitolina condita*.⁴⁹⁶

Among Jews and Christians in Judaea, however, the ploughing was understood more negatively, as the drawing of the plough across the site of the city or the temple, in what Horace called ‘that haughty sign of total overthrow’, the ploughing of the walls of a fallen city.⁴⁹⁷ So the Mishnah was interpreted in the Jerusalem Talmud (Ta’an. iv 8, 69b) ‘*The city was ploughed*. Rufus, may his bones be ground up, ploughed the temple.’⁴⁹⁸ Similarly Jerome, in a close parallel to the Mishnah here on the series of commemorations on 9 Ab, says that in the fifth month, which the Latins call August, the people were forbidden to enter the holy land, the temple was burned by Nebuchadnezzar and Titus, Bethther was captured, and the *temple* was ploughed, ‘to the shame of the people which had been subdued’, by Tyrannus (Tineius) Rufus.⁴⁹⁹

Yet both Jews and Christians emphasized the ignominies inflicted on the rebels, and perhaps the *circumductio* alone should be envisaged.⁵⁰⁰ It is not impossible, however, that, given the site of Aelia on old Jerusalem, Romans too might have thought that the rite also evoked the custom described by

⁴⁹⁶ N. 10, above; Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine*, 82, no. 2; L. Kadman, *The Coins of Aelia Capitolina* (Jerusalem, 1956), 80, no. 1; Hart, ‘Judaea and Rome: the Official Commentary’, 193 and Plate V, 5; Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 459 (judging that the *circumductio* was performed twice, once before the war, once afterwards); Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, 199–200 and Fig. 18.

⁴⁹⁷ Horace, *Od.* 1.16, 19–21 (anger is the reason why lofty cities *perirent* | *funditus, imprimeretque muris* | *hostile aratrum exercitus insolens*), in Philip Francis’s translation.

⁴⁹⁸ In the Babylonian Talmud (Ta’an. 29a) it was interpreted, still more negatively, as the destruction of the temple by Rufus; see Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 92–3.

⁴⁹⁹ Jerome, *Comm. in Zach.*, on Zech. 8:18–19.

⁵⁰⁰ For treatment of this episode as an example of Jewish misunderstanding of a Roman custom see S. Stern, ‘Dissonance and Misunderstanding in Jewish-Roman Relations’, in Goodman (ed.), *Jews in a Graeco-Roman World*, 241–50.

Horace, and marked the end of the old city as well as the beginning of the new. In any case, according to one modern reconstruction, the temple site, where the erection of statues is attested, was left outside the new city.⁵⁰¹ The boundary of Aelia would then have run immediately west of the temple site, where the city adjoins the Herodian temple esplanade. The *circumductio* would in that case have had, in this area, all the appearance of a ploughing of 'the city', as the Mishnah puts it; and it would have come very close to the temple, which itself was 'ploughed' in the Talmudic interpretation of the Mishnah echoed by Jerome. Even if this particular reconstruction is not followed, it seems likely that the boundary of the new Aelia in some places lay within the area of the Herodian city, giving rise to the tradition recorded in the Mishnah.

The subsequent building of Aelia may have been slow, and the imperial contribution to it limited. Few archaeological finds are clearly datable to the Hadrianic period, and Cassius Dio simply names a temple of Jupiter as built by Hadrian.⁵⁰² This is perhaps to be located south of the present church of the Holy Sepulchre.⁵⁰³

The Hadrianic character and the grandeur of the project were naturally stressed, however, by Aelian civic pride. Traces of the colony's grandiloquent Hadrianic claims survive in Judaeo-Christian tradition, especially the source discussed above which was used by Epiphanius, the Paschal Chronicle, and the Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila, and seems also to be reflected in Jerome.⁵⁰⁴ Thus it was said that Hadrian chose as the architect a relative of his own, either Aquila, who in Aelia dallied with Christianity but became a Jewish proselyte and biblical translator (taking further the interest in Judaism with which Hadrian was credited in rabbinic tradition) – the name is conceivably that of L. Statius Aquila, suffect consul in 116; or else Titus, regarded as a member of the Aelian family, for, as Jerome notes, 'some hold that the city was constructed by Titus Aelius, Vespasian's son'.⁵⁰⁵ The church of Aelia also recalled that at this time it became a

⁵⁰¹ Bieberstein and Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem*, i, 146 (temple site left apart from the erection of statues); Eliav, 'The Urban Layout of Aelia Capitolina' (the temple site was outside the boundary of the new city, which was entered from the east by the Ecce Homo arch); on statues on the temple site see Chapter 4, n. 368.

⁵⁰² These points are underlined by Isaac, 'Jerusalem – an Introduction', 19–22.

⁵⁰³ Bieberstein and Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem*, i, 145; Murphy O'Connor, 'The Location of the Capitol in Aelia Capitolina'.

⁵⁰⁴ See nn. 38–40 and 96–8, above.

⁵⁰⁵ Epiphanius, *Mens. et Pond.*, xiv; addition by Jerome in his version of Eusebius's *Chronicle*, Hadrian xx, quoted in this chapter, above; on L. Statius Aquila, W. Eck, *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian* (Munich, 1970), 18, n. 88 (he possibly preceded Rufus as governor and then took on responsibility for Aelia), noted by Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 550.

gentile rather than a Jewish community.⁵⁰⁶ The Paschal Chronicle gives an impressive list of buildings founded by Hadrian: 'pulling down the temple of the Jews in Jerusalem, he founded the two public baths, the theatre, the *trikamaron*' (a three-celled structure, possibly the Capitol), 'the *tetranymphon*, the *dodekapylon*, formerly called the Steps, and the Quadra'. None of these, however, even if they were rightly considered Hadrianic, is identifiable with any certainty.⁵⁰⁷

Jerome similarly says that, when Aelia was built, 'on the face of the gate by which we go out to Bethlehem a pig was carved in marble, signifying that the Jews are subject to Roman power'; the boar was indeed the sign of Legio X Fretensis (and identified with Edom-Rome in the midrash), but it need not date to the initial construction.⁵⁰⁸

Yet there are one or two reasonably clear indications of monumental construction under Hadrian, as well as its continuation under Pius. Near the possible site of the Capitol, south-east of the Holy Sepulchre and immediately west of the street running south from the Damascus Gate which formed the *Cardo*, was found a fragmentary inscription restored with probability as in honour of Hadrian, perhaps from an arch or gate dedicated by the Colony.⁵⁰⁹ North of the present Old City, west of the Nablus Road opposite St Stephen's church and convent, a comparable fragment of an inscription in honour of Hadrian was found; it may indicate an arch or a column with Hadrian's statue erected at the approach to the city from Neapolis, for the advent in 130 or later on in connection with Aelia.⁵¹⁰ Another fragment of a monumental building inscription, from the same site, indicates work sponsored by a freedman in honour

⁵⁰⁶ Eusebius, *Chronicle*, Hadrian xviii–xix (translated above, on Marcus, named as the first gentile bishop); correspondingly, *H.E.* iv 6, 4.

⁵⁰⁷ Dindorf (ed.), *Chronicon Paschale*, i, 474 (Olympiad 224, year 3); Bieberstein and Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem*, i, 144–5; Isaac, 'Jerusalem – an Introduction', 20.

⁵⁰⁸ Addition in his version of Eusebius, *Chronicle*, Hadrian xx, cited above; Leviticus R. xiii 5, on 11:4–7 (the swine is the last in a list of four unclean beasts with which Moses signified the four foreign empires), with comment in Krauss, *Griechen und Römer*, 15; 20, no. 35.

⁵⁰⁹ J. Germer-Durand, 'Aelia Capitolina', *RB* i (1892), 369–87 (378–9) = Thomsen, *Die lateinischen und griechischen Inschriften der Stadt Jerusalem und ihrer nächsten Umgebung*, no. 2 = CIIP i 2, no. 716; Bieberstein and Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem*, i, 145; ii, 208; Eck, *Rom und Judaea*, 70–1; Eck at CIIP 716, with the suggestions noted in the text above.

⁵¹⁰ Thomsen, *Die lateinischen und griechischen Inschriften der Stadt Jerusalem und ihrer nächsten Umgebung*, no. 3a = CIIP i 2, no. 715; Bieberstein and Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem*, ii, 144–6; Eck, *Rom und Judaea*, 69–70 (a fresh reading, tentatively ascribing it to the time after the founding of Aelia through the conjecture that vacant space suggests a very short lost last line, which could well have run *d. d.*, 'by decree of the decurions', as in the inscription in honour of Pius documented in the following footnote; at CIIP 715 this conjecture is recorded with a query).

of an emperor, probably Hadrian, and carried out by detachments from legions including X Fretensis and XII Fulminata.⁵¹¹

Work at the present Damascus Gate and the Ecce Homo arch, the northern and perhaps the eastern gate of Aelia, respectively, is attributed with probability to the Hadrianic period. South of the Herodian temple site, however, there are signs of work from the time of Antoninus Pius. A famous inscription in his honour, set up 'by decree of the decurions' (the city council) of Aelia, and perhaps originally on a statue base, is built upside down into the south wall of the temple esplanade, just east of the Double Gate; downhill further to the south the colonnades (seen by the Bordeaux Pilgrim) which surrounded the almost square pool of Siloam – perhaps the *tetranympheon* of the Paschal Chronicle – are conjecturally dated to his principate.⁵¹²

The 'Danger' and the 'slain'

Meanwhile the surviving Jewish population underwent not simply the Judaeen exclusion process but also the prolonged indignities and dangers ensuing on repression. Armed resistance had probably not completely died out, and on the other hand some Jews in a sense continued the war at this stage by means of martyrdom, the form of resistance which had occurred during repression of revolt under Vespasian among Essenes in Judaea and refugee Sicarii in Egypt.⁵¹³ This experience began with the later years of the war, but probably still continued after the accession of Pius in 138. Its conclusion some time after 138 is perhaps marked when the life of Pius in the *Historia Augusta* says that through governors and legates 'he crushed

⁵¹¹ Thomsen, *Die lateinischen und griechischen Inschriften der Stadt Jerusalem und ihrer nächsten Umgebung*, no. 3 = CIIP i 2, no. 717; W. Eck, 'Revision lateinischer Inschriften aus Jerusalem', *ZPE* clxix (2009), 213–29 (224–9); attestation of XII Fulminata in Caesarea was noted above in discussion of legions involved in repression of Bar Kokhba.

⁵¹² Germer-Durand, 'Aelia Capitolina', 380 = Thomsen, *Die lateinischen und griechischen Inschriften der Stadt Jerusalem und ihrer nächsten Umgebung*, no. 4 = CIIP i 2, no. 718 (inscription); Bieberstein and Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem*, i, 146; iii, 20–i (Siloam), 148–9 (inscription); *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, 592 Wesseling, translated with commentary by Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, 157.

⁵¹³ On martyrdom as resistance see Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church: a Study of a Conflict from the Maccabees to Donatus*, 50–4 (on the Maccabean age, Philo and Josephus); Tessa Rajak, 'Dying for the Law: the Martyr's Portrait in Jewish-Greek Literature', in M. J. Edwards and S. Swain (eds.), *Portraits: Biographical Representation in Greek and Latin Literature of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1997), 39–67, reprinted in Rajak, *The Jewish Dialogue with Greece and Rome*, 99–133; Rajak, 'Reflections on Jewish Resistance and the Discourse of Martyrdom in Josephus', in Isaac and Shahar (eds.), *Judaea-Palaestina, Babylon and Rome*, 165–80.

Germans, Dacians and many peoples, and Jews in revolt' (*HA* Antoninus Pius v 4).

This statement is the last in a threefold description of Pius's military successes, all achieved 'through governors and legates', in what seems to be a descending order of magnitude; he *conquered* the Britons through Lollius Urbicus, building the Antonine wall, he *compelled* the Moors to sue for peace, and he *crushed* Germans, Dacians and many peoples, and Jews in revolt ('nam et Britannos per Lollium Urbicum *vicit* legatum . . . et Mauros ad pacem postulandam *coegit*, et Germanos et Dacos et multas gentes atque Iudaeos rebellantes *contudit* per praesides et legatos'). The words 'and Jews in revolt', introduced by *atque* rather than the *et* used hitherto, seem to form a single separate added phrase, implicitly distinguishing Jews in revolt from Jews elsewhere. The verb *contudit*, 'crushed' or 'subdued', in the last of the descending series of clauses, suits in this context the final subduing of an uprising, and is compatible with the view that, during the years of repression after 135, armed resistance had flared up again on a considerable scale.⁵¹⁴

Two documents of the early years of Pius indicate conditions which are at least consistent with this view. First, the receipt dated in 'year 4 of the destruction of the house of Israel', discussed above, from 140 or perhaps a little earlier, shows deliberate avoidance of recourse to Roman courts or mention of the emperor's name, and suggests issue in an area under Jewish control. With the phrase 'house of Israel' the dating formula echoes language current under Simeon bar Kosiba, as noted above. It records what can be called a typical transaction of this period, for special provision to facilitate payment of marriage contracts in the time of post-war 'Danger' is detailed in the Mishnah (Ket. ix 9, quoted below). The place names mentioned in the document, Beth Amar, Upper Anab and Aristobulias, are from the region south of Hebron which has already figured as a heartland of loyalty to the rising under Simeon.⁵¹⁵ Here, as later noted by Eusebius (n. 492, above), was still after the war a large Jewish population, perhaps increased by those driven out from the Bethlehem district, and probably a focus of unrest.

⁵¹⁴ Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, ii, 622–3, no. 512, on this passage, envisages an aftermath of the Hadrianic struggle; Goodman, 'Judaea' (2), 675, thinks of a rising of local significance, but does not suggest a date. B. Rémy, *Antonin le Pieux, 138–161. Le siècle d'or de Rome* (Paris, 2005), 254–5, judges that this claim in the *Historia Augusta* is surprising, but that if there was indeed any unrest in Judaea, it will have been due to intractable fundamentalists; no date is suggested.

⁵¹⁵ E. Eshel, H. Eshel and Yardeni, 'A Document from "Year 4 of the Destruction of the House of Israel"', 1–4.

Second, the diploma of 139 discussed above may not be a complete list of military detachments in Palestine, but it clearly shows that extensive forces were deployed there after Pius's accession. This provision is compatible with the active unrest suggested by the life of Pius in the *Historia Augusta*, and by the receipt just considered.

The long-drawn-out time of danger for Jews in Judaea and Galilee which followed the fall of Beththera became known in Mishnaic Hebrew as *ha-sakkanah*, 'the Danger' par excellence. So a ruling ascribed to Simeon b. Gamaliel II (credited also with the story of the schoolchildren in Bethar) runs as follows in the Mishnah: Since the Danger, a woman is entitled to payment of her marriage contract without having produced a bill of divorce (M. Ket. ix 9).⁵¹⁶ A comparable Mishnaic phrase of this period is 'since the slain in the war' in the passage on Siqarikon discussed above, again in connection with a ruling of Simeon b. Gamaliel II (M. Gittin v 6). This phrase points to a co-ordinate focus of attention discussed below.

The appearance of 'the Danger' in this special sense here in the Mishnah and twice in the Tosefta, and its relative lack of attestation in the later rabbinic sources (see n. 516), is consistent with the view that it was a typical term of the period following the revolt, in the second and early third centuries.⁵¹⁷ Later the usual word became *shemadh*, 'destruction' or 'persecution', cited above from a midrashic interpretation of Song of Sol. 2:5. Thus, in another interpretation, 'the cords of death' and 'the snares of death', the first and last of four similar phrases in Ps. 18:5–6, are referred respectively to Babylon and Rome, the first and last of the four kingdoms, for each 'decrees a *shemadh*'.⁵¹⁸ The word itself could recall the Median decree reported in Esther with the verb *shmd*, 'destroy': 'to destroy, to slay and to cause to perish all Jews' (Est. 3:15, cf. 7:4).⁵¹⁹ In post-biblical usage 'to be destroyed' can also mean to become an apostate, *meshummadh* ('destroyed one'), and the noun *shemadh* therefore has overtones of forced apostasy as well as extermination. 'The generation of the *shemadh*' par

⁵¹⁶ For the phrase 'since the Danger' see also Tos. Ket. i 1, B.M. ii 17; these are the clearest special uses of *sakkanah* for the danger associated with the revolt, among the possible examples from Mishnah, Tosefta, Talmud and midrash reviewed by Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 194–235.

⁵¹⁷ That it is an older term than the frequently used *shemadh*, 'destruction' or 'persecution', considered below, is the view of Lieberman, 'Rediphat dat yisra'el', 228, followed by Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 198.

⁵¹⁸ Midrash Tehillim xviii 10, in the name of Abba bar Kahana (early fourth-century Galilee).

⁵¹⁹ In Abraham's vision of the four kingdoms (Gen. 15:12) the 'darkness' which afflicted him was 'Media, which darkened Israel with its decrees', as it is said, 'For we are sold, I and my people, to be destroyed, to be slain, and to perish' (Est. 7:4) (Lev. R. xiii 5, on 11:2–8).

excellence was the generation which suffered at the end of the revolt.⁵²⁰ When the wrestling angel touched the hollow of Jacob's thigh, he touched 'the generation of the *shemadh*'.⁵²¹

The associations of the earlier term 'Danger' (*sakkanah*, Greek *kindynos*) were those already fixed by the time of the revolt; among Jews, the Hebrew and Greek words had acquired a special link with the danger involved in defending the nation and, above all, in keeping the commandments. This emerges (through Latin translation of lost Greek) in the Flavian period in II Esdras 7:89, quoted above: 'they endured danger every hour, that they might keep the law of the lawgiver perfectly'. Examples in earlier Greek Jewish writings of those who 'endangered themselves' in this way include Israel in Egypt, who 'took upon themselves the covenant of the divine law, that the saints should share alike in good things and in dangers' (Wisd. 18:9), and the Maccabees, who 'put themselves in danger . . . that their sanctuary and the law might be established' (I Macc. 14:29, where the Greek represents a Hebrew original). In the same tradition of speech Saint Paul claimed in Greek that 'we are in danger every hour' for the sake of the apostolic teaching (I Cor. 15:30). In second-century Hebrew the verb *skn*, cognate with the noun *sakkanah*, could similarly be used for 'endangering oneself' to keep the commandments correctly.⁵²²

This naming of the attack on and repression of the rebels as 'the Danger' thus accords with the lasting rabbinic emphasis on the braving of Roman prohibition of Jewish observance under Hadrian; but the early attestation of the name also suggests that it arose soon after the events and should be taken seriously as a clue to them. On the basis of later as well as earlier rabbinic narratives historians have indeed envisaged high-level official prohibitions of an increasing number of Jewish practices.⁵²³ Yet these are hard to verify, and it seems more probable that approved or tolerated local military action was responsible, as had happened in the suppression of

⁵²⁰ Midrash Tehillim xxxvi 8, on 'to them that know thee' (Ps. 36:11), referred to the men of the great assembly and 'the generation of the *shemadh*', again in the name of Abba bar Kahana.

⁵²¹ Ber. R. lxxvii 3, on Gen. 32:25.

⁵²² M. Ber. i 3 'I endangered myself from robbers' (to recite the Shema on a journey in the Shammaite manner); cf. Targ. Ps. 119:109 (Aramaic *skn*) 'my soul is always in danger because of my hands: but I have not forgotten thy law'.

⁵²³ So Lieberman, 'Rediphat dat yisra'el', 213–34; M. D. Herr, 'Persecutions and Martyrdom in Hadrian's Days', *Scripta Hierosolymitana* xxiii (1972), 85–125; A. Oppenheimer, 'Heiligkeit und Hingabe des Lebens in der Folge des Bar-Kochba-Aufstands', translated from I. M. Gafni and A. Ravitzky (eds.), *Sanctity of Life and Martyrdom: Studies in Memory of Amir Yekutiel* (Jerusalem, 1992), 85–97 in Oppenheimer, *Between Rome and Babylon*, 320–33.

revolt under Vespasian.⁵²⁴ A main item, as noted already, will have been formed by attacks on circumcision. Other rites are mentioned with it when 'those who love me and keep my commandments' in the Decalogue (Exod. 20:6) are identified, in the name of the late second-century R. Nathan, as those who live in the land of Israel and give their lives for the commandments.⁵²⁵ 'Why are you brought forth to be slain?' 'Because I circumcised Israelites.' 'Why are you brought forth to be burnt?' 'Because I read the Law.' 'Why are you brought forth to be crucified?' 'Because I ate unleavened bread.' 'Why are you receiving a hundred lashes?' 'Because I carried the lulab' – a final instance which recalls the Bar Kokhba letters from early in or just before 'the Danger'. Typical of the despair, apostasy and betrayal associated with this oppression is the weaving of these themes into the legend of the great rabbi and apostate Elisha b. Abuya. 'Some say' that he abandoned observance of the Law when he saw the tongue of the martyred R. Judah the Baker in the mouth of a dog, and said 'there is no reward for the righteous nor is there a resurrection of the dead'; and he denounced those who were attempting to keep the sabbath to the Roman authorities.⁵²⁶

Tales of the arrest or attempted arrest of notable figures recall Catullus's actions in Cyrene after Jonathan's uprising, and probably give a genuine indication of danger for Jews of eminence in descent, wealth or teaching authority. The theme of outward compliance and disguise comes to the fore beside that of open resistance leading to martyrdom.⁵²⁷ Two disciples of R. Joshua b. Hananiah change their clothes 'at the time of the *shemadh*', but are asked by another Jew who has become an apostate, if you are her children, offer your lives for her; but if you are not her children, why should you be slain for her?⁵²⁸ Capture and death for one to aid the flight of others is a theme of the story of Judah b. Baba, who in a valley between Usha and

⁵²⁴ On these lines Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 465–6; Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 194–235 (after full discussion of rabbinic texts); S. Shepkaru, *Jewish Martyrs in the Pagan and Christian Worlds* (Cambridge, 2006), 68–9 (without comment on Schäfer's review of rabbinic texts; mainly on the martyr accounts in their later settings); on attacks on Jewish practice in earlier repression, Josephus, as cited in n. 120, above.

⁵²⁵ Mekhilta de-R. Ishmael, Yithro, Bahodesh 6, on Exod. 20:6, in Lauterbach, *Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael*, ii, 247, discussed with parallels by Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 207–9; he concludes that this form is the earliest, but itself shows signs of development, perhaps from an original core mentioning circumcision and the reading of the Law.

⁵²⁶ Eccles. R. vii 8, 1, on 7:8; Jerusalem Talmud, Hag. ii 1, 77b.

⁵²⁷ The coexistence of the two tendencies at this time and in later Jewish history is brought out especially by Oppenheimer, 'Heiligkeit und Hingabe des Lebens in der Folge des Bar-Kochba-Aufstands'.

⁵²⁸ Ber. R. lxxxiii 8, on Gen. 25:17.

Shephar'am in Galilee ordained five teachers. When the enemy approached he said, 'Run, my children,' but himself was pierced with lances till his body was like a sieve.⁵²⁹

Flight into hiding is most famously exemplified by Simeon b. Yohai, who hid for several years in a cave.⁵³⁰ This is traditionally located by the spring of Peqi'in in Upper Galilee, west of the Galilaean Tekoa (Khirbet Shema') where he taught, and his nearby burial place at Meron.⁵³¹ Graetz, rejoicing to divest Simeon, reputed author of the Zohar, of his mystical and magical aura, urged that the legend of Simeon's mystical experiences in the cave, which developed eventually into the view that he composed the Zohar there, grew from simple and natural beginnings.⁵³² This argument, despite its anti-mystical zeal, preserves an historical insight – the normality of flight into a cave in times of pressure, as noted above in connection with hiding places – which can modify the more recent judgment that the

⁵²⁹ Babylonian Talmud, Sanh. 14a, paralleled in Abodah Zarah 8b; the names of the candidates are debated (this story too was important for asserting the continuity of rabbinic tradition).

⁵³⁰ The many parallel narratives include Jerusalem Talmud, Sheb. ix 1, 38d; Ber. R. lxxix 5–6, on Gen. 33:18; Pesikta de-Rab Kahana xi 16; Babylonian Talmud, Shabb. 33b. For discussion of a synopsis of texts see L. I. Levine, 'R. Simeon b. Yohai and the Purification of Tiberias', *HUCA* xlix (1978), 143–85; for nuances, including many side glances at Christianity, which could have been suggested by the Bereshith Rabbah version at the beginning of the fifth century, H. M. Zellentin, *Rabbinic Parodies of Jewish and Christian Literature* (TSAJ 139, Tübingen, 2011), 167–212.

⁵³¹ Eccles. R. x 8, 1 'in the cave of Peqa' (Peqi'in), probably Baca, east-north-east of Ptolemais-Acco on the border of Galilee and Tyre, mentioned by Josephus, *B.J.* iii 39; see Dalman, *Sacred Sites and Ways*, 197; Tsafir et al., *Iudaea. Palaestina*, 73, s. Baca, Beca. The alternative location of the cave at Gedora, identified with Gadara in the Decapolis, seems to arise from the 'carobs of Gedora' which formed their food in the cave (Ber. R. lxxix 6, on Gen. 33:18), and may also, as the name of a more celebrated place somewhat closer to Tiberias, have been felt, especially in Tiberias, to fit better with the remarkable cleansing of Tiberias from corpse impurity which Simeon b. Yohai accomplishes when he comes out of his cave. Baca, on the other hand, is inland from Ptolemais-Acco, which may have been his home for a time (also perhaps a stage on the way home to Sidon, see below); see Zellentin, *Rabbinic Parodies of Jewish and Christian Literature*, 198–9, citing Tos. Me'ilah i 1 (he spends a sabbath at Kephra Acco). Other Tosefta passages associate him with Sidon, on the coast further north; see Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, ii, 72, citing inter alia Tos. Erubin iv 11 (vi [v] 8) (R. Simeon says he can make it possible for people to go up from Tiberias to Sepphoris, or from Tyre to Sidon, without sabbath-breaking, through his knowledge of caves and towers en route); Tos. Niddah vi 6 (R. Hananiah b. Hakinai finds him in Sidon and gives him a message to R. Akiba).

⁵³² Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden vom Untergang des jüdischen Staates bis zum Abschluss des Talmud*, 212–15, 532–5 (Note 35), esp. 532; *ibid.*, 227, he placed the sojourn in the cave until an emperor's death in the last thirteen years of Pius. In the text above it is placed in the period of 'the Danger', in the last years of Hadrian and the early years of Pius. On the anti-mystical aspect of Graetz's outlook see Schäfer, 'Adversus cabbalam' oder Heinrich Graetz und die jüdische Mystik', in P. Schäfer and I. Wandrey (eds.), *Reuchlin und seine Erben* (Ostfildern, 2005), pp. 189–210.

cave-legend is a later part of the rabbinic narrative of Simeon.⁵³³ Retreat into a cave in itself is probably an old element of the stories about him, however much it was elaborated upon.

In the Babylonian Talmud, Simeon's flight is connected with his disagreement with R. Judah ben Ilai, who praised the Roman provision of marketplaces, bridges and baths. 'All for their own benefit,' replied Simeon; 'marketplaces to set harlots in, baths to preen themselves in, and bridges from which to levy tolls'. R. Jose b. Halafta, who was also present, had remained silent. Judah ben Garis, a bystander, repeated the conversation, and it became known to the government. They said, 'Simeon the critic shall be slain' – and so he fled. This imaginary debate is perhaps true to the remembered characters of the two speakers (and the third who was silent), but at any rate it exemplifies a clash of attitudes to Rome which can be envisaged at the time of 'the Danger' and was probably present already before rebellion broke out.⁵³⁴

Another story of Simeon b. Yohai, one brought to the fore by Raymond Martini ([Chapter 2](#), above) but also celebrated within the Jewish community, begins by noting that R. Simeon's contemporary R. Reuben b. Istrobelos (the name is perhaps a form of the Hasmonaeon name Aristobulus) failed in the end to persuade the Romans to rescind decrees against observance of the commandments, including those of sabbath-keeping and circumcision; he had argued anonymously – this passage touches the theme of disguise in time of danger noted above – but was detected as a Jew.⁵³⁵ Simeon ben Yohai was chosen to replace him, and now succeeded – but only with the suspect aid of the demon Bentamalion, who enabled Simeon to cure Caesar's daughter and to receive as a reward the decree itself, which could now be annulled.

⁵³³ Levine, 'R. Simeon b. Yohai and the Purification of Tiberias', 182–5, noting that Simeon emerged from his cave to purify Tiberias just as Epimenides emerged from a cave to purify Athens. B.-Z. Rosenfeld, 'R. Simeon bar Yohai: Wonder Worker and Magician – Scholar, *Saddiq* and *Hasid*', *REJ* clviii (1999), 349–84 (371–2, 376), urges that Simeon, both a scholar and a mystic, hid from Roman pursuit in a cave; but he mainly seeks to show that the rabbinic narratives, responding to the circumstances of the third century and later, do depict him in a way that lends itself to development in the Zohar.

⁵³⁴ Babylonian Talmud, Sanh. 33b, taken as representative of current second-century points of view by Avi-Yonah, *The Jews of Palestine*, 65. For the accounts of the Alexandrian Jews under Trajan attributed to Judah b. Ilai and Simeon b. Yohai as exhibiting the same conflicting views see [Chapter 4](#), n. 224, above. Levine, 'R. Simeon b. Yohai and the Purification of Tiberias', 180, n. 152 urges that this picture of Simeon b. Yohai is contradicted by texts attributing pro-Roman sympathies to his father and son, and describing his own visit to the emperor in Rome, but these seem hardly to amount to a clear contradiction.

⁵³⁵ Babylonian Talmud, Me'ilah 17a–b.

This story shares the motif of Caesar's daughter's healing with a legend of the late second-century bishop Abercius of Hieropolis in Phrygia; both Simeon and Abercius are said to travel to Rome, and in both cases the healing legend can be related to the fame of Marcus Aurelius's daughter Lucilla, whom he betrothed to his brother and co-emperor Lucius Verus.⁵³⁶ The legend as it grew up from the late second century onwards underlines later belief that persecution was commanded at the highest level, but also brings out the acknowledgement that it has ceased – although it took the preternatural powers of a wonder-working teacher to bring this about. The framework of the story is probably inspired by conditions in the court of Marcus Aurelius, as pictured in the eastern provinces at the time of his Parthian wars; but the legend would be essentially consistent with a change for the better, from the Judaeo Jewish point of view, in the later years of Pius, as suggested above.

Remembrance of these events focuses in the end above all on 'the slain', a term encountered already in the narratives of Pappus and Lulianus (see [Chapter 4](#)). They are commemorated in Hebrew and Aramaic narratives which, as with Pappus and Lulianus, can recall the contemporary pagan Acts of the Alexandrians and Christian martyrology, and also in monuments at their reputed burial places. In both the narratives and the traditions of the monuments Caesarea and, once again, Galilee come to the fore.

'The slain', Hebrew *harugim*, could take the form *harugey malkuth* 'slain by the kingdom' (the ruling power), used in later midrash in a sense close to that of 'martyrs'.⁵³⁷ The simple 'slain' includes, however, those slain in battle, but its prehistory in biblical usage already has what will be heard as martyrological overtones, including the psalm verse 'For thy sake are we slain all the day long' (Ps. 44:23), and hints at the gift of future life: 'the earth . . . shall no more cover her slain' (Isa. 26:21, part of the 'Isaiah-apocalypse'); 'breathe' upon the dry bones of 'the slain, that they may live' (Ezek. 37:9).

In special connection with the revolt are 'the slain in the war' (M. Gittin v 6, cited above), 'the slain of Bethar' (Jerusalem Talmud, Taanith iv 8, 69a) and 'those whom Tyrannus Rufus the wicked slew' – not necessarily all the vast numbers whom he slaughtered, according to Eusebius, but possibly R. Akiba and his companions in particular, for they were remembered

⁵³⁶ *HA* Marcus Antoninus vii 7; W. Bacher, 'La légende de l'exorcisme d'un démon par Simon b. Yohai', *REJ* xxxv (1897), 285–7.

⁵³⁷ Herr, 'Persecutions and Martyrdom in Hadrian's Days', 124–5, ascribes its use in a definitely martyrological sense to sources of the third and fourth centuries.

as slain by Rufus in Caesarea.⁵³⁸ Then 'the slain of Lydda' are mentioned several times, but can only tentatively be ascribed to the Hadrianic 'Danger', and might belong to the war of Quietus and its repression, discussed in [Chapter 4](#). The same is true of the agreement made in Lydda, in the upper room of the house of Nithzah, that under coercion death should only be endured for the sake of the three great commandments forbidding idolatry, incest and murder; otherwise, let Israelites do what is demanded 'and not be slain'.⁵³⁹ An opposing stream of thought issued in an equally influential modification: this limitation may apply in normal times, but under persecution, lest the impression of national apostasy be given, even the lightest commandments should be upheld – as Pappus and Lulianus were offered water in a coloured glass, to give it the appearance of wine for a pagan libation, but would not drink it.⁵⁴⁰

By the early fifth century 'the habitations of Jacob' which the Lord swallowed up (Lam. 2:2) could be understood in Lamentations Rabbah as 'all the excellencies of Jacob' swallowed up at the time of the revolt – a list of ten teachers who met their deaths, included in the narrative of Bethar.⁵⁴¹ Later still this list took on independent life in the Hebrew 'Narrative of the Ten Slain by the Kingdom', the Midrash of the Ten Martyrs.⁵⁴² Yet its appearance in fifth-century midrash as a list itself signals a considerable preceding development, marked by keen interest in the 'slain' of the revolt and its aftermath.

A communal cave and monument of the Ten Martyrs was shown in Caesarea in the Middle Ages.⁵⁴³ The midrashic tradition of the most famous of them, R. Akiba, indicates the location of his particular burial in Caesarea, near 'the *tetrapylon*', so circumstantially that formerly his own particular tomb must have been shown there, but by the Middle Ages it was being

⁵³⁸ Midrash Zutta on Song of Sol. 1:4 'They have loved thee more than the upright', as explained by Krauss, *Griechen und Römer*, 20, n. 35.

⁵³⁹ Eccles. R. on 9:1 (none before the slain of Lydda in their division in their generation); Babylonian Talmud, Pes. 50a, B.B. 10b (the slain of Lydda); Jerusalem Talmud, Sheb. iv 2, 35a, Sanh. iii 5, 21b; Babylonian Talmud, Sanh. 74a (the ruling of Lydda); on Lydda and the war of Quietus, Oppenheimer, 'Jewish Lydda in the Roman Era', 54–5; for various datings of the discussion in the house of Nithzah, Herr, 'Persecutions and Martyrdoms in Hadrian's Days', 109, n. 70.

⁵⁴⁰ Jerusalem Talmud, Sheb. iv 2, 35a; Sanh. iii 5, 21b.

⁵⁴¹ Lam. R. ii 4, on 2:2; only in the two main forms of Lamentations Rabbah is this tradition inserted into the narrative of Bethar, as noted by Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 165.

⁵⁴² This is an important source for the history of remembrance and for the long-term after-effect of the revolt, but has only limited value for the history of the repression itself, as is emphasized by G. Reeg, *Die Geschichte von den Zehn Märtyrern: Synoptische Edition mit Übersetzung und Einleitung* (Tübingen, 1985), 1; 57.

⁵⁴³ M. Ish-Shalom, *Qibre Aboth* (English title *Holy Tombs*) (Studies in Folklore and Ethnology, v; Jerusalem, 1948), 175, citing the pilgrimage of Jacob b. R. Nathanael ha-Kohen (late twelfth century).

visited in Tiberias.⁵⁴⁴ Eleazar of Modin was killed in Beththera, according to the rabbinic narrative, but his tomb was shown in Nabratein, north of Safed.⁵⁴⁵ Among sufferers rather than martyrs, Simeon b. Yohai and his son Eleazar have had continuous honour at one place since antiquity, at their much-frequented tombs in Meron.⁵⁴⁶

On these remembrances and legends of 'the Danger' and the slain three concluding comments can perhaps be given. First, the importance of Caesarea and Galilee, including such places as Usha, Shephar'am, Peqi'in and Meron, in the narratives and the attestation of monuments, corresponds to the importance of Caesarea and Galilee for the composition of the Talmud and midrash, and for the Jewish population of the province from the third century onwards to the early Middle Ages. It also, however, suggests that Roman repressive activity immediately after the revolt was strong in Galilee, perhaps with a view to excluding any revival of resistance by fugitives there. As noted already, the army presence at Caparcotna, Salumias, Tiberias and other places in the region signifies intensive policing.

Second, the rescript of Antoninus Pius on circumcision may have a link with revolt, as suggested above, insofar as an answer so favourable to Jews (allowing the circumcision of their sons, although not of proselytes) seems less likely in a time when local measures are still being taken to subdue Jewish unrest. The rescript could then be tentatively placed later in the reign of Pius, when the harsh measures which continued in the province in his early years were relaxed.

Third, the situation towards which the Jewish population was gradually moving seems to be symbolized by the story of the translation of the body of Simeon b. Yohai's son Eleazar to his father's tomb in Meron, through a pious theft by the Meronites from its earlier resting place at Gischala or elsewhere (Pesikta de-Rab Kahana xi 23–4). Father and son were both revered as great teachers and saints, despite the father's repute for intellectual and spiritual resistance to Rome, and the son's contrary repute as 'vinegar son of wine', one who furthered co-operation with the authorities and was ready to accept office under Roman rule (Pesikta de-Rab Kahana xi 19, discussed in [Chapter 3](#), above). In the end they were both honoured together, side by side in the same place.

⁵⁴⁴ Midrash Mishle ix, on Prov. 9:2, in B. L. Visotzky (ed.), *Midrash Mishle* (New York, 1990), 67–9; Visotzky, *The Midrash on Proverbs Translated from the Hebrew* (New Haven and London, 1992), 49–50; Ish-Shalom, *Qibre Aboth*, 173.

⁵⁴⁵ Ish-Shalom, *Qibre Aboth*, 173. ⁵⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 179–81.

Prospect

A concluding look forwards can notice Judaea and the diaspora in their correlated Jewish history, and the contemporaneous development of the separate yet associated Christian body.⁵⁴⁷ Two background questions which were prominent earlier in the book come again to the fore: did a hostile Roman policy towards Jews now become permanent, and was worldwide Jewish corporate life essentially incompatible with Roman imperial rule and culture? These questions have dominated study since the time of Renan and Mommsen, and are posed afresh by later work (see chapters 2 and 3, above).⁵⁴⁸

The province of Judaea was now called Syria Palaestina, the Latin form of the old Greek name ‘Palestinian Syria’ which is attested in Philo (*Quod omnis probus*, 75). Exceptions to this usage, all still speaking of ‘Judaea’, include passages in Justin Martyr and Cassius Dio (who expressly notes that Palestine is also called Judaea), and an inscription in honour of the wife of Erucius Clarus, governor at some time in the 170s.⁵⁴⁹ The change of name corresponded to the exclusion of Jews from Aelia and its surrounding district. The Mishnah, by contrast, prefers the biblical phrase ‘land of Israel’ (Demai vi 11 and elsewhere), taking up a continuing post-biblical usage attested about a century earlier in St Matthew’s Gospel (2:20–1). The usage is consistent with the prevalence of ‘Israel’ terminology (without attestation of this particular phrase) in Bar Kokhba documentation, discussed earlier in this chapter.

The Judaeen Jewish population in the later second century, correspondingly with the feeling suggested by the Mishnaic use, probably evinced further unrest in connection with the Parthian wars of Marcus Aurelius and Septimius Severus.⁵⁵⁰ This would cohere with the anti-Roman character of contemporary Jewish as well as Christian messianic hope, as attested

⁵⁴⁷ See the survey of the second century by J. Carleton Paget, *Jews, Christians and Jewish Christians in Antiquity* (WUNT 251, Tübingen, 2010), 33–6 (‘Introduction’), 383–425 (‘The Enigma of the Second Century’).

⁵⁴⁸ Schwartz, *Imperialism and Jewish Society* and Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem* are particularly notable here.

⁵⁴⁹ Cassius Dio, *Hist.* xxxvii 16; Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 463, 552.

⁵⁵⁰ Marcus Aurelius: Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* xxii 5, quoted below (a people more unruly than Marcomanni, Quadi or Sarmatians), interpreted as a significant indication of Jewish civil unrest by Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 88; Septimius Severus: Eusebius, *Chron.*, Septimius Severus, v–vi (Jewish and Samaritan war) with Tertullian, *adv. Marc.* iii 24, 4 (visions of heavenly city seen in Judaea), discussed in Chapter 2, above and (with reference to contrary interpretations) in Horbury, *Messianism among Jews and Christians*, 285–8.

in the mid second century by Justin Martyr.⁵⁵¹ At about the same time Marcion appears to have understood Jewish messianic hope as essentially the expectation of a military victor (which he believed would be fulfilled).⁵⁵² A backhanded tribute to Judaeans Jewish energy is formed by the lament attributed to Marcus Aurelius: 'O Marcomanni, Quadi, Sarmatians, at last I have found others more unruly than you!'⁵⁵³

In some contrast, however, with this view of the Jewish population as still restive, and in reaction against easy assumptions of the continuity of Jewish institutions, a breakdown of distinctively Jewish life in post-war Judaea has also been envisaged. Weight is given to the despair and apostasy pictured in the legend of Elisha b. Abujah and elsewhere, as in the idea noted above that what drove Moses himself to the verge of blasphemy was atrocity like that of the late wars.⁵⁵⁴ Moreover, the hostility manifest in continued refusal to rebuild the temple, in the change of the provincial name and in the exclusion of Jews from the district of Jerusalem has been taken to represent a markedly anti-Jewish Roman policy which would continue to influence the later Roman empire, both before and after Constantine.⁵⁵⁵

Yet, on the Jewish side, even when the weight of despair is fully considered, it seems likely that revolt and repression will have been accompanied and followed by forces making for revival, as already suggested in [Chapter 3](#). Central here would have been continued attachment to ancestral law and custom, part of the ethos of 'zeal' which had been important throughout the period of the risings. Perhaps this attachment was deepened as well as damaged by persecution, as seems to have occurred in the repression

⁵⁵¹ Thus Justin argues against a Jewish view that Micah 4:7–8, on the gathering of the expelled and afflicted to become a strong nation reigned over by the Lord in Zion, refers to messianic restoration after the expulsions and afflictions following the Bar Kokhba war; see *Dial.* cix–cx, discussed with other reflections in Justin of militant messianism in Horbury, *Jews and Christians in Conflict and Controversy*, 151–3.

⁵⁵² A. von Harnack, *Marcion: das Evangelium vom fremden Gott* (2nd edn, Leipzig, 1924), 117, 289*–93*; the inference is drawn from anti-Marcionite texts including Tertullian, *adv. Marc.* iii 12, 1; 13, 1–2 (Marcion thinks that the messiah promised in Isa. 7:14–8:4 will be a warrior [*bellator*] and commander [*imperator*]); iii 21, 1–3 (Marcion supposes that the Jewish messiah was intended by the Creator-God for the gathering of the people of Israel alone from their dispersion, and that the nations whose prince he shall be [Isa. 55:4] are the proselytes); iii 24, 1–2 (Marcion's messiah promises the Jews their original polity through the restitution of their land, the restitution of Judaea which the Jews themselves hope for).

⁵⁵³ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* xxii 5, in Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, 605–7, no. 506; see n. 550, above.

⁵⁵⁴ So Schwartz, *Imperialism and Jewish Society*, 109; for further representation of this view see [Chapter 2](#), above; for the interpretation of the near-blasphemy of Moses, Babylonian Talmud, Sanh. 111a, in the name of Eleazar b. Jose, discussed in connection with Alexandria in [Chapter 4](#), above.

⁵⁵⁵ Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem*, 493–500.

of the First Revolt. Such attachment is vigorously portrayed in Josephus's outline of Judaism at the end of the first century, with suggestions also of the attractive power of Judaism and the inspiring character of martyrdom and resistance to persecution.⁵⁵⁶ After Bar Kokhba a strong attachment is attested again by Justin Martyr, himself a non-Jewish Palestinian outside the province but retaining links with it, in his literary portrait (from the 150s) of the émigré Judaeon Trypho in the 130s. Similarly, the compilation of the Mishnah from existing traditions in Galilee at the end of the second century itself suggests that abandonment of Jewish observance was not the whole story. To quote Fergus Millar, 'the Mishnah presents a world in which a network of Jewish communities did actually exist, even if they were largely – but *not* entirely – invisible in the archaeological and documentary record'.⁵⁵⁷ These communities represent a degree of continuity among Jewish tillers of the ground which was accompanied, despite all the disruption of land occupancy noted above, by some continuity of distinctively Jewish observance. As emerged in discussion of piety under Bar Kokhba, there will have been a broad spectrum of observance and non-observance; recitation of the Shema, for example, was a practice that had to be encouraged.⁵⁵⁸ Yet there was, as the very existence of the Mishnah attests, an appreciable strand of continued observance.

Institutionally this attachment to ancestral law and custom will have been fostered by the networks of teachers of the law on the one hand, and prayer-houses or synagogues on the other. Towards the end of the reign of Pius, Justin Martyr indicates in his *Dialogue* (ix 1, xxxviii 1, cxii 4) the authority exercised by Jewish teachers (*didaskaloi*).⁵⁵⁹ Justin will have the diaspora as well as or instead of Judaea in mind, and these teachers may or may not have been connected with the pupils of R. Akiba and their contemporaries who are so important in the Mishnah, but Justin's references are consistent with the image of a network of teachers which rabbinic literature presents. The prohibition of converse with Christians which Justin ascribes to the *didaskaloi* is comparable with the prohibition of converse with *minim*, 'heretics', inculcated in the Tosefta (Hullin ii 20–2),

⁵⁵⁶ See Rajak, 'Reflections on Jewish Resistance and the Discourse of Martyrdom in Josephus'.

⁵⁵⁷ F. Millar, 'Transformations of Judaism under Graeco-Roman Rule: Responses to Seth Schwartz's *Imperialism and Jewish Society*', *JJS* lvii (2006), 139–58 (150). On the Mishnah's debt to existing Jewish practice see S. J. D. Cohen, 'Judaeon Legal Tradition and *Halakhah* of the Mishnah', in C. E. Fonrobert and M. S. Jaffee (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Talmud and Rabbinic Literature* (Cambridge, 2007), 121–43.

⁵⁵⁸ Thus the recitation of the Shema appears with residence in the land and speaking in Hebrew as one of three qualifications for the world to come, in a saying attributed to the late second-century R. Meir in *Sifre Deut.* 333, on *Deut.* 32:43.

⁵⁵⁹ In St John's Gospel (1:38) *didaskalos* is given as the translation of *rabbi*.

for the *minim* in the two warning tales given here are described as followers of Jesus. Within the circles of Judaeian rabbinic teachers, beside the martyrs must be set, as John Lightfoot emphasized, the survivors and subsequent teachers of the later second century – ‘far were they from being rooted out’, as he forcefully put it, no doubt with the aim of correcting the more sweeping traditional notions of Jewish dispersion and exile.⁵⁶⁰

Also instrumental in fostering attachment to the ancestral laws was the institution of the synagogue, the assembly but also the building, the ‘house of assembly’ as it is called in the Mishnah. The importance of synagogue assemblies and buildings in towns and villages of Judaea and Galilee in the period of the three great risings against Rome is indicated by the New Testament and Josephus, and also by excavations, for instance at Caparethra, mentioned already.⁵⁶¹ At the end of the second century the Mishnah attests both public prayers before the ark, the chest holding sacred books, brought into the open place of the town (here the ‘assembly’ appears), and also regular use of a ‘house of assembly’; the community may decide to buy one or sell one, but the ‘house’ can be regarded as in some sense a holy place. The sanctity of a synagogue in ruins is still thought to endure, for it is implied in the prophecy ‘I will bring your sanctuaries into desolation’ (Lev. 26:31).⁵⁶²

Circles of teachers (rabbinic and also non-rabbinic) and synagogues in surviving towns and villages can then be viewed as contributing to the continuation and revival of Judaeian Jewish life in the late second century. In the early third century the authority of R. Judah ha-Nasi and his circle under Roman favour, and then the position of the Jewish ‘ethnarch’ in Judaea as described by Origen (giving the first clear external witness to the Jewish patriarchate which lasted until the fifth century), indicate a political *modus vivendi* with Rome. This degree of self-government to some extent recalls the old client-kingship of the Herodian age.

The patriarch’s title *nasi*, ‘prince’, continues that claimed by Bar Kokhba, and links the patriarchate with the old tradition of Israelite kingship. Claims for the Davidic descent of the family of Judah ha-Nasi point in the same direction.⁵⁶³ The patriarchate will have coexisted with continuing anti-Roman feeling, which its royal Israelite self-presentation is perhaps partly

⁵⁶⁰ John Lightfoot, *Harmony, Chronicle and Order of the New Testament*, 388.

⁵⁶¹ Zissu and Ganor, ‘Horvat ‘Ethri’, 105–110; for a concise survey of the situation in the time of Philo and Josephus, see Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief 63 BCE–66 CE*, 198–202.

⁵⁶² For these points see M. Meg. iii 1–3; on the holiness of the synagogue, see also [Chapter 3](#), n. 115, above.

⁵⁶³ Alon, *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age*, 717, quoting Jerusalem Talmud, Shabb. xvi 1, 15c (R. Hiyya applies to R. Judah ha-Nasi Lam. 4:20 on ‘the anointed of the Lord’).

intended to conciliate. Somewhat similarly, under its aegis, although Greek is encouraged, a new Hebrew literature constituted by the Mishnah and other rabbinic works comes into being.

The finds from the Hadrianic rising in the Judaeen wilderness, including the Greek Minor Prophets scroll and the Bar Kokhba letters, dramatically underlined the importance of Greek and Hebrew as well as Aramaic in early second-century Judaea. The composition of the Mishnah at the end of the century appears in retrospect as part of a movement towards Hebrew, in a population in which Greek and Aramaic continued to be much used. The use of Hebrew as a spoken language was encouraged together with continued residence in Judaea, despite post-war hardship. In the later second century 'R. Meir used to say, Whoever dwells in the land of Israel, and reads the Shema morning and evening, and speaks in the holy tongue, belongs to the world to come'. R. Judah ha-Nasi himself is said to have frowned simply on the use of Aramaic: 'In the land of Israel, why use the Syrian tongue? Use either the holy tongue, or the Greek tongue.'⁵⁶⁴ The revival of Hebrew may itself in part be a legacy of the wars, as the tradition of a ban on Greek-teaching after the war of Quietus suggests.⁵⁶⁵

In Judaea, then, Roman toleration of Jewish developments, including a measure of self-government, and Roman protection for public Jewish teaching and prayer suggest a decided movement away from the practice of the period of repression, and an attitude which was not unremittingly hostile. This movement probably reached a high point with the Severi, despite or perhaps partly because of Jewish restiveness, also manifest in their time; the 'little help' to come after sword, flame, captivity and spoil, according to Daniel (11:33–4), was said by Jews in Jerome's time to be Septimius Severus and Caracalla, 'who greatly loved the Jews'.⁵⁶⁶ It has been suggested accordingly that rulings of R. Judah ha-Nasi, exempting cities including Scythopolis and Caesarea from obligations laid on produce from

⁵⁶⁴ Sifre Deut. 333, cited above, on Deut. 32:43 'he will make expiation for his ground and for his people' (R. Meir); Babylonian Talmud, Sotah 49b (R. Judah ha-Nasi); both are quoted and discussed by M. H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford, 1927, repr. 1958), 2–3.

⁵⁶⁵ On linguistic shift at the end of the second century see S. Schwartz, 'Language, Power and Identity in Ancient Palestine', *Past & Present* cxlviii (1995), 3–47; Schwartz, 'Hebrew and Imperialism in Palestine', in Bakhtos (ed.), *Ancient Judaism in Its Hellenistic Context*, 53–84; N. R. M. de Lange, 'The Revival of the Hebrew Language in the Third Century CE', *JSQ* iii (1996), 342–58; N. Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible* (English translation, Leiden, Boston, MA, and Cologne, 2000), 110.

⁵⁶⁶ Jerome, in *Dan.*, on 11:34–5; a negative opinion emerges in Midrash Zutta on Cant. 1:6, where the long reign of Septimius Severus is endured by Jews as a punishment (see Krauss, *Griechen und Römer*, 63, no. 117).

the land of Israel, indicate his encouragement of Jewish settlement in these cities and so a co-operation with the Severan policy of urbanization.⁵⁶⁷ This period perhaps also saw the preservation of the favourable side of haggadah on Hadrian, and the inception of the rabbinic legends of friendly dialogue between ‘Antoninus’, perhaps Caracalla, and R. Judah ha-Nasi.⁵⁶⁸ Yet the patriarchate continued to develop after the Severan age. Similarly, the protection for synagogues noted above seems not to have depended simply on Severan favour, but on long-standing practice documented by Josephus and continued throughout the third century.⁵⁶⁹

At the same time, to turn to the diaspora in the Roman empire, a continued protection of Jewish public assembly is well attested, not least by Christians who would have liked similar authorization. At the beginning of the third century Tertullian in Carthage coined his envious phrase *vectigalis libertas*, noted above; Jews have ‘a liberty paid for by tribute’, and ‘one can go openly every sabbath-day’ to hear the sacred books read out.⁵⁷⁰ Diaspora synagogue excavations, bringing to light the magnificent third-century murals of Dura-Europus and the vast fourth-century building of Sardis, suggest that rabbinic praise of the Alexandrian basilica-synagogue, remembered in post-war Judaea as ‘the glory of Israel’ destroyed by Trajan, may not be excessive.

The diaspora indeed is a principal scene of second- and third-century pagan and Christian attestations of the attraction of Judaism.⁵⁷¹ At the beginning of the third century in Carthage proselytes form an important presence for Tertullian, whose *adversus Iudaeos* is an imagined dialogue with a Jewish proselyte; Marcion, he says, could see the proselytes as fulfilling the prophecies of the calling of the nations, and ‘the Jews and their proselytes’ do indeed form the ‘large people’ (*populus amplius*) of Isa. 2:4 – but one which, as this prophecy shows, will be confuted by Christ at his coming.⁵⁷² Origen correspondingly reports a third-century Jewish view

⁵⁶⁷ A. Oppenheimer, ‘Politics and Administration’, in Goodman and Alexander (eds.), *Rabbinic Texts and the History of Late Roman Palestine*, 377–88, on Jerusalem Talmud, Demai, ii, 22c.

⁵⁶⁸ On these see Stemberger, *Die römische Herrschaft im Urteil der Juden*, 78–82, 86–94.

⁵⁶⁹ The sparsely documented Jewish legal position between Antoninus Pius and Constantine is discussed by G. Stemberger, *Jews and Christians in the Holy Land: Palestine in the Fourth Century* (rev. tr. of Stemberger, *Juden und Christen im Heiligen Land* (Munich, 1987)) (Edinburgh, 2000), 22–6.

⁵⁷⁰ Tertullian, *Apol.* xviii 8 *vectigalis libertas; vulgo aditur sabbatis omnibus*.

⁵⁷¹ Justin Martyr, *Dial.* xlvii 4 (some gentile Christians become Jewish proselytes); Cassius Dio, xxvii 16,5–17,4 (foreigners follow Jewish customs; see [Chapter 2](#) and n. 34, above); Origen, *In Matt. comm. ser.* 16 (pagans go over to Judaism without considering Christianity).

⁵⁷² Tertullian, *adv. Marc.* iii 21, 2–3, cited above in connection with Marcion; the Septuagint of Isa. 2:4 presupposes the singular ‘a large people’ rather than the plural ‘many peoples’ found in the Hebrew of the Massoretic text.

that the scattering of the diaspora was providentially intended as a means of winning proselytes.⁵⁷³

The vigour of Judaeans as well as diaspora Jewish life in the second century is probably to be seen in the Greek biblical versions from this period, above all that attributed to Aquila the proselyte of Pontus, mentioned above for his further legendary repute as Hadrian's nephew and the architect of Aelia, but also in that of Symmachus, which 'might be described as a Greek Targum or Tannaitic Septuagint' (A. Salvesen), and perhaps too in that of Theodotion, described by Irenaeus as a proselyte from Ephesus, and possibly a reviser of the kind of Greek text already seen in the copy of the Twelve Prophets found in Nahal Hever.⁵⁷⁴ As these texts suggest, Greek at this period could be considered a link rather than a barrier between Judaeans and diaspora Jews.⁵⁷⁵

Roman official treatment of Jews in the late second-century and third-century empire, in Judaea and the diaspora, is then striking in its maintenance of the liberty of public assembly and prayer, and observance of ancestral Jewish custom. By about 180, Celsus, denying both the Jewish and the Christian claim that their deity protects his devotees, could write that they – the Jews – have no land or home of any kind – and you – the Christians – are sought out and condemned to death (Celsus in Origen, *contra Celsum* viii 69). The worst he could say of the Jewish fate was to exaggerate the famous exclusion under Hadrian, as contemporary Christians exemplified by Tertullian also did; he could not now claim, as he did of the Christians, that Jews were hunted down and put to death.⁵⁷⁶ The years from 70 to 135 had been years of upheaval, but of movement in the end towards another form of Roman toleration of Jewish communal life, still with an echo of the Herodian client-kingship, and towards continuation of the old liberty of assembly and observance.

Yet after the building of Aelia it had certainly become hard to envisage the speedy rebuilding of the temple and restoration of the high priest. A merit of the emphasis on Roman hostility which is questioned above has

⁵⁷³ Origen, *c. Celsum* i 55; for further discussion see Simon, *Verus Israel*, 271–305 (emphasizing that Jewish defeat in 135 did not impair the attractiveness of Judaism); Goodman, *Mission and Conversion*.

⁵⁷⁴ Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context*, 109–54; A. Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch* (Manchester, 1991), 297 (tentatively locating Symmachus in Caesarea).

⁵⁷⁵ This is one of the question marks against the view that the western diaspora was less closely linked with Judaea than the eastern, put forward by A. Edrei and D. Mendels, 'A Split Jewish Diaspora: Its Dramatic Consequences', *JSP* xvi (2007), 91–137; xvii (2008), 163–87.

⁵⁷⁶ Tertullian, *adv. Marc.* iii 24, 7 argues that the desertion of their land prophesied for the Jews (Isa. 1:7) on account of their rejection of the messiah has already happened, for the nation 'is already in exile', *iam extorris*.

been to highlight the grievous blow inflicted by the destruction of the temple and the striking character of Roman refusal to allow rebuilding.⁵⁷⁷ It was perhaps sometimes too easily assumed in earlier study that Judaism worldwide, with its focus on Torah and prayer-house or synagogue, had become virtually independent of the Jerusalem sanctuary by the time of Vespasian and Titus. Yet there remains some truth in this claim. The comfort offered by Josephus and his contemporaries after 70 – ‘the law at least abides immortal for us’ – was certainly taken to heart by some, and was certainly continuous with a central element of earlier Jewish piety.⁵⁷⁸ It will indeed not have been so easy to adapt to the new situation as is sometimes argued.⁵⁷⁹ The hymnody, prayer and homily of the synagogue still mourned the loss of the temple service as a twin affliction with that of servitude to Rome. So in a perhaps fifth-century poem of lament, for the Day of Atonement, ‘the service has failed from the House of service, and how shall we serve the Pure One, when a stranger makes us slaves?’⁵⁸⁰ Yet, in response, the view that study and the synagogue service might in some sense substitute for the temple service was a significant third- and fourth-century rabbinic theme.⁵⁸¹

To move beyond the Jewish community to the body of people most intimately linked with it, can effects of the wars on Christianity be identified? Graetz, followed by many others, urged that Christians who observed the ritual and dietary commandments, as well as those who did not, now wanted a clear separation from the Jews whose rebellion was still being chastised.⁵⁸² This view has been echoed in later presentations of the early history of Christianity in Alexandria and Egypt.⁵⁸³ Certainly an apologist like Justin could emphasize the contemporary humiliations of the Jews

⁵⁷⁷ This is brought out especially by Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem*, 445–9, 499–500, 581.

⁵⁷⁸ Josephus, *Ap.* ii 277, cited with the similar II Baruch 85:3 and Aboth de-R. Nathan, version i, iv, 11a (R. Johanan b. Zaccai on deeds of loving kindness) in [Chapter 2](#), above.

⁵⁷⁹ Thus Simon, *Verus Israel*, 40, suggests that diaspora Jews did not grieve too much over the loss, but he finds in the Fourth Sibylline book an implied critique even of the Jewish temple when, arguably, the main concern is an attack on pagan temples, and when the divine punishment of the Romans is underlined.

⁵⁸⁰ Yose ben Yose, ‘*eyn lanu kohen gadhol* [We have no high priest]’, line 3, discussed in Horbury, *Messianism among Jews and Christians*, 293.

⁵⁸¹ S. Schreiner, ‘Wo man Tora lernt, braucht man keinen Tempel. Einige Anmerkungen zum Problem der Tempelsubstitution im rabbinischen Judentum’, in B. Ego, A. Lange and P. Pilhofer, with K. Ehlers (eds.), *Gemeinde ohne Tempel* (WUNT 118, Tübingen, 1999), 371–92.

⁵⁸² Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden vom Untergang des jüdischen Staates bis zum Abschluss des Talmud*, 196–7.

⁵⁸³ For example C. H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (Schweich Lectures 1977; London, 1979), 54–60; Carl B. Smith II, *No Longer Jews: The Search for Gnostic Origins* (Peabody, MA, 2004). Possibilities are reviewed by Carleton Paget, *Jews, Christians and Jewish Christians in Antiquity*.

in Palestine, and in the course of the second century a Jerusalem-centred Christianity was gradually modified to acknowledge the importance of Alexandria, Antioch and Rome. Yet, as noted in [Chapter 3](#), the separation of Christians from Jews began before the three great risings against Rome.

On the other hand, after the revolts under Trajan and Hadrian the Christian church was still too deeply rooted in Jewish culture to attain a clearly gentile thought and practice. This was particularly clear with regard to the biblical books. The second- and third-century church adopted and shared, as already noted, the militant imperial strand in second-century Jewish interpretation of prophecy. This perhaps unexpected effect of the risings, or rather of the atmosphere in which they went forward, appears strikingly in the millennialism exhibited in different ways by Justin Martyr, Irenaeus and Tertullian. Christians similarly took note of and used the revised Jewish Greek translations of the second century, and followed the Jewish lead towards recognition of an authoritative biblical library.⁵⁸⁴ The wars had not impaired for the church the authority of the Jews as custodians and interpreters of the sacred books.

Clement of Alexandria, imbued with Greek culture and living in a city where the Jewish community had been drastically weakened, still delights to quote a Christian ‘Hebrew’ from Palestine among his teachers, and binds his own Christian teachings into interpretation of the Old Testament books.⁵⁸⁵ Marcion’s second-century interpretation of the Old Testament as expressing Jewish rather than Christian hope was influential, as seen already, and may itself have been influenced by the wars, but was never wholly victorious. The late second and early third centuries were not only the time when an episcopate and a group of books constituting a New Testament had been generally recognized, but also, despite Jewish defeat in 135, the time of a deliberate and argued retention of the Old Testament – read of course as the church’s inheritance, yet also recognized, in Tertullian’s phrase, as ‘Jewish literature’.⁵⁸⁶ By the same token Tertullian became an early critic of Tacitus on the origins of the Jews – ‘Tacitus, far from taciturn, but a spouter of lies’.⁵⁸⁷

⁵⁸⁴ ‘The Church was singularly willing to accept the verdict of Jewish scholarship, even at the cost of abandoning famous proof-texts’: F. C. Burkitt, ‘The Debt of Christianity to Judaism’, in E. R. Bevan and C. Singer (eds.), *The Legacy of Israel* (Oxford, 1927), 69–96 (88).

⁵⁸⁵ Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* i. i.

⁵⁸⁶ Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* iii 6, 1 ‘on two characteristics of the Jewish literature’, *de . . . duabus proprietatibus iudaicae literaturae* – the prophetic treatment of predicted events as already accomplished and the general use of allegory and parable.

⁵⁸⁷ *Cornelius Tacitus, sane ille mendaciorum loquacissimus*: Tertullian, *Apol.* xvi 1–4, citing the account of the Jews ‘in the fifth book of his *Histories*’. Compare [Chapter 2](#), n. 201, above (Merivale on

Yet the failure of the wars to impair the attractive force of Judaism or to gentileize the Christian ethos should not disguise their abiding legacy in the forms of Jewish remembrance considered above, literary, liturgical and monumental. Within this context perhaps a final verdict on the risings is reached in the command to silence in the legend of Moses and R. Akiba. God shows Moses the flesh of R. Akiba being weighed in the meat market. Moses, who has marvelled at Akiba's interpretation of his law, asks: Is this Torah, and this its reward? Then in reply it is said, Be silent, for thus it came before me in thought.⁵⁸⁸

Tacitus's 'studied insults'); [Chapter 3](#), n. 123, above (Tacitus's account in its contemporary Roman setting)

⁵⁸⁸ Babylonian Talmud, Menahoth 29b. This story is attributed to Judah bar Ezekiel (end of the third century) in the name of his teacher Rab, who himself went to Galilee and learned from R. Judah ha-Nasi. Its present form will have been shaped in the late third or early fourth century and in editing later than that, but its core can perhaps be associated with the stories of the war current in the circle of R. Judah ha-Nasi. For 'thought' (*mahshabah*) used as here of the divine intention see Ps. 33:11; Babylonian Talmud, Ber. 61a, on Gen. 1:27. The story is related to fourth-century anti-speculative piety by D. Boyarin, 'Hellenism in Jewish Babylonia', in Fonrobert and Jaffee, *The Cambridge Companion to the Talmud and Rabbinic Literature*, 336–63 (348–51), but this suggestion does not in principle preclude earlier origins.

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